

Charles University
Faculty of Education
Department of English Language and Literature

BACHELOR THESIS

Tendencies in the Usage of 'Anglicisms' in Contemporary Czech Media

Tendence v užití anglicismů v současných českých médiích

Zuzana Skálová

Supervisor: Mgr. Jana Richterová, Ph.D.

Study programme: Specialization in Education

Study subject: English Language – Social Sciences

I hereby declare that I worked on this thesis, entitled “Tendencies in the Usage of ‘Anglicisms’ in Contemporary Czech Media”, on my own and that all the sources used for the production of the thesis are listed in works cited. I also declare that this thesis was not used in order to gain any other academic degree than the one applied for.

Prague, 5th of December 2018

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Mgr. Jana Richterová, Ph.D. for her time, valuable guidance and patience, which were essential in the process of production of this thesis.

ABSTRACT

The bachelor thesis is focused on the occurrence of anglicisms in articles published from 2009 to 2018 in the Czech newspaper, Lidové noviny. The main aim is to distinguish whether the amount of anglicisms used in these articles has increased over the years. The thesis is divided into a theoretical and a practical part. The theoretical part is focused on the explanation of the term anglicism, the history of its usage, its assimilation into the Czech language, and the usage of anglicisms in current communication. The introduction into the matter is executed by exploring the global influence of the English language by showing the extent of language borrowings from English. Other word-formation processes are listed alongside to illustrate the significance of lexical borrowing in terms of a language word-stock enrichment.

The practical part is based on a research conducted by analyzing articles on the topic of politics in terms of their richness in anglicisms. The research was conducted using quantitative and qualitative methods. The aim of the analysis is also to determine whether the usage of a specific anglicism is necessary or whether it could be replaced by synonyms of other than English origin. The suitability of the anglicisms found in the articles is evaluated. A comparative analysis of the vocabulary of the articles from years 2009 and 2018 is presented to show the changing tendencies in the usage of anglicisms. The hypotheses have been confirmed and the research has shown the upper bound of the amount of anglicisms rising from 1,3% to 3,3% of the text.

KEYWORDS

Anglicism, language development, tendencies, media, lexical borrowing, word-stock, synonyms

ABSTRAKT

Bakalářská práce se zabývá výskytem anglicismů v článcích publikovaných mezi lety 2009 a 2018 v Lidových novinách. Hlavním cílem práce je určit, zda se v průběhu let zvýšilo množství anglicismů ve zkoumaných článcích. Práce je rozdělena na teoretickou a praktickou část. Teoretická část je zaměřena na vysvětlení pojmu anglicismus, historii užívání anglicismů v českém jazyce, jejich adaptaci a aplikaci v současné komunikaci. Úvodem do problematiky je kapitola o globálním vlivu angličtiny, jejíž cílem je ukázat rozsah vzájemného působení jazyků a postavení angličtiny ve světě. Teoretická část dále obsahuje kapitolu o slootovorných procesech v angličtině i v češtině, která nastiňuje význam jazykových přejímek v českém jazyce.

Praktická část bakalářské práce je založena na výzkumu souboru novinových článků na téma politiky v rámci výskytu anglicismů. Výzkum je proveden kvalitativní i kvantitativní metodou. Cílem analýzy je také určit, zda je užití daného anglicismu nezbytné, či zda by bylo vhodnější ho nahradit synonymem jiného než anglického původu. Hodnocena je i vhodnost užití konkrétního anglicismu. Práce prezentuje komparativní analýzu výrazů užívaných v letech 2009 a 2018 s cílem vyhodnotit měnící se tendence v užívání anglicismů. Hypotézy byly potvrzeny a výzkum ukázal zvýšení horní hranice výskytu anglicismů z 1,3% na 3,3% textu.

KLÍČOVÁ SLOVA

Anglicismus, vývoj jazyka, tendence, média, jazykové výpůjčky, slovní zásoba, synonyma

CONTENTS

1	The Global Influence of English	10
2	Word-stock enrichment	11
2.1	Changes in the word-stock	11
2.2	The word	11
2.3	Word-formation.....	13
2.3.1	English word-formation	13
2.3.1.1	Derivation.....	13
2.3.1.2	Compounding	14
2.3.1.3	Conversion	14
2.3.1.4	Blending	14
2.3.1.5	Shortening	14
2.3.1.6	Borrowing.....	15
2.3.2	Word-formation in the Czech language	15
2.3.2.1	Derivation.....	15
2.3.2.2	Compounding	15
3	Lexical borrowing in the Czech language.....	16
3.1	An anglicism	17
3.1.1	History of Anglicisms in the Czech language.....	17
3.1.2	Assimilation of Anglicisms into the Czech language	19
3.1.3	Application of Anglicisms in current communication	20
4	Language endangerment and resistance	22
4.1	The situation in Norway	22
4.2	France	22
4.3	The Czech Republic	23
5	Research	24

5.1	Aims and hypotheses.....	24
5.2	Methodology	24
5.3	Research results.....	25
5.3.1	The year 2009.....	25
5.3.1.1	Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found	26
5.3.2	The year 2010.....	28
5.3.2.1	Possible substitutions	29
5.3.2.2	Lobbista, lobbovat.....	30
5.3.3	The year 2012.....	31
5.3.3.1	Possible synonyms	31
5.3.4	The year 2014.....	31
5.3.4.1	Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found	31
5.3.5	The year 2016.....	32
5.3.5.1	Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found in the text.....	33
5.3.6	They year 2017.....	33
5.3.6.1	Substitution for the anglicisms.....	33
5.3.7	The year 2018.....	34
5.3.7.1	Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found	35
5.4	Comparison of the years 2009 and 2018	36
5.5	A list of anglicisms, their occurrence in the articles and possible replacements	38
6	Conclusion.....	43
7	Works cited	45

Introduction

The main aim of the thesis is to research anglicisms in the Czech media in the course of the past 9 years. The idea of this topic came from my reading Czech newspapers and online news websites while noticing the number of unusual foreign words which have been appearing in these texts. I wondered what the reasons behind implementing these loanwords into our national journalistic pieces of writing were. One of the reasons for replacing Czech words by words of foreign origin might be the fact that the Czech language has insufficient word-stock for specific new situations or things, especially in the fields of new technology and science. It could also be due to the fact that journalists might think that foreign expressions make their articles sound more professional and international. Various Czech words can be substituted by their English synonyms, which can possibly lead to over-flooding the Czech language with too many loanwords.

English, as a *lingua franca*, has a very significant impact on other languages. However, the impact might be questionable, this matter will be briefly discussed in chapter 1. The media and the Internet play a huge role in interlingual interference because of their international character.

Apart from studying the tendencies in the usage of Anglicism, another aim of this thesis is to discover whether there have been any preservation tendencies in the Czech journalistic texts, such as using old Czech expressions as a means of reviving the traditional language. The main hypotheses are that the amount of Anglicisms used in the topical articles has risen since the year 2009, and that the tendencies of preserving the traditional Czech language have not been significant due to the rising percentage of loanwords, which have been adopted into the language.

Structurally, this thesis is divided into two parts: the theoretical and the practical one. The theoretical part includes a chapter on the global influence of English to show how English modifies other languages and what the possible consequences are of that influence. It defines the term “Anglicism” and describes the history of loanwords of the English origin in the Czech language and the process of assimilation of Anglicisms. The practical part is based on research of newspaper articles from *Lidové noviny* on the topic of politics from over the past 10 years. The reason for choosing politics as the main theme is the fact that it has always been a very current and significant topic. Thirty articles will be analysed from the lexical point of

view in terms of the occurrence of anglicisms. The research will be conducted using quantitative and qualitative methods.

1 The Global Influence of English

English is undoubtedly considered a global, almost universal, language. As Crystal stated, “a language achieves a genuinely global status when it develops a special role that is recognized in every country” (151). This special role has many variations depending on the individual countries of concern. According to Crystal, English has an administrative status in over 70 countries. He continues to state that “in a different way, English achieves a special role when it is made a priority in a country’s foreign-language teaching policy; it has no official status, but it is nonetheless the foreign language which children are most likely to encounter when they arrive in school, and the one most available to adults in further education” (Crystal 151). The Czech Republic is undeniably a country where English has a dominant position of a preferred second language, which influences various aspects of the Czech language.

According to Fischer and Pułaczewska, “languages respond to the changing needs of communication, following changes in the world and ways of living. The growing influence of English on the languages of Europe is an example of a linguistic change under contact conditions. It can be traced back to political, economic and technological developments, which have been taking place at a growing pace in the past few decades. In Europe, the countries are nowadays working closely together, and the European Union has expanded to the total of 27 nations. English functions as the interlingual medium of European communication and has played a key role in the growing together of the European West and East in recent years. An interlingual means of communication certainly has its merits but also involves a number of problems, such as disadvantages for lack of language proficiency, the diversity of cultures and their history, and the different structures and meanings of the various languages. In addition, national languages form national identities, and a nation may fear being foreignized by means of the Anglophone culture represented by the English language” (Fischer and Pułaczewska 1).

2 Word-stock enrichment

A language in general is the fastest evolving field. It is being enriched by cultural or technological changes, which mainly affect the language word stock and the needs of the language. According to Hladká, important parts of enriching the word-stock are metaphors and metonymy because they widen the meanings of already existing words (Hladká in Grepl et al. 97). Phrasemes and idiomatic expressions are essential for word-stock development and vary throughout languages. Borrowings also have great significance in this matter and will be discussed further in chapter 3.

