Joanna Szerszunowicz

New Pragmatic Idioms in Polish:
An Integrated Approach in Pragmateme Research

Abstract: The general aim of the paper is to discuss the purposefulness and usefulness of the adoption of an integrated approach in research on pragmatic idioms, i.e. conventional expressions used in recurrent situations, also called routine formulae, pragmatic idioms or pragmatemes. Used mostly in spoken language, such units tend to be neglected in phraseological analyses, although they are very important from a communicative perspective. In order to provide a comprehensive analysis of this group of idioms, one needs to analyze not only the linguistic aspects, but also to take into consideration other factors, for instance, the cultural background. The specific aim is to analyze the implementation of the proposed approach in the studies of selected recent Polish idioms of pragmatic character which came into existence after 1989, the year of Poland’s political and economic transformation.

1 Pragmatic Idioms as Objects of Phraseological Research

Recent years have witnessed an increase in interest in phraseology understood in the broad sense of the term. The expression phraseological unit tends to be used as an umbrella term encompassing a variety of fixed constructions: collocations, idioms, proverbs, winged words and routine formulae. The last group is composed of units whose indirectness, i.e. non-literal character, is rooted in the form, not in mental imagery (Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen 2005: 21).

As observed by Dobrovol’skij and Piirainen (2005: 20), one of the main problems encountered while dealing with indirect utterances consists in the fact that there are many fixed multiword combinations which resemble conventional expressions, but which still remain textual units, not lexical ones. Yet it has to be admitted that it is rather difficult to draw a definite borderline for all candidate units, so a vast transitory area can be assumed. Although routine formulae are very useful from a communicative perspective, they tend to be given less scope...
in phraseological analyses than figurative idioms. Therefore, it is very important to focus on pragmatic multiword units used in spoken language to offer insight into their specifics.

1.1 Pragmatic Idioms: Properties and Classifications

In modern research on phraseology, as observed by Pawley (2007), since the 1970s, there has been an increasing interest in situation-bound expressions – pragmatic formulae. These are known by a number of different terms such as *routine formulae*, *communicative phrasemes*, *pragmatic phrasemes* or *pragmatemes*, *functional idioms*, *interpersonal idioms* or *pragmatic idioms* (Aijmer 1996; Burger 2010; Coulmas 1979; Cowie et al. 1983; Fernando 1996; Fléchon et al. 2012; Lüger 2007; Mel’čuk 1988; Roos 2001).

Basically speaking, pragmatic idioms are conventionalized multiword expressions which are used in recurrent situations (Fiedler 2007: 50; Lüger 2007: 444). Although the need for studies on pragmatic aspects of idioms was noticed by Fillmore et al. (1988), Pawley (2007: 19) draws attention to the fact that “there have been surprisingly few studies of the full array of attributes exhibited by pragmatic formulae”.¹ Such expressions perform various functions in the realization of speech acts; they are used for instance as greetings (*How are you?*), leave-taking formulae (*Take care!*), encouragements (*Keep smiling!*), replies (*You’re welcome*), congratulations (*Happy birthday!* etc. Selected Polish expressions belonging to this group will be analyzed in the analytical part of the paper (2).

Fernando (1996) draws attention to the fact that pragmatic idioms differ significantly from ideational ones, which is important from the research perspective. First of all, pragmatic idioms are “overtly or covertly marked for interaction” (Fernando 1996: 154). Being discourse-oriented, they contribute greatly to structuring the conversation and ensuring its coherence. To a great extent, the realization of stereotyped speech acts relies on conventional phrases (Kauffer 2013). In fact, although some of the expressions in question are fixed and lexically invariant, like *After you* or *Say when*, others are embedded in variant forms. *Happy birthday* is an example of this latter group: it can appear on its own as well as in variants, for

---

¹ As for the attributes of pragmatic idioms, it is worth mentioning the contributions of Pawley (1991, 2001), Coulmas (1981) and Aijmer (1996). Ruusila (2015), who focuses on the lexicographic description of pragmatic fixed expressions, also offers an insight into their specifics (Ruusila 2015: 25–112).
instance, *Have a happy birthday, Have a very happy birthday, Wishing you a very happy birthday* etc. (Fernando 1996: 154).

Adopting the function as the main criterion, Granger and Paquot (2008) propose an extended version of Burger’s classification of fixed expressions (2010: 36-42), which is adopted for the purpose of the present study. They distinguish three main groups of phrasemes: referential, textual (extending Burger’s structural phraseme category), and communicative. Referential phrasemes are carriers of content messages, i.e. they refer to persons, objects, phenomena etc. According to Granger and Paquot (2008: 42), this group comprises the following kinds of units: lexical and grammatical collocations, idioms, irreversible bi- and trinomials, similes, compounds, and phrasal verbs. Textual phrasemes include: complex prepositions, complex conjunctions, linking adverbials, and textual sentence stems. As for the last group, it can be said that

Communicative phrasemes are used to express feelings or beliefs toward a propositional content or to explicitly address interlocutors, either to focus their attention, include them as discourse participants or influence them.