2.1 Changes in the word-stock

According to Grepl et al., changes in the word-stock of a language are caused by three factors. The first one being the extralinguistic factor, which means that terminology for things no longer existent is disappearing from the language while words denoting new objects or situations are being formed. The second one is the psychological factor, meaning that the development of human knowledge and thinking leads to naming the newly constituted terms, or need for creating new and original words to replace the common ones. And thirdly, the language factor, meaning that development of lexical units is both semantically and formally influenced by their position in the language system. Usually these factors and many other ones are intertwined (96). Changes which languages undergo are inevitable and natural, however, some changes are undeniably more beneficial than others.

2.2 The word

Before discussing the matter of word-formation, let us elaborate on the term “word.” Bauer suggests that “any discussion about word-formation makes two assumptions: that there are such things as words, and that at least some of them are formed” (7). As he mentions, the term “word” is problematic in linguistics because there are multiple points of view. It is a term hard to define because, as explained by Plag, to each definition there might be an exception. He states that the “orthographic word¹” is completely false, which he illustrates in the sentence, “Benjamin’s girlfriend lives in a high-rise apartment building.” There is a controversy on

¹ An explanation of a word as an “uninterrupted string of letters which is preceded by a blank space and followed either by a blank space or a punctuation mark” (Plag 4).

whether to consider apostrophes punctuation marks or not, which would change the number of words from the orthographic point of view, and the same problem arises with the hyphen in *high-rise*. He discusses the same problem with compound words, such as *girlfriend*. The definition of a word as “a unit in speech surrounded by pauses” is not sufficient either because speakers don’t generally make pauses before or after each word. Stress is not a good criterion either because some compound words such as *apartment building* would then be considered only one word. Plag then proceeds with discussing the integrity criterion² and gives the example of *son-in-law*; “there are some cases in which word integrity is violated. For example, the plural of son-in-law is not *son-in-laws but sons-in-law. Under the assumption that son-in-law is one word (i.e. some kind of compound), the plural ending is inserted inside the word and not at the end” (Plag 7). Spenser also states that “there may be clear criteria for ‘wordhood’ in individual languages, but we have no clear-cut set of criteria that can be applied to the totality of the world’s languages” (129).

Jackson and Zé Amvela state that it is difficult to suggest a universal definition, but they give a definition of a word as “an uninterruptible unit of structure consisting of one or more morphemes and which typically occurs in the structure of phrases. The morphemes are the ultimate grammatical constituents, the minimal meaningful units of a language. For example, the different forms of the verb *speak*, i.e. *speak*, *speaks*, *speaking*, *spoke* and *spoken* are separate words grammatically” (59).

Grepl explains words as fixed language units which are relocatable in the sentence, constituted by phonemes and carrying lexical or grammatical meaning. However, he mentions that there is no simple definition because of the fact that the problematic nature of the term “word” comes from great formal, semantic and functional differences in individual words (65-67).

² “The word is an indivisible unit into which no intervening material may be inserted. If some modificational element is added to a word, it must be done at the edges, but never inside the word” (Plag 7).

What all the linguists mentioned have in common is that they all consider the word as such a problematic concept simply because there is no universal definition which could describe the term without any deflections. However, in this thesis, a word is considered as an entry in a dictionary for simplicity reasons.

2.3 Word-formation

According to Bauer, word-formation is a “confused field” (1). He also states that “there is little agreement on the methodology or basic theoretical background for the study of word-formation” (1). However, using the explanation made by Jackson and Zé Amvela, the main word-formation processes will be described in this chapter. Jackson and Zé Amvela define word-formation processes as “different devices which are used to build new words from existing ones” (81).

In this chapter, English and Czech word-formation will be briefly described. Even though English and the Czech language belong to different typological groups, we can still find similarities in the word-formation processes.

2.3.1 English word-formation

2.3.1.1 Derivation

In contrast with inflection, derivation is “a lexical process which actually forms a new word out of an existing one by the addition of a derivational suffix” (82). An example could be with the word *nation*. From *nation* we can form:

nation•hood

nation•al

nation•al•ize

nation•al•ist

nation•al•ist•ic

nation•al•ity

(Bauer 11).

Therefore, the morpheme -er in *teacher* is a derivational morpheme, whereas -er in *smaller* is an inflectional morpheme.

2.3.1.2 Compounding

Compounds are “stems consisting of more than one root. For example, *bedside*, *blackmarket*, *carwash*”. Most compounds consist of juxtaposed roots, although in some cases, “one of the roots of the compound may be modified by inflection, such as in *bird’s-eye*, *driving-licence*” (Jackson, Zé Amvela 92).

2.3.1.3 Conversion

According to Jackson and Zé Amvela, conversion, or zero derivation, is “a process by which a word form belonging to one word class is transferred to another word class without any concomitant change of form, either in pronunciation or spelling. It is a highly prolific source for the production of new words since there is no restriction on the form that can undergo conversion in English” (100). Examples of conversion are *a call*, which is a deverbal noun, or *to empty*, which is a deadjectival verb.

2.3.1.4 Blending

A blend is “a new lexeme built made of the parts of two (or possibly more) words in such a way that the constituent parts are usually easily identifiable, though in some instances, only one of the elements might be identifiable” (Jackson and Zé Amvela, 101). Words formed by blending are *brunch* (meaning breakfast and lunch), *smog* (smoke and fog) or *labradoodle* (labrador and poodle). Both *brunch* and *smog* are words used in the Czech language as well.

2.3.1.5 Shortening

Clipping, backformation, and abbreviation can be included in the process of shortening. According to Jackson and Zé Amvela, clipping “involves the type of word-formation device in which only a part of the stem is retained. The beginning may be retained as in *lab*, the end as in *plane* and the middle as in *flu*” (102). They define backformation as “making of a new word from an older word” (102). An example of backformation is *to babysit*, the original form being *a babysitter*. Abbreviation is a type of initialisms in Jackson and Zé Amvela’s terminology and is considered an extreme kind of clipping. The initial letters of words are put together to be used as words. As they further explain, “when initialisms are pronounced with the names of the letters of the alphabet, they may be called abbreviations”, such as *VIP*. However, when the letters are pronounced like individual lexical items, such as NATO (North Atlantic Treaty organization), it is acronymy (103).

2.3.1.6 Borrowing

The key word-formation process for the topic of this thesis, although regarded as minor, is borrowing. Borrowings from other languages are a significant part of the word-stock of both English and the Czech language. Generally speaking, a lexical borrowing can be characterized as “adoption of lexical units or forms from one language to another” (Nekula in Bachmanová et al. 542). According to Svobodová, “the process of lexical borrowing is realized on the basis of direct contact of two languages or language systems, meaning the source language and the borrowing language” (22).

2.3.2 Word-formation in the Czech language

The main word-formation processes in the Czech language are derivation (for example *americký*), compounding (*velkoměsto*) and abbreviation (*Čedok, ODS*), as explained by Grepl et al. (109-225) The following distinction is established in accordance with Grepl et al. The Czech language doesn't tend to form blends; blends enter the language through lexical borrowing, mainly from English. Lexical borrowing, another significant part of the Czech word-formation, will be discussed in chapter 3.

2.3.2.1 Derivation

In the process of derivation, prefixation and affixation are distinguished. Grepl et al give the examples of *vlas-atý/vlas-áč, při-volat, zdrav-í* etc. They also categorize derivation according to word-classes, but for the sake of simplicity the whole distinction will not be presented.

2.3.2.2 Compounding

Compounding is the process of integration of two terms into one. Such terms as *severozápad, sirovodík, krasobruslař* are formed by compounding. Once again, Grepl et al. divide compounding into a multitude of subprocesses, but due to the fact that this thesis focuses on lexical borrowing, these processes will not be further discussed.

3 Lexical borrowing in the Czech language

The need for lexical borrowing comes from the insufficiency of the word-stock, such as missing terminology for items of technical development, or terminology required by the period of time or situation. Loanwords can also take the position of stylistic synonyms (*rozsudek-ortel*) or euphemistic synonyms (*tlustý-korpulentní*) or they can be a matter of fashion trends (for example the shift of meaning of *filozofie* in *filozofie benzinových pump*). The occurrence of loanwords is the most significant in terminology, the reason being that their advantage lies in being internationally understood, as well as due to broader derivational possibilities (Hladká in Grepl et al. 100). Lexical borrowing is a dynamic, open process, which continues to enrich the word-stock of the Czech language.

A great quantity of loanwords, or borrowings, in the Czech language comes from Latin (for example *speciální, kříž, doktor*), Greek (*demokracie, typ, parabola*), and German (*taška, šichta, ponk*), generally due to a historical proximity of Germany. Other source languages are Slavonic languages, such as Polish, Slovak or Russian which were the center of linguistic interest in the period of National Revival; however according to Mravinacová, Slavonic languages don't have a significant influence on the current word-stock of the Czech language anymore (Mravinacová in Martincová et al. 187). Words of Italian origin are also a part of the Czech language, such as *duet* or *soprán*, other source languages are French (fashion-related terminology, such as *baret, blůza, manžeta*), Arabic (*alkohol, káva*), Turkish (*jogurt, klobouk*) or Hindi (*džungle, jóga*) (Hladká in Grepl et al. 100-101).

Another essential influence is English, which has provided a large variety of loanwords and is the central focus of the thesis. Mravinacová states that the ratio of loanwords of other than English origin to English loanwords is very low. Even expressions originally not English entered the Czech language through the English language (Mravinacová in Martincová et al. 187). Viereck et al. discuss the opposite process – English expressions being borrowed by languages such as German or French and then from these languages, they are borrowed into the Czech language in various modified forms. This process is less frequent than the previously mentioned one, but there are many examples to illustrate it. One of them is the word *plast*. Viereck mentions that it entered the German language after World War II. Because of the proximity of Germany, the Czech language borrowed *plast* from the German language rather than English. Other words are, among others, *parlament, bunkr, kabel, kiks, flirt, kraul* or *puzzle*. Interestingly, these words were adopted into the Czech language with German

pronunciation. Apart from the German language, anglicisms entered the Czech language through French as well (256).

3.1 An anglicism

Nový akademický slovník cizích slov defines an anglicism as “a language element adopted from English by another language or created on the basis of an English word” (54). This is the definition applied in the practical part of the thesis. According to Bozděchová, this definition includes anglicisms in general while not considering their stage of assimilation into Czech or which language sphere they belong to. The current focus in research of anglicisms is on the new words; those already adopted in the word stock of the Czech language are being drifted to the background, such as *fotbal*, *džem*, *tramvaj*, *byznys*, *sejf*. The more dynamic parts of anglicisms are those which undergo some changes in order to sound “more Czech”. Within that process, their place in the vocabulary has to be clarified. Many of the words of English origin have Czech synonyms and therefore can be interchanged. These synonyms are often “competing with one another, or either one of them is in decline (e.g. *cash* – *v hotovosti*), ..., in contrast terminology often stays unchanged, such as gender studies” (Bozděchová 273). Anglicisms are the most numerous group of lexical borrowings in the Czech language, and even some words of non-English origin came to Czech from other languages through English (Mravinacová in Martincová et al. 187).

3.1.1 History of Anglicisms in the Czech language

The history of words originating from English in the Czech language is very extensive due to the fact that the Czech and the English language have been connected since the middle ages, as Nekula states. He mentions that the Přemyslid dynasty had political relations with England and John Wycliff’s knowledge also brought cultural connection to the Oxford University and England as such. After the reformation, the Czech kings distanced themselves from England for some period of time. The two countries reunited again in the Habsburk dynasty period as the Prague court was a place where English Catholics and Protestants met. Nekula also states that after the French revolution in 1789, the higher nobility inclined towards England. The role of English in the Czech history is significant; however, it was also very unstable through the years because of the prevailing German influence. Nekula states that one of the first anglicisms was *bil* (from the English word bill), used by Karel Havlíček Borovský, even though Josef Jungman considered this expression as a germanism. In the 19th century, *manšestr* became a part of the word-stock of the Czech language (Nekula in Viereck et al. 263).

As Hugrová mentions, the former director of Ústav pro jazyk český Karel Oliva states that one of the first anglicisms - *fešák* - occurred in the 18th century as an expression for elegant and fashionable English men. *Fešák* has its origin in the English word *fashion*, as he stated in ČRo Radio Wave's podcast, *Rentgen o anglicismech v češtině*. Oliva also mentions the word *pádlo*, which originated from *paddle* (9). With the founding of Czechoslovakia in 1918, the position of the English language strengthened. Great Britain played an eminent role of a cultural and economic partner. This resulted in anglicism from the areas of culture, sport or science entering the Czech language, for example *volejbal*, *hokej*, *gól*, *svetr* or *klub* (Nekula in Viereck et al. 261-263). However, after the year 1948 and the start of the communist regime, with its strict orientation towards the East, there was a significantly lower rate of new Anglicisms being adopted. It was so mainly due to the fact that English was not the language of interest of the government, which made English undesirable for education as a whole. It was Russian that was being taught at schools instead. The rate of newly adopted anglicisms slightly rose after the year 1960 and around the Prague spring in 1968. Many of such expressions were connected to the culture then "entering" the language, such as *hippie/hipisák*. Nonetheless, these tendencies were not officially acknowledged by the government and were limited to the colloquial register; according to Nekula, there were specific purist tendencies in the 1970's, which led to replacing some anglicisms by Czech expressions, therefore *hot dog* was replaced by *párek v rohlíku* and *házená* replaced *handbal* (Nekula in Viereck et al. 264).

The most significant boom came after the year 1989 and the Velvet revolution. The state borders opened, both physically and metaphorically, and anglicisms, along with other neologisms, symbolized the orientation of the society towards different and new areas, generally to the West. Politics, philosophy, literature and the western economy were one of the many areas of interest. According to Bozděchová, the motivation behind the sudden lexical changes after November 1989 was "to remove the clichés reminding people of the previous regime. The general discourse also became more liberal after the censorship had been cancelled. Entering Europe required unification of terminology as well" (273). As Nekula mentions, English then became the language of science, journalism, management and a modern lifestyle in general (Nekula in Viereck et al. 261). Another significant period of anglicisms came along with the digital era. Terminology for various aspects of information technology and electronics (*software*, *IT*, *touchpad*) usually remains unchanged in the adaptation process, and English has an undeniably dominant position in these fields (Bozděchová 277).

3.1.2 Assimilation of Anglicisms into the Czech language

Bozděchová explains lexical borrowing as an open and dynamic process where individual borrowings and their types have to undergo some degree of assimilation. There are also multiple factors that influence this procedure, with the most important ones being how old the loanword is, the typological distance between the languages (this determines how different the loanword is, the relation between written and spoken form) and whether it belongs in the center or the periphery of the vocabulary. Other factors are for example synonymy in the borrowing language, and whether the borrowing gains a Czech form or stays identical to the original form (273).

Mravinacová discusses the various assimilation processes which anglicisms undergo while becoming a part of the word-stock of the Czech language, and the following distinction is based on her explanation.

Not all English loanwords get fully adopted into the Czech lexicon or even adjust to Czech forms; some of the terms remain in the position of occasional borrowings, frequently used in quotation marks in texts. Mravinacová gives the example of *fat-free*. The changes anglicisms can alter the original spelling, pronunciation, grammar, and possibly also semantics.

The first type of assimilation is orthographic³-orthoepic⁴ assimilation. They influence each other; therefore, they cannot be separated in the explanation. In the case of anglicisms, the difference between spelling and pronunciation tends to be significant. In some anglicisms, the pronunciation is standardized according to the spelling (*fotbal*), or the spelling is adapted to the pronunciation (*džentlmen*) or pronunciation and spelling correspond (*blues*). Anglicisms were more prone to obtaining a form which sounds more “Czech” in the past, however, as Kučera claims, the tendencies are not as significant as they used to be (Mravinacová in Martincová 81). According to Mravinacová, an increasing number of speakers with a sound knowledge of English and the torrent of anglicisms entering the Czech-speaking environment are the main reasons for assimilation differences nowadays. The assimilation of pronunciation is mainly based on phoneme changes, especially those not occurring in the Czech language, for example /ə/ or /æ/. A shift of stress to the first syllable and loss of aspiration of p, t, k changes the pronunciation majorly. Mravinacová gives the examples of *backpacker* and its pronunciation

³ Assimilation of spelling

⁴ Assimilation of pronunciation

as /bækpækə/ in English and /bekpekr/ in the Czech language, or *Windows* /wɪndəʊz/ in English and /vɪndous/ in the Czech language.

The second type of assimilation is morphological. The borrowed lexical form is transformed using derivational and inflectional morphemes. The analytical character of English does not prevent morphological forming of anglicisms, but contrarily, it facilitates the process. Unlike with Greek or Latin, it is possible to add inflectional morphemes to an English word, or in some cases even a derivational morpheme, which enables to see the word as a derivational form (187-210).

Some anglicisms acquire their Czech form almost immediately, such as *summit-samit*, *klip*, *sprej* (these have modified written form according to their pronunciation, compared to the original words *clip* and *spray*). Some anglicisms, on the other hand, maintain their original form and in the written form they stay excluded from the typical Czech vocabulary, such as *copyright*, *designer* or *dealer* (Bozděchová 273). One of the anglicisms which maintain their original form is the word *event*. Nonetheless, its pronunciation is often incorrectly modified, from /ɪ'vent/ to /'ivent/. This term is frequently used in business communication and it might be one of the examples where using an anglicism instead of the common Czech word *událost* or at least the already traditional *akce* is highly improper.

3.1.3 Application of Anglicisms in current communication

As stated by Bozděchová, journalism is a fruitful source of anglicisms as well, however, journalistic expressions are not always correct due to wrong translations (277). Even words such as maturity, concrete or actual are false cognates with their Czech counterparts and can be misleading when translated incorrectly. A similar problem occurs in marketing, where anglicisms may be used in a wrong context in advertising. Anglicisms are also frequently used in the field of business; companies use English terminology for job positions and for various work-related tasks, and as Buřinská mentions, such expressions as “*brífink*, *mítíng* or *řídbeck*” are very common in companies. Abbreviations such as ASAP⁵ or FYI⁶ have become a reoccurring phenomenon of business emails or written business communication in general.

In addition, social media and the Internet are a great contribution to the usage of loanwords, especially anglicisms, and children in particular are exceptionally prone to acquiring

⁵ As soon as possible

⁶ For your information

some of the terminology they encounter online. As Bailey states, an average teenager spends two hours per day using their mobile phone, while a significant part is spent on social media. This is the opportunity for them to encounter expressions such as *like*, *share* or *tweet*, and consequently, they start using the expressions mentioned on regular basis. YouTube is one of the areas influencing the vocabulary as well, even though young age groups may be more likely to adopt these expressions because of the time they spend watching YouTube videos. Plná mentions that 50% of teenagers said that YouTube was their favourite website, and that 96% of young people spend 11 hours per week watching online videos on YouTube and social media (38). YouTube, online videos and social media also brought such terms as *streamovat*, *vlog* or *influencer* into the vocabulary of the young generation.