(Granger and Paquot 2008: 42)

Communicative phrasemes constitute a large and varied group which includes several kinds of units. Coulmas (1981) offers a classification comprising five classes of pragmatic idioms (discourse structuring formulae, formulae of politeness, metacommunicative formulae, formulae expressing the speaker’s emotional attitude, delaying formulae), with a further subdivision into 17 subtypes. Fernando (1996) proposes four categories of interpersonal idiomatic expressions: markers of conviviality, institutionalized good wishes and sympathy, information-oriented units, and markers of conflict, subdividing each of the groups.

As for the main interactional functions of formulae, Wray (1999) and Wray and Perkins (2000) distinguish the following three: manipulation of others, including such subtypes as politeness markers, commands, requests etc.; asserting separate identity, comprising for instance personal turns of phrase and turn claimers; asserting group identity, with such subtypes as, *inter alia*, proverbs and hedges.

Granger and Paquot (2008: 44) list the following main kinds of pragmatic expressions:
1. Speech act formulae or routine formulae – phrasemes which are stereotyped ways of performing given functions, for instance, greetings, farewells, compliments etc.
2. Attitudinal formulae – units expressing language users’ attitude towards their utterances and their interlocutors.
3. Commonplaces – non-metaphorical sentences expressing tautologies, truisms and sayings reflecting everyday experience, observations etc.
4. Proverbs – sentence-like units expressing widely accepted ideas in a figurative way.
5. Slogans – short phrases of directive character which have been made popular as a result of their repeated use in advertising texts or political discourse.

It should be emphasized that many formulae can fulfil several pragmatic functions in communication. An illustrative example is the English phrase you know, which can be used as a filler, an attention-seeking formula and an appeal for shared knowledge (Moon 1998: 188). Similarly, as observed by Inoue (2007: 163–167), here we go is a multifunctional unit.² It can be employed to capture attention, to rouse people to do something, to express irritation, to show agreement, to indicate that the speaker has found something, to show something to the interlocutor.

1.2 Key Issues in Research on Pragmatic Idioms

As already mentioned, there has been a constant interest in pragmatic idioms over the last decades. Scholars adopt different perspectives, both diachronic and synchronic, to analyze various issues concerning pragmatic idioms. Since formulaic language contributes greatly to fluent speech production and comprehension, the role of conventionalized multiword expressions has been analyzed from this perspective by a number of people, including Wray and Perkins (2000). Special attention is paid to the importance of prefabricated language including pragmatic idioms both in mother tongue acquisition and foreign language teaching (Nattinger and DeCarrico 2001; Nosowicz and Szer szunowicz 2004). Yet one of the main research questions remains how to identify formulaic language (Dobrovolskij and Piirainen 2005: 20; Wray 2009: 27–51), a problem that is closely related to the general definition of formulaicity.

In terms of linguistic analysis of multiword expressions, the construction grammar approach offers a methodological basis for analyses. Adopting this approach (Croft 2001) allows for viewing constructions as partially arbitrary symbolic units, i.e. pairings of form (syntactic, morphological and phonological properties) and meaning (semantic, pragmatic and discourse-functional properties).

² In her book, Inoue (2007) also offers detailed analyses of the units you know what and let’s say including their variant forms.
This perspective offers an appropriate basis for conducting a multiaspectual analysis of constructions (cf. Richter and Sailer 2014; Ziem 2014).

In fact, as already mentioned, fixed word combinations can be analyzed from various angles. While discussing the developments in the study of formulaic language since 1970, Pawley draws attention to several research problems. One of the most important aspects is the presence of pragmatic idioms in oral genres. All kind of genres, including the oral ones, can be analyzed from a phraseological viewpoint. For example, Brown (1987) investigates radio sports commentaries on rugby, Kuiper (1996) offers an analysis of auctioneers’ sales talk and Hickey and Kuiper (2000) discuss the highly formulaic character of the New Zealand meteorological weather forecasts.

Another important issue is the relation between pragmatic idioms and culture. In fact, as emphasized by Piirainen (2008: 215), “only few routine formulas are figurative in the sense that elements of culture can be found in their source domain”. One of them is the expression Touch wood!, which is a gesture-based idiom used after the speaker has said that something is going fine and by using the idiom he/she wishes it continues in this way. The gesture comes from old folk beliefs, according to which “woods and trees have good spirits” (Piirainen 2016: 452).

Yet, as observed by Piirainen (2008: 215), pragmatic idioms are “part of a larger complex of stereotyped action patterns and social interaction”. If this perspective is adopted, then communicative phrasemes can be analyzed in terms of culturally conditioned communication. Therefore, it can be concluded that linguo-cultural analyses of pragmatic idioms may reveal many interesting facts regarding the ethnic community in which they developed.

From a linguo-cultural perspective, it is also worth analyzing such idioms diachronically, observing the development of formulaic language over centuries. For instance, Filatkina and Hanauska (2010) discuss formulaic language in material excerpted from a corpus of German historical texts from 750 to 1750, with a focus on how routine formulae were used in Old High German texts and which functions they performed. The studies of different periods, even not so distant ones, are likely to offer interesting findings, as is the case with the comparison of communication styles and style-related phraseology in Poland before and after the transformation of 1989 analyzed in the present paper.

In the same vein, i.e. taking into consideration the cultural aspect, pragmatic idioms have been analyzed from a cross-linguistic perspective: one such study was conducted by Jakubowska (1998, 1999), who looked into cross-cultural dimensions of good wishes and – in a broader perspective – politeness, discussing many fixed expressions which function as exponents of politeness in Polish and
English. The inclusion of this component facilitates the understanding of changes occurring in the sphere of pragmatic phraseology, which is attested by the observations regarding Polish pragmatic idioms coined in the post-transformation period. Such analyses can reveal similarities and differences, and can detect cross-linguistic lacunae in pragmatic phraseological stock.

All these approaches contribute greatly to developments in the field of formulaic language, since they enable researchers to analyze pragmatic idioms from various angles. Adopting a linguo-cultural perspective, one can assume that as a result of cultural developments, new oral genres will develop, which involves the coinage of new pragmatic idioms. Significant cultural changes may trigger the creation of new expressions, including those of pragmatic character. This phenomenon will be discussed on the basis of Polish phrasemes coined after the political transformation of 1989.

2 Polish Phraseology after the Transformation of 1989

In his article on Poland, French sociologist Alain Touraine commented on the 1989 transformation, saying that

Kraj oderwał się od Wschodu i stał się częścią Zachodu [...] Zrobił to z niezwykłą polską brawurą, powtórzę, skok na konia i galopem! [lit. The country got disconnected from the East and became part of the West. [...] It did it with incredible Polish bravery, I’ll repeat, on horseback and at a gallop!].

(“Gazeta Wyborcza”, 7–8.08.1999)

This observation reflects very concisely on the importance of the transformation, emphasizing the dimension of its consequences.

The notions of the East and the West are the key ones from a Polish perspective: in fact, Poland is a country with a turbulent past and a special location described by Mrożek, a Polish writer, as a country to the east of the West and to the west of the East.3 The year 1989 is momentous in the history of the country, since

---

3 Sławomir Mrożek (1930–2013) was a Polish dramatist and writer. His works belong to the Theatre of Absurd. He shocked his audience with non-realistic elements and political and historical references in order to present the absurdity of real socialist life. His most famous works are Tango (Tango) and Emigranci (The Emigrants). The sentence quoted, “Pochodzę z kraju położonego na
it marks the beginning of the political and economic transformation, often referred to as a turning point. The changes which occurred were fundamental and influenced all spheres of life in Poland.

2.1 The Transformation of 1989 as a Turning Point in Polish History

The year 1989 was of great importance not only to the Polish, but also to the other Central European nations. It was then that the transformation began – a transformation that was caused by the fact that the political system did not function and

Both the governed and governors of these countries almost commonly accepted that the economic system based on central management and state ownership lost in the competition with the system based on private property and individual entrepreneurship, market competition, coordinating role of prices and regulatory role of law.

(Gomulka 2016: 19)

In June 1989, the anti-communist party “Solidarity” won the first partially free election. The two main areas in which changes occurred were politics and the economy. In January 1990, the old political system collapsed completely: the Polish United Workers’ Party (PZPR) was dissolved, democracy was adopted, a multi-party system was introduced and different party organizations were set up (Banaszkiewicz-Zygmunt and Olendzki 2000: 407).

In the economic sphere, there were several goals: the first was to restore a sustainable macroeconomic equilibrium, the second to fully liberalize prices and foreign trade, the third to restore the development potential of the Polish economy so that the difference in the standard of living in relation to Western Europe could be reduced and – in the end – eliminated (Gomulka 2016: 19). In 1990, the government introduced broad economic reforms to curb hyperinflation and to thoroughly restructure the country (Banaszkiewicz-Zygmunt and Olendzki 2000: 407).