4 Language endangerment and resistance

As presented throughout the preceding chapters, languages are very easily influenced by other languages. In contrast with the fact that anglicisms enrich the word stocks of a multitude of languages, accepting new unnecessary words can even be threatening to the very essence of the given language in some cases. Numerous countries have shown their concern by taking preservation steps in order to save their traditional language. Language endangerment, as Krauss states, “is significantly comparable to-and related to-endangerment of biological species in the natural world”. He also adds “English-language dominance in the 'English-speaking world' has achieved and continues to achieve the highest documented rate of destruction, approaching now 90%” (5).

4.1 The situation in Norway

English is replacing some indigenous languages in various parts of the world, which is a danger the Norwegian language might be facing as well. English has been one of the main languages of Norway for many years, but the Norwegian government is now trying to protect their language. According to Gwladys Fouché, a Guardian reporter, English has become so overly dominant that it is a “serious threat to the Norwegian language.” She adds that the Norwegian culture minister, Trond Giske, stated that “languages around the world are simply vanishing and are not being used anymore. Norwegian is under entirely new pressure than it was just a few years ago, especially because of the Internet and the media.” In the 2008 issue of MOM, the Norwegian government’s newspaper, Hultgren, Gregersen and Thøgersen discuss the language situation, stating that there should be greater “protection of Norwegian from the threat from English” (37). They also cite an English translation of MOM, where they express their concern for the Norwegian language being pushed aside by English, causing their mother language to gradually vanish from particular parts of society.

4.2 France

France is another example of a country with strong language preservation efforts, even though the situation regarding the language endangerment is not as serious as in Norway. Académie Française, an organization for the French language preservation, has published an online dictionary which provides French synonyms for English words already included in French vocabulary. Consequently, Académie Française is banning words of English origin. McQueen mentions, for example, the words *buzz*, *fashionista*, *deadline*, *dealer* or *business*, which are all being replaced by French words or phrases. The expression *ASAP* has been banned as well, and according to a Guardian article written by Willsher, “the Immortals, as

academy members are known, have published a damning condemnation of ASAP in their ongoing campaign to protect what is known as ‘the language of Molière’... ‘this abbreviation of as soon as possible, which is far from transparent, seems to accumulate most of the defects of a language that hides its contempt and threatening character under the guise of modern junk’, the Académie writes.”

4.3 The Czech Republic

The question of whether English could be menacing to the Czech language arises. In 2017, as ČT24 mentions, a group of communist Members of the Parliament made a proposal of a language law, which was not accepted by the government. The proposal was based on statistics which showed the fact that thirty percent of Czech citizens speak no foreign language. Therefore, when English expressions are used, people who don’t speak the language are not able to understand, and it consequently puts them in a disadvantaged position within society. According to the 2012 report from Special Eurobarometer 386: *Europeans and their languages*, “the proportion of people able to speak at least one foreign language has decreased notably in the Czech Republic (-12 percentage points to 49%)” (5), compared to statistics from 2005, which is surprising with regard to the fact that seemingly more and more people are learning the language. This would only support the original purpose of the language law. However, as mentioned by ČT4, the director of Ústav pro jazyk český Martin Prošek, expressed his belief that institutional care of the Czech language is essential, but as with any other language, borrowings are a way of expanding the vocabulary, and replacing loanwords by Czech synonyms at any cost would be rather harmful to the language.

5 Research

5.1 Aims and hypotheses

The main aim of the research is to evaluate the tendencies in the usage of anglicisms in the Czech media, specifically in the newspaper Lidové Noviny, published from the year 2009 to 2018. The research was carried out in order to explore the changing proportion of the lexical borrowing from English in the Czech language. A distinction between anglicisms and americanisms is not a part of the research. An assessment of the percentage of anglicisms used in the articles to words of non-English origin is executed in order to compare the tendencies throughout the past 9 years. The reason for the time frame of 9 years is the limited archives of Lidové noviny, starting from August 2009. The articles of interest are dealing with the topic of politics, mainly due to the fact that politics is a field rich in loanwords, as mentioned previously. In connection to chapter 4 Language endangerment and resistance, the articles were generally analyzed in terms of the preservation tendencies, whether the authors of the texts had been trying to replace anglicisms (those already a part of the central vocabulary of the Czech language), which would be suitable in the context, by a word of different origin, preferably Czech.

The hypotheses are accordingly established as follows:

- Language preservation efforts of any significant form are not expected to be present in the articles analysed.
- The usage of anglicisms is expected to have further risen since the year 2009.

5.2 Methodology

The research is conducted by the analysis of randomly chosen articles on the topic of politics in Lidové noviny. Thirty-eight journalistic texts are analysed in terms of the occurrence of anglicism; ten articles published in 2009 and ten articles published in 2018, followed by the years 2010, 2012, 2014, 2016 and 2017. The years 2011, 2013 and 2015 are not included in the analysis because the changes observed have been found insignificant. The articles have been chosen randomly in order to avoid any preoccupation with the rate of expressions of the English origin visible at first sight.

A list of expressions is created, and a percentage analysis from the individual years is carried out for comparison. The results from the years 2009 and 2018 will be compared to show whether the tendencies have changed in any way.

Etymological distinction of the expressions is made in accordance with an etymological dictionary, Český etymologický slovník. Synonyms of other than English origin of the anglicisms found are provided, if possible, to show and evaluate the suitability of/need for the usage of anglicisms in the given cases.

5.3 Research results

This chapter presents the data assembled in the research. During the process of analysing all of the articles, the matter discussed in chapter 3, lexical borrowing in the Czech language, was observed. A very significant part of the word-stock of the Czech language has its origin in German and Latin, as it has been confirmed in the articles analysed. Majority of the words I had expected to be anglicisms, due to their similarity to the English synonym, was proven to have Latin or German origin according to the etymological dictionary. Consequently, this finding also indicates that English is a language rich in loanwords, for example expressions as *president* or *affair* come from French, similarly their Czech synonyms, *prezident* and *aféra*.

The results of the research are divided by the individual years of concern with subchapters discussing the possible replacements of the anglicisms. The research from the years 2009 and 2018 is based on a larger amount of collected data compared to the other years in order to execute a valid comparison.

5.3.1 The year 2009

The research of the articles from the year 2009 in the time-frame of five months (from August to December) has shown that the occurrence of anglicisms ranges from 0,4% to 1,3% of the text, which is not a very significant number. The article with the lowest percentage (0,4%) contains only two anglicisms, *média* and *americký*. Both of these expressions are a part of the central vocabulary of the Czech language. The word *média* could be replaced by *hromadné sdělovací prostředky*. The anglicism *média* is very commonly used, having replaced the original expression almost completely in both the language of journalists and other areas of the word-stock of the Czech language. On the other hand, *americký* is an anglicism which is hardly replaceable by any synonyms.

Two of the articles share the same percentage (1,3%) of occurrence of anglicisms. The first text incorporates the total of four anglicisms, but they repeatedly occur in the text, for example *rekordní* is used twice, similarly is the word *partner* and *preference*. *Koaliční* emerges only once. The second text contains five anglicisms, while *koalice* is used three times and *lídr*

twice. *Preference*, *konzervativní* and *partner* are also used. Other articles contained such expressions as *data*, *bojkotovat*, *klub*, *image*, *blok*, *ofsajd*, *idiot* or *rating*.

5.3.1.1 Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found

Koalice is the most frequently occurring expression throughout numerous articles analysed. A possible replacement is for example *politické uskupení*. However, the anglicism *koalice* is only a one-word expression. Therefore it is obvious that one of the factors influencing the preference of the usage of *koalice* instead of *seskupení politických stran* is undoubtedly the superfluousness of the synonymic term. The adjective *koaliční* might be replaced by *spojenecký*, although the anglicism seems more suitable in terms of its application in current political sphere.

Another anglicism is *rekordní*. It is considered a normal part of the word-stock of the Czech language, and it occurs frequently in the standard language instead of any possible synonyms. Depending on the context, *rekordní* could be substituted by *obrovský* or *enormní* (originally a Latin word which entered the Czech language through the German language). Using other synonyms instead of the word chosen by the authors of the articles would be inefficient and could possibly cause the alternation of meaning.

A synonym for *partner* is for example *společník*, this term could be used in a sentence with *koaliční – koaliční společník*. Nevertheless, replacing both of the expressions, *koaliční* and *partner* by their synonyms would sound unnatural, because *spojenecký společník* is inappropriate in this context and furthermore, it is not very transparent in meaning. (In business though, the term *obchodní společník*, which used to be common, has also been replaced by *obchodní partner* without such motivation.)

Another anglicism found in the articles is *lídr*. It can be substituted by *vůdce*, nonetheless, it might have a negative connotation, because this word was once used in connection with Hitler. It did become revitalized in the 90's as denoting the position of a leader of a political party, however, there have been tendencies to replace this expression completely in journalistic texts.

Preference has its very origin in Latin, however, it entered the Czech language through English, therefore the etymological dictionary considers this term to be English. Its synonym is *upřednostnění*. The word *preference* in politics is most frequently used in the phrase *volební preference*. It could be substituted by *upřednostnění*, even though it does not occur to be the preferred usage. In addition, the set phrase *volební preference* may prevent the authors of the

texts, or even speakers of the Czech language in discourse in general, from trying to replace the anglicism by anything else.

The next expression is *konzervativní*. In the political sense, which is the essential concern of this thesis, it may be substituted by *tradiční*, *usedlý*. However, neither of these synonyms seem to be describing the essential meaning of *konzervativní* fully and with no deflections.

Data is an easily replaceable anglicism due to the fact that its synonyms are *údaje* or *informace*. These terms are interchangeable.

Bojkotovat is an interesting expression because according to Český etymologický slovník it comes from the 19th century from the name of an English farmer called Charles Cunningham Boycott (91). O'Dowd claims that Charles Boycott "was ignored and ostracized by his Mayo⁷ Irish community in Ireland after treating them very badly". The word *bojkotovat* is a common part of the Czech word-stock. It cannot be replaced by any synonyms because of its specific meaning and usage in connection to the historical events in Ireland.

The anglicism *klub* has a range of synonyms, such as *spolek*, *sdržení* or *organizace*. *Klub* can be used in many contexts, for example political – *politický klub*, as it was used in the texts; or cultural (e.g. *divadelní klub* – *divadelní spolek* is a suitable expression as well).

Image is an example of an anglicism assimilated neither in spelling nor in pronunciation in the Czech language. *Image* can be replaced by *obraz*, *podoba*, *reputace*, *známost* or *povědomí*, depending on the context. The authors of the texts use *image* as a social pose or reputation, the overall impression of a person. In this context, *reputace* or *obraz* might be the best options. However, *image* is deeply rooted in the Czech language nowadays and therefore it is difficult to replace it precisely without marginally corrupting the main idea and meaning of the word.

Blok is another anglicism occurring in the articles. It can have various synonyms depending on the context. *Zvěřina* used in the sentence "Zkrátka situace je otevřenější než před minulými volbami, kdy proti sobě stály dva předem definované bloky". A suitable substitution for the word *blok* would be *seskupení*, *tábory* or *celky*.

Ofsajd, as opposed to *image*, has kept its original pronunciation but the orthographic assimilation is visible, as it corresponds with the pronunciation of the word. Hamerský uses

⁷ County of Mayo in Ireland

ofsajd as follows: "Pokud je necháme stát v ofsajdu, pak je nikdy neporazíme". Ofsajd means *postavení mimo hru*. The phrase could be used in this context, however "pokud je necháme v *postavení mimo hru*" is certainly less witty and more superfluous. Undoubtedly, some people are unfamiliar with the meaning of the word *ofsajd*, whether the reason for that is a lack of knowledge of football or the English language. The limited knowledge of the English language has been supported by the statistics Special Eurobarometer 386: *Europeans and their languages* mentioned in chapter 4.3. In spite of the possibility of the sentence the author used being misunderstood, using the Czech phrase *postavení mimo hru* is not necessary in any way.

The last anglicism used in the articles from the year 2009 is *idiot*. There are many options of synonymic expressions for it, such as *blbec*, *pitomec*, *hlupák* or *tupec*. All of the synonyms mentioned have their roots in old Slavonic languages, *blbec* and *pitomec* are specifically Czech. The anglicism *idiot* is easily substitutable by these synonyms and many other ones not stated above.

Rating can also be replaced by a synonym, for example *hodnocení*. There is no need for using an anglicism here.

5.3.2 The year 2010

The four analyzed articles have shown the tendencies ranging from 0,3% to 1,5% of the text. There are two articles with the rate of 1,5%, which signifies that the differences are not eloquent compared to the year 2009. The anglicisms used in the first article with 1,5% of occurrence in the text were *dolar*, *američan*, *nastartovat*, *konzervativní*, *standard*, *mediální* and *establishment*. Most of them are fully assimilated, apart from *standard* and *establishment*, which have kept the original form and similar pronunciation to the English word. However, there are pronunciation differences, mainly in terms of full vowels in the Czech form versus unstressed syllables in the English form. The second article contains the words *koalice*, *koaliční*, *server*, *klub* and *e-mail*, with *koalice*, *koaliční* and *klub* used multiple times in the text. Other Anglicism found are *summit*, *lobbovat* or *bojkot*. In the word *lobbovat* we can see a morphological assimilation process, where the English lexeme *lobby* was modified also by adding the suffix *-ovat* (similar to the assimilation process of *mailovat* or *surfovat*). *Summit* is a frequent anglicism in the analysed journalistic texts and will be mentioned in the following chapters as well.

5.3.2.1 Possible substitutions

Dolar and *američan* are unquestionably irreplaceable anglicisms due to the fact that they are terminological words. They are an example of anglicisms which had to be adopted into the word-stock of the Czech language because there were no previously existing terms for them. Even though *dolar* comes from German, specifically from the word Taler, according to Český etymologický slovník it came to the Czech language through English (152).

On the other hand, *nastartovat* can be replaced by *zahájit* or *spustit*. The synonyms provided are fully suitable in terms of meaning.

Another expression for *standard* is *norma*. This word comes from Latin but did not enter the Czech language through English, even though a variant of this word exists in English as well (a norm).

Mediální is more challenging to find a synonym for without altering the meaning. A possible synonymic expression suggested by online dictionaries of synonyms is *novinářský*, however, the term *média* does not include newspaper or television only, its synonym is *(hromadné) sdělovací prostředky*. It is a broad expression for all means of mass media communication, therefore using *novinářský* might be rather misleading.

Another anglicism is *establishment*. This expression is not very assimilated in the Czech language. Oliva states that the word *establišment*, which is another variant of the anglicism found in the articles, is the "word of the year 2016" in his opinion. He also adds that *establišment* has a negative context due to the way Czech speakers tend to use it. In his article, he touches on the assimilation process – establishment transforming into *establišment*, similarly to tramway – tramvaj.

Server is a specific IT terminology. It belongs to the group of anglicisms which were adapted into the Czech language as a result of missing expressions for newly constituted things. Consequently, there are no suitable synonyms for *server*.

E-mail could be substituted by *elektronická pošta*, although this phrase is very rarely used these days. *E-mail*, *email* or *mail*, is a common anglicism which is used frequently. In informal language, the preferred word is *mail*.

The word *summit* belongs to the group of unassimilated anglicisms, it has kept both its original spelling and pronunciation. *Summit* can be replaced by *konference* or *kongres*, with both of the words having their origin in Latin. *Schůze* is an appropriate substitution as well.

The remaining anglicisms *lobbista* and *lobbovat* have been examined in a survey, which will be discussed in the following subchapter.

5.3.2.2 **Lobbista, lobbovat**

According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, a lobbyist is a person "who conducts activities aimed at influencing or swaying public officials and especially members of a legislative body on legislation; a person engaged in l public officials". This word has the same meaning in the Czech language. *Lobbista* is a regularly appearing expression, people encounter it on the news, on the Internet, on the radio, supposedly at school. Nearly everybody is familiar with some part of the activities involved in the execution of this occupation, however, there are some stigmas revolving around this word. Despite its frequent usage, many people are unaware of the exact definition of this anglicism. This is the reason why I have decided to include a short survey in the practical part of this thesis. It had been expected that most of the respondents would not be entirely sure about the correct answer, because not all anglicisms are generally known, even though they are common in the discourse in the Czech Republic.

Thirty respondents took part in the survey. The age of the respondents ranged from twenty to fifty-nine. Their occupations were various, including students, managers, accountants or economists. They were asked the following questions: "Who is *lobbista*? What does this person do exactly?".

The result of the survey confirms the initial expectation. Nineteen out of thirty people were not able to explain the expression in detail. They had a vague understanding of the term, as for example one respondent stated: "something to do with the government and persuading somebody to do something". Other two respondents said that *lobbista* "lobbies somebody into doing something" but were not able to explain the verb *to lobby*. The respondents also mentioned that the word had a negative connotation, this was the case in twenty-five out of thirty answers. However, they could connect the term with specific people who are lobbyist.

This research was done in order to prove that even commonly used words do not meet general understanding in some cases. People tend to use words which they are not entirely familiar with because of the influence of mass media, the Internet, or it is common in children who play computer games. An example of this could be the word *random*. Children or teenagers tend to use this word in phrases such as "*random týpek*".

5.3.3 The year 2012

The year 2012 is not exceptionally rich in terms of the occurrence of anglicisms in the articles. The lowest rate decreases to 0,4%, while the highest reaches 1,2%.

The most frequently used word in the articles from the year 2012 is *koaliční*, appearing four times in total. Apart from *koaliční*, the authors also use *summit*, *boss*, *filmový*, *lobbista*, *rekordně*, *klub* or *koalice*.

5.3.3.1 Possible synonyms

All of the words above have been discussed previously, except for *boss* and *filmový*.

Boss can be substituted by *šéf* or *vedoucí*. None of the synonyms alter the meaning, therefore it is possible to replace the word *boss* by them. The journalist might have chosen the anglicism instead of the synonyms in order to make the text more eye-catching or interesting.

The adjective *filmový* is not considered an unusual part of the word-stock of the Czech language, hence there are no significant efforts of replacing it by any synonyms. The term *kinematografický* might be used instead of *filmový*, nonetheless, it is a less frequently used expression than *filmový*.

5.3.4 The year 2014

The year 2014 brings another percentual increase, with the lowest percentage being 1,1% and the highest 1,5%. *Koalice* is used five times, the most frequently from all the anglicisms in the given articles. In the article with the highest percentage, Šlajchrtová uses the following expressions: *ekonomika*, *investice*, *banka* and *britský*.

Investice is etymologically from Latin but entered the Czech word-stock through English, therefore it is considered as an Anglicism. Similarly, the word *banka* entered the Czech language by the means of English. It comes from Italian; however, the Czech language borrowed the word from English (*bank*). Other words in the journalistic texts are *trend*, *klub*, *preference* or *tendr* (from *to tender*), *blokovat* or *skóre*.

5.3.4.1 Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found

Ekonomika was brought into the word-stock of the Czech language in the 18th century. Its suitable replacement is *národní hospodářství*. Both of these expressions are commonly used in the Czech language and neither of them seems to be the preferred one. If the author had wanted to avoid the anglicism, they could have used *národní hospodářství* instead.