The changes were pervasive: the transformation influenced Poles’ perception of Europe (Bartmiński 2001: 45–49). Furthermore, certain differences occurred in the perception of nationalities: for example, the image people have of a German has improved, while that of a Russian has deteriorated – modifications which

wschód od Zachodu i na zachód od Wschodu” [lit. I come from a country situated to the east of the West and to the west of the East], comes from Kontrakt (Contract, 1986).
correspond to the re-evaluation of the oppositions: East–West, Asia–Europe, Communism–Capitalism (Bartmiński 2001: 39).

The turning point of 1989 also had an impact on the hierarchy of values: work and climbing up the career ladder became much more important than before, with new opportunities offered by various companies and branches of foreign corporations. Being successful became the main objective, which involved changes in the creation of the self-image (Szerszunowicz 2007: 43). The excessive modesty imposed by Polish culture was no longer useful at job interviews, which were a new phenomenon on the Polish labor market. Achieving success, Poles’ new priority (cf. Ożóg 2004: 237), involved the conscious creation of one’s own image: the awareness of having appropriate soft skills increased greatly. These changes serve as examples showing how the transformation influenced Polish society.

### 2.2 Language Changes in the Post-Transformation Period

The transformation of 1989 influenced all spheres of life including that of language. First of all, there was a significant increase in the creation of new words and the coinage of idiomatic expressions. It resulted from a period of growth in the lexicon triggered by this important event in Polish history. The political and economic changes brought about led to the creation of many new phenomena which had to be named. Consequently, many neologisms entered the language at that time. The adoption of the new system required new terms for institutions, organizations, positions, forms of activity etc.

Another way of expanding the Polish lexicon was borrowing. After the transformation of 1989, contact with other countries was much more intensive: the Polish began to travel freely and many foreign companies started to operate on the Polish market. As in other languages, English, the modern lingua franca, was

---

4 Galasiński (1992: 58) emphasizes that there is a contradiction between a person’s wish to present himself/herself at his/her best and others’ negative evaluation of all such efforts. The existence of this contradiction results in developing means which allow a person to boast and at the same time to avoid punishment for doing so.

5 According to Chlebda (2001: 159), two kinds of phraseological stock growth can be distinguished, i.e. a constant growth and a periodic one. The former is related to the development of science, technology and culture, due to which there is a constant need to create new words and expressions. The latter is caused by a very important event such as the political and economic transformation of Poland in 1989 in this case, which results in greater nomination needs than in the case of constant growth (Szerszunowicz 2015).
the main donor language. Many words and idioms were borrowed during the post-transformation period. Loans were very common in those areas which were either non-existent or poorly developed in Communist times, such as computing, marketing and advertising. In the case of these three, mainly English terminology was adopted (Ożóg 2004: 237–238).

From a broader perspective, the new post-transformation reality called for different means of communication from those used in the previous system (Marcjanik 2007; Szerszunowicz 2007). The changes concerned both the public sphere and the private one. In terms of public communication, Newspeak had disappeared and new forms such as public debate, were created (Fras 2005). The language of politics changed considerably: after 1989, Wałęsa, the first Polish president in the post-transformation period, used informal language rich in figurative expressions, which was completely different from the style of communication of Communist dignitaries, and this had an influence on the language of politics.

As for everyday conversation, the American style of communication had an impact on Polish language behaviour. For instance, American small talk influenced to some extent the way the Polish communicate (Szerszunowicz 2007: 41–47; Grybosiowa 2003). In everyday informal and semi-formal language contact, more exponents of a positive attitude are attested than before, which to a great extent is related to speakers’ self-image creation efforts (Szerszunowicz 2007). Informality has become a desirable quality (Ożóg 2004: 237), which is reflected, inter alia, in interviews on television and radio programs in which people who have never met before often prefer to use their first names – a custom not typical of Polish culture (Marcjanik 2007). This behavior can be classified as a violation of Polish norms resulting from the adoption of a foreign model of communication (Dąbrowska 2001: 188; Grybosiowa 2003; Marcjanik 2007).

6 The West, comprising the western European countries and the USA, is perceived as attractive from the Polish perspective. It can be assumed that the American everyday routines shown in films influenced the style and manner of communication of the young generation. Moreover, since the transformation, foreign travel has become common, which has also contributed to the adoption of certain new communicative behaviors (Ożóg 2004; Skowroński 2007).
Pragmatic idioms are important tools in the process of communication and their main function is to constitute speech acts, thus revealing “aspects of culture-based social interaction” (Piirainen 2008: 215). Since their nature is complex, a multiaspectual analysis is required to determine their properties. The proposed approach integrating different aspects permits an in-depth analysis of the complexity and specificity of pragmatic idioms. The study will encompass not only linguistic aspects, but also those related to extralinguistic issues. The presentation of the proposed model will be followed by three case studies of Polish pragmatic idioms. All the units came into use after the transformation of 1989 and are used in the spoken variety of Polish.