The word *investice* comes from the 19th century and consequently, it has already become a part of the central word-stock of the Czech language. Possible replacements are *náklad* or *vklad do podnikání*, although the meaning can be changed by the substitution. *Investice* can be used as in *investice do budoucnosti*, where the main concern is not always money but also knowledge etc. *Investice do podnikání* is a very common collocation where *investice* could possibly be replaced by *vklad*.

Banka means *peněžní ústav*, however, the question is whether any speaker of the Czech language would use these terms interchangeably. There is most probably no tendency in replacing the word *banka*, as it is not necessary.

Synonyms for the word *trend* are *tendence*, *směr* or *proud*. Even though the synonyms could be applied in the text, it may change the meaning to some extent. For a general ease of understanding in terms of the current language, the word *trend* is probably more suitable.

Tendr is a rather unusual anglicism signifying *veřejné nabídkové řízení*. *Tendr* is certainly the type of an unnecessary anglicism. There is no need to use such a term because it is not very common and can easily be misunderstood.

The expression *blokovat* has many synonyms, such as *bránit*, *zamezovat*, *uzavírat*, *zatarasovat*. Even though the anglicism is not necessary, it is used regularly and has become a part of the central word-stock of the Czech language.

5.3.5 The year 2016

The analysed articles from the year 2016 have shown rising tendencies compared to the year 2014. The articles contain a percentage of anglicisms ranging from 1,9% to 2,4%, with the most common anglicism being *Brexit* because of the political events of the year 2016 in the United Kingdom. Other anglicisms found in the process of analysis were for example *konzervativní*, *Toryové*, *webový*, *Twitter* or *kyber* as in *kyberstrategie*, *kyberútočník* (Vyhnánovský, Junek).

The analysis from 2016 shows the rising tendencies the most significantly as opposed to the years 2012 and 2014. The percentage has shown a rising tendency from 1,5% to 2,4% since 2014.

5.3.5.1 Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found in the text

In terms of the assimilation of the expressions, most of them have already been assimilated into the Czech word-stock with various degrees of assimilation, however, *Brexit* is a recent neologism and it has not undergone any significant assimilation process yet.

Brexit is an abbreviation for the British exit from the EU. It is a new constituted terminology; therefore, no replacement is advisable in this case.

Toryové is the Czech translation of the word Tories, used for a political party. As with *Brexit*, it is not possible to substitute the word by any other expression.

The next Anglicism is *webový*. As with the previous two terms, *webový* would be challenging to find a synonym for because of its specific type, as well as *Twitter*. It is the name of something newly created, and the anglicism was needed to name the specific thing of concern.

Zelený claims that the prefix *kyber* is used wrongly in the Czech language. He states that *kyber* is not interchangeable with *kybernetika*. However, words with the prefix *kyber* are common in the Czech language, as they are used in the articles analysed. Due to the specific usage of *kyber*, it is challenging and unnecessary to replace it by any synonyms.

5.3.6 They year 2017

Even though the data from the year 2016 signify a rising tendency, there is a decrease in the amount of anglicisms used in the texts in 2017. The percentage of occurrence has dropped to 1,1% in the chosen articles, while the highest percentage is 1,9%. These figures are similar to the year 2014, although 1,9%, representing the upper bound, is higher than in 2014. The most common expressions from the past years - *koalice* and *koaliční*, reoccur along with the expressions which are not used in the previous articles, such as *respondent* or *baseball*. Other expressions found are *masová* (komunikace), *blok*, *export*, *NATO* (ČTK), *tandem* or *centrista*. In 2017, *lídr* became the most frequently used anglicism - it appeared in the articles four times. Other anglicisms found are *ekonomický*, *export* and *eskalace*.

5.3.6.1 Substitution for the anglicisms

Koalice and *koaliční* have already been discussed in the analysis from the previous years, they reoccur in almost every article.

Respondent can be substituted by *dotazovaný*, *dotázaný*. Although the anglicism can be omitted and the original Czech expression can be used, from my point of view the anglicism *respondent* is a suitable choice in a professional article.

A synonym for *masová* is *hromadná*, such as mass media- *prostředky hromadné komunikace*, as mentioned in chapter 5.3.1.

NATO is an acronym⁸ for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. It is a terminology which was borrowed from English for a newly constituted organization. The Czech expression is for NATO is *Severoatlantická aliance*, however, it seems that *NATO* is the preferred choice.

The word *tandem* stands for *dvojice* or *pár*. It could possibly be substituted, the anglicism is not necessary in this case.

Centrista is an expression used for a person with political opinions leaning to the centre. There is terminology such as *pravice*, *levice* and *střed* regarding the political spectrum in the Czech language; "*pravičák*" is an informal expression for a person belonging to the right side of the political spectrum, and similarly "*levičák*", belonging to the left side. However, an expression for a person "in the middle" is somehow missing from the word-stock. Hence the word *centrista* is used.

Export can be replaced by the word *vývoz*. These synonyms are equally as appropriate.

The last anglicism found is *eskalace*. A common synonym for it is *stupňování*, *vyhrocení*. Both of the synonyms can replace the word *eskalace* and the meaning stays unchanged.

5.3.7 The year 2018

Ten articles from the year 2018 have shown rather inconsistent results. The amount of anglicisms in the texts ranges from 1% to 3,3%. The lower bound has slightly decreased compared to 2017, however the upper bound has risen significantly. As far as the most frequently occurring expression is concerned, *koalice* was yet again used the most frequently. The author of the article richest in anglicisms, uses the word *koalice* three times, *preference* twice and the rest of the expressions are *partneři*, *média*, *konstelace*, *rekordní* and *sponzoři*.

⁸ An acronym is an abbreviation formed from the initial letters of words.

The range of vocabulary in terms of anglicisms has slightly expanded in the texts, words as *minorita*, *digitalizace*, *mainstreamový* and *oblafnutí* are used. One of the journalists incorporates such expressions as *coming out* or *dumping*. The remaining anglicisms found in the texts from the year 2018 are *baseball*, *hamburger*, *americký*, *tabu*, *centrální*, *limitovat*, *oficiálně*, *byznysmen*, *byznys*, *ekonom* and *manažer*.

5.3.7.1 Possibilities of replacing the anglicisms found

Konstelace is originally a Latin word, however, it supposedly entered the Czech language through English. It can be replaced by *souhra okolností*, *situace*, *uspořádání*. In spite of the possible synonyms existing, *konstelace* is a suitable word and it complements the article nicely.

Sponzor is another Anglicism which can be replaced. Either by *finanční podporovatel* or *mecenáš*. Even though these expressions can be used, there are no tendencies of trying to replace *sponzor* by any synonyms. It is a common word in all language spheres of the Czech language.

The synonym of *minorita* is *menšina*. The choice of using the anglicism instead might signify that the author was trying to make the article sound more serious and professional.

Digitalizace is a specific term, and the Czech language does not know any suitable synonyms and attempting to use a definition instead of a one-word expression is redundant. That is undoubtedly the reason for this type of lexical borrowing.

Mainstream is basically *hlavní proud*. Both *mainstream* and *hlavní proud* can be found in written or spoken language, but *mainstream* has become the dominating term nowadays. *Mainstreamový* could be substituted by *většinový*, *příslušící k hlavnímu proudu* or by *s většinovým názorem* which is not a suitable substitution, mainly due to the simplicity of the anglicism.

Oblafnout means *klamat*, *podvést* or *napálit*. All of the synonyms mentioned could substitute *oblafnout*, they would even make the article more serious, because *oblafnout* is not regarded as a formal expression.

The following anglicisms are rather specific and unusual. *Coming out* and *dumping* have sustained their original form, in both pronunciation and writing. These expressions do not need to be incorporated in the article, even though the author might have felt the need for expressing something that the Czech language is not able to provide. *Coming out* can be used in very different contexts, which can utterly change the meaning. What the author probably wanted to

express by the term, judging by logical connection, was *příznání*. Léko used in the title: "Junckerův coming out s Marxem". The meaning would have been clearer if the author had chosen to use a Czech phrase instead of coming out, which is not suitable and might be misunderstood. The other anglicism, *dumping*, could also have been omitted entirely in the text. To dump means *vyložit, vykašlat se na něco* (informal). What the author meant to say was probably *vykašlat se na*. Nonetheless, using a Czech word, even informal, would have been more beneficial in terms of ease of understanding.

Another anglicism, *baseball*, is a part of sports terminology, therefore replacing it by any other word is not desirable.

Hamburger also belongs in the category of irreplaceable anglicisms, as well as americký.

Contrarily, *tabu* can be replaced. *Tabu* is *zapovězený, nedotknutelný, nedovolený*.

Oficiálně or oficiální might be substituted by úředně a úřední, however, the meaning of these anglicisms is not strictly restricted to these synonyms. In this case, using the anglicisms suitable.

The words *byznys* is a synonym for *obchod*. *Byznys* has become a fashionable word in both of its spelling variants (*byznys* and *business*) in the Czech language, even though it is rather redundant.

The anglicism *centrální* can be substituted by *středový*. It is not necessary to use the Anglicism, however, *centrální* is no longer considered a "foreign" word.

Manažer is a commonly used anglicism, it could be replaced by *vedoucí*, even though it can alter the meaning. *Manažer* is undoubtedly the preferred option.

5.4 Comparison of the years 2009 and 2018

The years 2009 and 2018 will be compared in this chapter to show the changes in the tendencies in the usage of anglicisms, with the background of what has been found about journalistic texts in general.

The usage of lexical borrowings or neologism, such as anglicisms, is rather a subjective phenomenon. When considering the subjectivity of this phenomenon in terms of journalistic texts, the author has a large variety of options of vocabulary to choose from. Typically, journalistic texts are not written in a strictly formal language and informal expressions appear in the texts as well. It could be generally said that the language of journalism is a melting pot

of various styles, registers and vocabulary choices. This is visible in the research because not only formal expressions are used, but even such expressions as *coming out* or *dumping*. The authors of some of the articles choose not to implement a large amount of anglicisms in the vocabulary of the text, even where it may be suitable; while on the contrary, other authors use a multitude of anglicisms in their articles.

One of the most significant differences in the usage of anglicisms between the given years are the expressions the authors use. This is undoubtedly closely related to the given topic of the article, but various similarities can be found even in rather different topics. The majority of the analysed articles are related to the political scene of the Czech Republic, where there is a frequent occurrence of the words *koalice*, *koaliční* or *lídr*, which both of the years have in common. The articles from the year 2018 contain more expressions connected to the society as a whole and not strictly politics. For example, *masová média*, *byznys*, *baseball*, *tabu* or *mainstreamový*. They also contain unassimilated anglicisms such as *coming out* or *dumping*. No such anglicisms were found in the articles from the years 2009 to 2017. Usage of such expressions is not a new phenomenon though, but in the field of political journalism the authors usually tend to use familiar vocabulary over unconventional terms.

Whereas articles from the year 2009 are more prone to focusing on political terminology only, and such words as *preference*, *klub* or *partner* are included.

In 2009, the percentage of anglicism occurring in the articles ranges from 0,4% to 1,3%. Considering how extensive the amount of anglicisms in the Czech language is, these figures are surprisingly low. The vocabulary of journalistic texts on the topic of politics has a very significant ratio of words of French and German origin, as it has been mentioned previously, and anglicisms constitute only a rather small fraction in this field. Even though this fact is valid for the articles published in the year 2018 as well, the difference in the maximal ratio between the given years is distinctive. In 2018, the percentage reaches the maximum of 3,3%. The percentage has also been increasing throughout the years, which shows that the tendencies in the usage of anglicisms have been growing stronger.

As it can be seen from the comparison between the years 2009 and 2018, the differences are not as significant as it was previously expected. However, it can be stated that the amounts of anglicisms have increased in the texts, which supports the hypotheses of this thesis. Similarly, none of the authors attempted to replace the commonly used anglicisms by their synonyms. Having chosen the topic of politics and a broadsheet newspaper style, I was aware that other areas, such as new technologies, marketing or even the discourse of young

generations, are a more interesting and significant indicator of the occurrence of anglicisms in the Czech language. The area of journalism tends to stay within the already familiar groups of lexical borrowings in terms of the chosen vocabulary, as it can be seen from the research. However, in some cases the authors chose to apply an unusual and unassimilated anglicism.

5.5 A list of anglicisms, their occurrence in the articles and possible replacements

	Anglicism	Times	Suitable replacements
1	Americký	3	X
2	Američané	1	X
3	Banka	1	(peněžní ústav)
4	Baseball	1	X
5	Blok	1	seskupení, celek
6	Blokovat	2	bránit, zamezovat
7	Bojkotovat	2	X
8	Bond	1	pouto
9	Boss	1	šéf, vedoucí
10	Brexit	4	X
11	Brexitový	1	X
12	Británie	2	X
13	Britský	8	X
14	Byznys	2	obchod

15	Byznysmen	1	obchodník
16	Centrální	1	středový
17	Centrista	1	X
18	Coming out	1	přiznání
19	Data	2	údaje
20	Detektiv	1	vyšetřovatel
21	Digitalizace	1	X
22	Digitální	1	X
23	Dolar	2	X
24	Dumping	1	vyhození
25	Ekonomicky	2	hospodářsky
26	Ekonomický	6	hospodářský
27	Ekonomika	6	hospodářství
28	E-mail	1	X
29	Establishment	1	uspořádání
30	Export	1	vývoz
31	Formalita	1	(úřední akt)
32	Formální	1	(úřední, obřadní)
33	Idiot	1	Hlupák, blbec
34	Image	1	Obraz, vizáž
35	Internet	3	X
36	Internetová	3	X

37	Investice	2	(vklad do podnikání)
38	Klub	8	spolek
39	Koalice	26	uskupení politických stran
40	Koaliční	22	X
41	Konzervativní	4	X
42	Kyber	2	X
43	Lídr	8	vůdce, vedoucí
44	Limitovat	1	omezovat
45	Lobbista	2	X
46	Lobbovat	3	X
47	Mainstreamový	2	většinový
48	Manažer	1	(vedoucí)
49	Mandatorní	1	povinný
50	Média	7	sdělovací prostředky
51	Mediální	5	X
52	Minorita	1	menšina
53	Nastartovat	2	zahájit
54	NATO	1	X
55	Oblafnutí	1	podvedení
56	Oficiálně	1	(úředně)

57	Oficiální	2	(úřední)
58	Ofsajd	1	(Postavení mimo hru)
59	Online	1	X
60	Partner	8	společník
61	Populace	2	obyvatelstvo
62	Populační	1	X
63	Preference	6	upřednostnění
64	Rating	1	hodnocení
65	Rekordní	2	X
66	Respondent	2	X
67	Server	1	X
68	Skóre	1	výsledek, stav
69	Slogan	1	heslo
70	Sponzoři	2	(finanční podporovatel)
71	Standard	2	norma
72	Start	1	zahájení
73	Summit	4	schůze
74	Tabu	1	zapovězený
75	Tandem	2	dvojice
76	Telefonní	1	X
77	Tendr	1	Veřejné nabídkové řízení

78	Toryové	1	X
79	Trend	1	Tendence, směr
80	Twitter	1	X
81	USA	2	X
82	Webová	1	X
83	Wi-fi	1	X
84	Zablokovaný	3	Uzavřený, zatarasený

Chart 1: a list of anglicisms found in the articles, times of their occurrence and possible synonyms

The chart presents all the anglicisms found in the articles. Number of their reoccurrence is presented, as well as possible synonyms or replacements⁹.

There were 84 types of anglicisms present in the thirty-six analysed articles. The anglicisms are chosen in accordance with *Český etymologický slovník*. As it can be seen from the chart, the most frequently used anglicism is *koalice* which occurred in the analysed journalistic texts twenty-six times, followed by *koaliční* which was used twenty-two times. British politics was the topic of several articles or their parts, therefore *britský* appeared in the articles frequently as well. Assimilated anglicisms form a significantly larger amount in the overall numbers, as opposed to unusual and unassimilated anglicisms like *coming out* or *dumping*.

⁹ When marked by "X", the usage of the anglicism is suitable and no replacement is required. When put in brackets, a substitution is possible but the anglicism is the preferred choice.

6 Conclusion

The concern of this thesis is anglicisms and their usage in the Czech language, specifically in political journalism. The core of the related research lies in the analysis of a set of selected newspaper articles whose concern is politics, commenting on the usage of anglicisms which occur within these chosen texts.

Anglicisms have become an integral part of all spheres of the Czech language, with new expressions constantly appearing and becoming adopted. Apparently, English and Czech have been in mutual contact since the middle ages, which, even in the past, led to significant changes in the Czech language. Other languages have also enriched Czech greatly, but English has undeniably been the major influence in the last three decades. Anglicisms are used in almost every aspect of our lives, whether be it IT, marketing or everyday speech or writing. Some anglicisms have fully assimilated, their spelling and pronunciation have undergone major changes in order for them to become a 'common' part of the language. Other anglicisms, on the other side of the spectrum, remain unassimilated in both spelling and pronunciation, and their usage is limited to specific age groups, occupations, social environments or occasions.

In the process of researching the articles, various kinds of anglicisms have been discovered in the texts. They have been listed, explained in terms of their clarity and substituted by synonyms, whenever possible. I have attempted to substitute the borrowings by synonymic expressions in order to distinguish whether the usage of a specific anglicism was necessary, or if it could have been avoided entirely. The most frequently used anglicism has proven to be *koalice*, which was used twenty-six times. Anglicisms such as *dumping*, *coming out* or *tendr* were used only once, most probably because of their unusual nature. In these cases, it may have been beneficial for the sake of understanding, if the author had avoided the English expressions mentioned above entirely and had replaced them by synonyms commonly used in the Czech language.

Despite the initial expectations about the rate of anglicisms in the texts to be higher than the actual results, the growing tendencies in their growing usage are visible in the results of the research. The comparison between the years 2009 and 2018 shows that the highest percentage rate of anglicisms in the articles published in the year 2009 is 1,3%, whereas the ones published in the year 2018 contain the highest percentage of 3,3%. The hypotheses have been confirmed. The amount of anglicisms used in political journalism has risen in the given time frame of nine years. No significant language preservation efforts have been proven, the

authors of the texts have shown no effort of replacing the common anglicisms, such as *koalice* or *klub*, by their synonyms.