Pragmatic idioms are language units which exhibit various different features. Analyzing the idiomatic expressions in question involves a comprehensive study of all aspects related to their linguistic characteristics and properties, status and functions in a given language. For instance, apart from lexico-grammatical characteristics, the stylistic value of pragmatic idioms should be analyzed, since pragmatic idioms and their variants may have different markedness. A comprehensive approach ensures a true and fair picture of a particular unit, allowing the full set of its properties to be revealed.

Furthermore, the cultural aspect is of importance, as will be attested by the examples to be analyzed. In the case of the Polish post-transformational reality, the new culturally-conditioned situations generated many pragmatic idioms (Grybosiowa 2003; Marcjanik 2007; Szerszunowicz 2015). To fully understand them, the inclusion of the cultural background is necessary. For example, the changes in Poles’ perception of the new reality (e.g. success as a well-deserved award, the awareness of positive self-presentation) caused by the influence of the English-speaking world, especially the USA and Australia, resulted in the coinage of new pragmatic idioms, suited to the post-transformation conditions (Grybosiowa 2003: 180). Cultural changes influence communication strategies.

The American influence is observed in many spheres of life, not only communication (Marcjanik 2007; Ożóg 2004; Szerszunowicz 2007), but also in others, such as, *inter alia*, culinary culture (Skowroński 2007). As observed by Skowroński (2007: 362), it may be hard to determine the border between the phenomenon of Americanization and that of globalization, yet, it can be assumed that from the Polish post-transformational perspective it is the USA which sets the standards for what is desired. The rule that what is American is better than our own results in the ease of adoption of American models of communication, behavior etc. Skowroński (2007:...
and styles, which gives rise to new units – in the case of the Polish language, the exponents of positive thinking (e.g. *Będzie dobrze* lit. It will be good, *Damy radę* lit. We will make it).

A comprehensive analysis may include other elements: the quality and quantity of parameters depend on the unit itself. An interdisciplinary approach is taken and includes such disciplines as marketing. For instance, after the transformation, many shops began to introduce their own marketing policy, which comprised a standardized way of addressing clients. In one of the Polish chain stores, PPS Społem, a specially designed set of pragmatemes was launched: for example, when the client has paid, while giving him/her the receipt, the shop assistant always says: *Dziękujemy, zapraszamy!* (lit. Thank you [and] we invite [you]). Analysis of such units involves the inclusion of elements of marketing and customer loyalty studies.

In the case of pragmatic idioms, a multiaspectual analysis is necessary to determine their properties and functions. The analysis should comprise various factors to ensure that the specific character of a given unit will be detected. Considering the cultural background in a broad sense may be of importance, too. The adoption of the integrated approach results in a comprehensive description of the analyzed units.

The proposed approach will be implemented in the case studies of selected Polish pragmatic idioms which came into use after the transformation of 1989. The units chosen for the analysis reflect the cultural changes related to the new post-transformational political and economic situation. Analyses of three expressions will be conducted to show how this approach can be applied in practice in the study on recent units.

### 3.1 *Milęgo dnia!* (lit. ‘Have a nice day!’)

Pragmatic idioms should also be viewed from the point of view of genre studies. Such expressions have an act-constituting potential, thus it is of importance to determine in which genre they tend to be used. Fixed multiword units of pragmatic character appear in various genres, both spoken and written. The genre perspective relates to discourse analysis, which should also form part of studies of pragmatic idioms. They are used in various forms of discourse, for instance,

---

363) draws attention to the fact that in Poland, the statement *It is like that in the USA* may function as an argument in a discussion. It means that the solution followed by this comment is the best possible one.
live speeches, demotivators etc. Furthermore, due to the act-constituting potential of the units in question, situational aspects should be included (Filatkina 2007: 137–138). For instance, it has to be determined who usually uses a given expression when talking to whom, in which situations, and which functions the units may perform. A corpus of the spoken variety is useful in such analyses, offering many examples of use of given units, as shown by Inoue (2007).

The first pragmatic idiom chosen for analysis belongs to the category “greetings and farewells”. Goffman (1971: 79) calls such expressions “access rituals” and states that “greetings mark the transition to a condition of increased access and farewell to a state of decreased access” (Goffman 1971: 47). The expression *Miłego dnia!* (lit. Have a nice day!) belongs to the latter group, since it is a leave-taking formula.

The unit *Miłego dnia!* started to be used in Polish after 1989: the phrase was introduced by American corporations which brought their own communication model with many ready-made expressions (Marcjanik 2007: 53). In fact, in English, this expression is commonly used and by no means limited to one sphere of communication – it is universal and may occur in various contexts (Grybosiowa 2003: 182). The English pragmatic idiom *Have a nice day!*, calqued into Polish as *Miłego dnia!*, was introduced at staff training sessions (Marcjanik 2007: 53). In such companies, using this expression was a way of finishing the conversation with the customer recommended by the firm (Marcjanik 2007: 53). The function of the unit is to warm up relations between persons who either know each other on a client-staff basis or have never met before.

Initially, the idiom aroused doubts among Polish normative linguists, who perceived it as “foreign”, unrelated to Polish culture and not compliant with Polish standards of politeness (Grybosiowa 2003: 182; Marcjanik 2007: 53–54). It was viewed as too informal and as interfering in the interlocutor’s private life, in some way imposing a good mood on the addressee. Another aspect which might have raised objections is the fact that in Polish informal discourse more sincerity is expected. For instance, answers to the Polish question *Jak się masz?* [lit. How

---

8 In fact, as observed by Marcjanik (2007: 53), wishes are part of Polish farewell formulae, for instance, wishing somebody a good journey. However, wishing the interlocutor a good day is not rooted in the Polish tradition. In the past, as observed by Grybosiowa (2003: 182), there were some farewell formulas of performative character, like *Zostań z Bogiem* (‘Remain with God’) or *Bądź zdrow* (‘May you be healthy’), which are no longer in use.
9 The reactions to the question *Jak się masz?* (‘How are you?’) may vary in Polish, depending on the interlocutor’s mood (Grybosiowa 2003: 178). However, over recent decades, the responses have been shifted towards the creation of a more positive self-image on the part of the speaker.
are you?] may vary, including complaining and expressing negative feelings (Wojciszke and Baryla 2001: 45–64). Thus, taking into consideration the cultural differences in this respect, in many communicative situations in which unrelated persons are involved, *Miłego dnia!* may sound unnatural.

Marcjanik (2007: 54) observes that the use of the expression is limited to the sphere of services and trade: *Miłego dnia!* is a phrase used by shop assistants, bank clerks and hairdressers. The clients may respond using the same idiom (*Miłego dnia!* ‘Have a nice day!’), replying *Wzajemnie/Nawzajem* (‘The same to you’) or by thanking the employee (*Dziękuję* ‘Thank you’). Since it is limited to services and trade, according to Marcjanik (2007: 54), its use is not recommended in other spheres of life.

Irrespective of normativists’ opinions, the borrowing gradually began to be used outside the branches of American corporations – for instance, in everyday informal conversations (Grybosiowa 2003: 182). In one of Tomasz Jastrun’s novels, a character describes the phrase after using it at the end of his utterance in the following way: “Życzę milego dnia (ten zwrot upowszechnia się w Polsce i pewnie zrobi taką karierę jak słowo dokładnie na przełomie lat 80. i 90)”. (lit. ‘I wish a nice day’ (the expression is becoming widespread in Poland and is bound to make a career like the word *exactly* at the turn of the 80s and 90s)) (NKJP). This statement does justice to the status of the phrase in question in the spoken variety of Polish.

As for the linguistic properties of a formula, the expression has to be analyzed from the point of view of its fixedness and variance: Does it appear in other forms? If it does, which constituents are substituted and which factors condition the alterations – maybe it is a pattern which freely generates realizations. The canonical form has to be determined, which in some cases may be problematic, especially due to the units being used in spoken language. The problems may be related not only to the wording itself, but also to the graphic form.

*(Jakubowska 1999: 58)*, which is also confirmed by a study of the small talk genre from a Polish-English perspective (Szerszunowicz 2007).

10 In fact, the unit is not mentioned in the monograph on cross-cultural dimensions of politeness in Polish and English (Jakubowska 1999).

11 A detailed presentation of the Polish national corpus (NKJP) is given in a monograph available online (Przepiórkowski et al. 2012).

12 For instance, in 2005, *Poradnia językowa PWN*, an online language advisor, received a question regarding the graphic form of a common informal greeting *siema* with alternative spellings (*sie ma/us ma*) 12. The consulting linguist (Grzenia 2005) answered: “najlepiej napisać *siema*, jest to zresztą już powszechnie stosowany zapis” (lit. ‘the best spelling is *siema*, this spelling is common’). In the case of some units, phonetic features, such as intonation, are also important.
In modern Polish, a phraseological pattern has developed in which the noun \( \text{dzień} \) ‘day’ can be substituted with another noun. In fact, the phrase \( \text{Miłego dnia!} \) generated the model \( \text{Życzę} \ X \text{miłego} \ Y \) (lit. ‘[I wish] X a nice Y’ in which X is the addressee of the speaker’s wishes, for instance \( \text{Panu/Pani/Państwu/ci/wam} \) (lit. ‘Sir/Madam/Sir’ and ‘Madam/you’) etc., and Y is the period meant to be nice, like \( \text{dzień} \) ‘day’, \( \text{popołudnie} \) ‘afternoon’, \( \text{weekend} \) ‘weekend’ or \( \text{tydzień} \) ‘week’.