7 Works cited

- Bachmannová, Jarmila, et al. *Encyklopedický Slovník Češtiny*. Lidové Noviny, 2002.
- Bozděchová, Ivana. *Vliv Angličtiny Na Češtinu. Český Jazyk Na Přelomu Tisíciletí*, Academia, 1997.
- Crystal, David. *English: The Global Language*. 2nd ed., Bangor, 1996.
- Fischer, Roswitha, and Hanna Pulaczewska. *Anglicisms in Europe: Linguistic Diversity in a Global Context*. Newcastle: Cambridge Scholars, 2008. Print.
- Grepl, Miroslav, and Petr Karlík. *Příruční Mluvnice Češtiny*. Lidové Noviny, 2012.
- Hugrová, Kamila. *Anglicismy v současné české publicistice*. Olomouc: Univerzita Palackého v Olomouci, Filozofická fakulta, 2010.
- Hultgren, Anna Kristina, et al. *English in Nordic Universities Ideologies and Practices*. John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2014.
- Jackson, Howard, and Etienne Zé Amvela. *Words, Meaning and Vocabulary: An Introduction to Modern English Lexicology*. Bloomsbury Academic, 2015.
- Kraus, Jiří. *Nový akademický slovník cizích slov*. Praha:Academia, 2005.
- Krauss, Michael. 1992. The world's languages in crisis. *Language* 68(1): 4–10.
- Plag, Ingo. *Word-Formation in English*. Cambridge University Press, 2018.
- PLNÁ, Nikola. *Role models of children and adolescents from within YouTube*. Hradec Králové: Faculty of Education, University of Hradec Králové, 2017, 104 pp. Master Degree Thesis.
- Rejzek, Jiří. *Český Etymologický Slovník*. Leda, 2015.
- Special Eurobarometer 386: *Europeans and Their Languages*. TNS Opinion & Social, 2012.
- Spencer, Andrew. 2006. Morphological universals. In Ricardo Mairal & Juana Gil (eds.), *Linguistic universals*, Cambridge University Press.
- Svobodová, Diana. *Aspekty Hodnocení Cizojazyčných Přejímeč: Mezi Módností a Standardem*. Ostravská Univ., Pedagogická Fakulta, 2009.
- Viereck, Wolfgang, et al. *Encyklopedický Atlas Anglického Jazyka*. Translated by Marek Nekula, Nakladat. Lidové Noviny, 2005.

ONLINE SOURCES

“Lobbyist.” Merriam-Webster, *Merriam-Webster*,
www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/lobbyist.

Bailey, Grant. “This Is How Long Kids Spend Staring at Their Mobile Phones Every Day.” *Mirror*, Mirror.co.uk, 8 Nov. 2017, www.mirror.co.uk/news/uk-news/teens-spend-over-two-hours-11482301.

Česká televize. “Čeština Si Poradí i Bez Jazykového Zákona z Dílny KSČM, Míni Bohemista.” *ČT24 - Nejdůvěryhodnější Zpravodajský Web v ČR - Česká Televize*, 8 Jan. 2017, www.ct24.ceskatelevize.cz/domaci/2014657-cestina-si-poradi-i-bez-jazykoveho-zakona-z-dilny-kscm-mini-bohemista.

Fouché, Gwladys. “First Languages Fear Second Place.” *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 22 May 2008, www.theguardian.com/education/2008/may/23/tefl.gwladysfouche.

McQueen, Paul. “20 English Words Rejected by the Académie Française.” *Culture Trip*, 10 Feb. 2017, theculturetrip.com/europe/france/articles/20-english-words-rejected-by-the-academie-francaise/.

O'Dowd, Niall. “How the Irish Thrown off Their Land Invented the Boycott.” *IrishCentral.com*, IrishCentral, 19 June 2018, www.irishcentral.com/roots/history/irish-invented-boycott.

Oliva, Karel. “Slovo Roku 2016 Podle Olivy.” *Novinky.cz*, 25 Jan. 2017, www.novinky.cz/veda-skoly/427320-slovo-roku-2016-podle-olivы.html.

Willsher, Kim. “Drop These Ugly Anglicisms ASAP, Urge French Language Police.” *The Guardian*, Guardian News and Media, 8 Jan. 2014, www.theguardian.com/world/2014/jan/08/anglicisms-asap-score-french-language-police.

Zelený, Milan. *Prof. Milan Zelený*, 18 July 2017, www.milanzeleny.com/cs-CZ/stranky/1/-/0/489/co-znamena-ta-pedpona-cyber-nebo.

ANALYSED ARTICLES

- Balík, Stanislav. "Obstrukce ODS? Elegantní Varianta." *Lidové Noviny*, 11 Feb. 2010, p. 11.
- Černý, Pavel. "Sázka Na Vztek, Sázka Na Jistotu?" *Lidové Noviny*, 11 Feb. 2010, p. 6.
- Dolanský, Lukáš, and Adéla Čabanová. "Paroubkova Distance Od KSČM." *Lidové Noviny*, 17 Aug. 2009.
- Dolanský, Lukáš. "Havel Buduje Alianci Proti Rusku." *Lidové Noviny*, 21 Aug. 2009, pp. 1–4.
- Doležal, Bohumil. "Pravice Má Problém." *Lidové Noviny*, 30 Dec. 2009, p. 8.
- Eliášová, Kateřina. "Nový Šéf TOP09 v Praze: Měli Jsme Jít Se Starosty." *Lidové Noviny*, 1 Dec. 2014, p. 5.
- Hamerský, Milan J. "Komunisté Do Vlády? Proč Ano." *Lidové Noviny*, 17 Aug. 2009, p. 11.
- Hruška, Blahoslav, and Martin Rychlík. "Prezidentská Liga? Drahoš Se Zemanem." *Lidové Noviny*, 8 Jan. 2018, pp. 1–3.
- Hruška, Blahoslav. "Zeman Odkládá Cesty." *Lidové Noviny*, 9 June 2018, p. 1,2.
- Kabátová, Michaela, and Eva Hofrichterová. "Introvert Nečas Ztrácí Důvěru." *Lidové Noviny*, 30 June 2012, p. 2.
- Kalenský, Jakub, and Vadlejchová, Lucie. "Největší Absentéři Ve Sněmovně." *Lidové Noviny*, 30 Dec. 2009, pp. 1–4.
- Kalenský, Jakub. "Gandalovič Podal Ruku ČSSD." *Lidové Noviny*, 30 Oct. 2009, p. 3.
- "Kim a USA Si Ukazují Svaly." *Lidové Noviny*, 11 Aug. 2017, p. 3.
- Kolář, Petr, and Lucie Vadlejchová. "Nemusíme Být Součástí Koalice." *Lidové Noviny*, 20 Dec. 2010, p. 2.
- Koutník, Ondřej. "Čapí Spor Řeší Gumová Věta." *Lidové Noviny*, 11 May 2018, p. 2.
- Koutník, Ondřej. "Změna, Která Hraje Sobotkovi Do Karet." *Lidové Noviny*, 13 Nov. 2014, p. 2.
- Křivka, Vladimír. "Kam Kráčí Česko? 10 Vzkazů Od Voličů." *Lidové Noviny*, 2012, p. 3.
- Léko, István. "Junckerův Coming out s Marxem." *Lidové Noviny*, 11 May 2018, p. 14.
- Macháček, Jan. "Migrace Zůstane Konstantou Západní Politiky." *Lidové Noviny*, 11 May 2018, p. 15.

Milenkovičová, Ivana. “Mayová Chystá Plán Na Odchod z Unie.” *Lidové Noviny*, 29 Aug. 2016, p. 6.

Nová, Eliška. 'Lídr Třetí Síly': Bělobrádek.” *Lidové Noviny*, 2 Feb. 2017, p. 2.

Procházková, Petra. “Rusové Obviňují Západ Ze Spiknutí.” *Lidové Noviny*, 16 Mar. 2018, p. 7.

Schuster, Robert. “Co Bude Stát Německo Macron?” *Lidové Noviny*, 15 May 2017, p. 10.

Schuster, Robert. “Mayová Chce Byznys s Čínou. Vzdor Brexitu.” *Lidové Noviny*, 1 Feb. 2018, p. 6.

Shabu, Martin. “Komise k OKD Vyslechne Expremiéry.” *Lidové Noviny*, 9 June 2018, p. 2.

Shabu, Martin. “Válková Ve Sněmovně Schytala Výprask.” *Lidové Noviny*, 15 Nov. 2014, p. 4.

Shabu, Martin. “Zaorálek Letí Do Iráku Pomocť Byznysu.” *Lidové Noviny*, 25 Nov. 2014, p. 2.

Šlajchrtová, Leona. “Juncker Vyhrál. Britům Navzdory.” *Lidové Noviny*, 16 July 2014, p. 5.

Šupová, Tereza. “Druhá Bitva o Klausovu Výjimku.” *Lidové Noviny*, 30 Sept. 2010, p. 3.

Šupová, Tereza. “Evropa Ustoupila Klausovi.” *Lidové Noviny*, 30 Oct. 2009, pp. 1–2.

Surmanová, Kateřina, and Ondřej Koutník. “Komunisté Už Se Těší Do Státních Firem.” *Lidové Noviny*, 11 May 2018.

Vadlejchová, Lucie and Kolina, Josef. “Stáhneme Své Ministry, Hrozí Topolánek Fischerovi.” *Lidové Noviny*, 5 Oct. 2009, p. 3.

Vadlejchová, Lucie. “Top09 Zůstala Na Ocet.” *Lidové Noviny*, 28 Dec. 2009, p. 3.

Vyhnanovský, Ondřej, and Adam Junek. “Chovanec by Rád Internetu Nasadil Obojek.” *Lidové Noviny*, 8 Jan. 2016, pp. 1–3.

Zlámalová, Lenka. “Klaus: Vláda Se Nemá Schovávat.” *Lidové Noviny*, 20 Jan. 2012, p. 2.

Zvěřina, Martin. “Cena Nedohody.” *Lidové Noviny*, 3 Apr. 2018, p. 10.

Zvěřina, Martin. “Hop, a Je Tu TOP.” *Lidové Noviny*, 28 Dec. 2009, p. 8.

“Zeman Velvyslancům: Přijde Krize.” *Lidové Noviny*, 31 Aug. 2017, p. 2.