To verify the status of the expressions in question, \( \text{Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego} \) (NKJP), was consulted. The corpus search was conducted for the canonical unit \( \text{Miłego dnia!} \) and three derived forms, i.e. \( \text{Miłego popołudnia!} \), \( \text{Miłego wieczoru!} \) and \( \text{Miłego weekendu!} \) with the PELCRA search engine. It shows a fairly high frequency with 142 occurrences of the unit \( \text{Miłego dnia!} \) and several uses of the variant forms: \( \text{Miłego wieczoru!} \) – 19 occurrences, \( \text{Miłego weekendu!} \) – 19, \( \text{Miłego popołudnia!} \) – 6. A WebCorp search allowing for analyzing the distribution of the usage of a given phrase in a wide spectrum of genres shows that the expressions in question (\( \text{Miłego dnia!} \), \( \text{Miłego popołudnia!} \), \( \text{Miłego wieczoru!} \), \( \text{Miłego tygodnia!} \)) also function in different contexts: for instance, these phrases are included as a category in an online catalogue of pictures accompanied by wishes for a nice day, afternoon, evening or week to be sent via email (\( \text{Obrazki Online} \)).

The phrase \( \text{Miłego dnia!} \) is used in various communicative contexts, ranging from clerk-client conversations to friendly chats. It is becoming a universal conversation-ending formula. The widespread use of the unit \( \text{Miłego dnia!} \) reflects the changes occurring in the style of Polish conversation, and, from a broader perspective, in Poles’ communicative behavior. The English-speaking world’s communication standards oblige the speaker to use exponents of positive attitude, encapsulated in the saying \( \text{If you don’t have anything nice to say, don’t say anything} \). Many of the exponents of positive attitude and being nice are pragmatic idioms, such as \( \text{How nice to see you, I’m fine, Well done!} \) etc. To some extent, the increasing popularity of the analyzed phrase and its variants shows that this tendency is being adopted in modern Polish communicative culture.

3.2 \( \text{Ja panu nie przerywałem} \) (lit. ‘I didn’t interrupt you, sir’)

After the transformation of 1989, the changes in the sphere of Polish politics were fundamental. The adoption of the new system resulted in the creation of different

Moreover, extralinguistic aspects may be of importance, too: for example, certain pragmatic idioms tend to be used with a particular gesture, for instance, \( \text{Touch wood!} \) or \( \text{I’ll keep my fingers crossed!} \)
communicative situations. The new genres, such as political debate, provided the opportunity to voice opinions freely in public. In the budding democracy, politicians had to work out their own ways of discussing issues in public. Since many political discussions were televised after the downfall of Communism, viewers were able to witness the development of the genre.

Fras (2005: 97) draws attention to the fact that in Poland, there is no tradition of such public debate where participants presenting views unacceptable to others would be treated with due respect. Until 1989, the ability to participate in public discussion had been of little importance and consequently these skills had not developed. Under Communism, communication was not based on interaction – it was one-directional, with censorship and police restrictions. As a result, there is no model for participation in public debate.

The post-transformational situation was a new one and there was a shortage of fully professional politicians skilled at public speaking and creating a positive self-image so that viewers were rather disappointed by the quality of the televised debates. The language used in the debates varied from informal, sometimes even aggressive and vulgar, to formal, official, with an inclination towards using specialized terminology. Moreover, in the post-transformation period, after the New-speak period, public discourse was rich in colloquial expressions, in many cases even too informal, and thus rude (e.g. *Pani jest śmieszna!* (‘You are ridiculous!’), *Pani jest chyba chora!* (‘[Maybe] You are ill!’); Grybosiowa 2003: 183–184).

What immediately captured viewers’ attention was a phrase *Ja panu nie przerywałem* (lit. ‘I did not interrupt you, sir’), overused by many public speakers who participated in political discussions. The constituent *panu* ‘sir’ can be substituted with *pani* ‘madam’ or the plural form comprising representatives of both sexes – *państwu* ‘sirs and madams’.

The formula can be described as a single-sentence speech act performing two main functions: phatic and persuasive. In political discourse in the media, it is extremely frequent: occurring in almost all television or radio programs where the representatives of various parties meet (Zimny and Nowak 2009: 91). In order to create an emotional dispute, the host of the program stirs up a pseudo-conflict in which the phrase tends to be used frequently.

As a result of having been used so frequently, this phrase has now become an element of political communicative ritual in Polish debates. Politicians tend to employ it in their utterances, since using the pragmatic idiom *Ja panu nie przerywałem* implies that the speaker is a well-behaved, tactful and collected person, who is able to contribute to the discussion in an appropriate way, open, cooperative and skilled at starting a dialogue and conducting it (Kampka 2009: 162).
This image is desired by politicians and using this kind of idiom is meant to contribute to conveying to the viewers a positive picture of the speaker. At the same time, the opponent to whom the expression is addressed is presented as one devoid of good manners, impolite and unable to participate in public debate.

In fact, the idiom *Ja panu nie przerywałem* has already begun to be perceived as a kind of phatic gesture. Its status is attested by the presence of the unit in various cultural texts such as demotivators or cabaret shows. The phrase is used as an element of the satirical image of a politician (Zimny and Nowak 2009: 91), for example, in one of Tym’s editorials:

Dzieci, które nie nauczą się słuchać innych, zostają parlamentarzystami zapraszanymi do dyskusji telewizyjnych. Oto mamy czwórkę dzieci, każde z innym logo na śliniaczku, które mówią jednocześnie “Ja panu nie przerywałem”, a pan Rymanowski próbuje im zadać pytanie.

[lit. Children who have not learnt to listen to others become members of parliament invited to television discussions. And here we have four children, each with a different logo on his bib, who are all saying at the same time, “I didn’t interrupt you”, and Mr Rymanowski is trying to ask them a question.]^{13}

The phrase is underrepresented in the corpus with only 7 occurrences, which results from the contents of the NKJP. Yet, after analyzing the results from the Web-Corp search, it can be concluded that the expression has become part of the lexicon of the Polish language. The phrase is multifunctional: performing both phatic and persuasive functions. Occasionally, the expression is used in informal discourse to introduce humor into the conversation or as an element of memes, which also confirms its well-established status in the modern Polish language.

### 3.3 *Byle do piątku!* (lit. ‘Only till Friday!’)

Although the results of the 1989 transformation were most noticeable in the areas of politics and the economy, they also occurred in other spheres. One of them is everyday life. Multiword units of pragmatic character should also be viewed from

---

^{13} The excerpt comes from the editorial titled *Pustka* (‘emptiness’) published in a Polish magazine Polityka. The author, Stanisław Tym, is a Polish satirist who has also written film scripts. Bogdan Rymanowski is a Polish journalist and the host of a television program *Kawa na ławę* (the title is an idiomatic expression similar to the English idiom, *Don’t beat about the bush*) shown on the TVN24 channel in which politicians representing different parties meet and discuss important issues.
a sociolinguistic perspective. Pragmatic idioms differ depending on the age group, whether they belong to a particular subculture and other factors. For instance, after the transformation of 1989, as the awareness of the importance of being fit increased, numerous fitness and bodybuilding centers sprang up: the people who went to them developed their own lexicon with idiomatic expressions, including pragmatic units like *Nie napinaj się, bo pęknie lustro* (lit. ‘Don’t try so hard, or the mirror will break’) – used to ironically suggest that somebody is trying too hard (Piekot 2000: 53).

The transformation brought many changes, one of which was that Saturdays were work and school free so that Poles now had a longer weekend. After this change, as in most western countries, Friday was the last working day of the week in the vast majority of the companies. It meant that the transformation increased the number of free days, thus giving Polish people more leisure time.

The new situation resulted in a change in perception of the free weekdays: the weekend began to gain in importance and it started to play an important role in the collective minds of Poles. Its status attained after 1989 is reflected in the Polish language of recent decades: new words and phrases have come into use, for example, *od piątku do piątku* (lit. from Friday to Friday). It is not surprising, since all kinds of weekend activities, socializing and going out are of great importance, in particular for the young.

In youth jargon, the day preceding Friday, *czwartek* ‘Thursday’, is figuratively named *mały piątek* ‘little Friday’, whereas the word *piątek* ‘Friday’ is used interchangeably with its diminutive form *piąteczek* ‘little piątek’, which can be classified as a term of endearment. Another phrase showing the attitude towards the weekend is the unit *piątek, piąteczek, piątunio* (lit. ‘Friday, little Friday, very little Friday’), used to express the happiness resulting from the fact that it is already Friday – a phrase similar to the *TGIF – Thank God/goodness it’s Friday* (Peeters 2007: 94).

The phrase *Byle to piątku!* (lit. ‘Only till Friday!’), meaning ‘May we survive till Friday’ and suggesting ‘afterwards it will be all downhill’, is a variant form of phrases attested before the transformation in which seasons of the year appeared

---

14 Peeters (2007) offers a study of the Australian perception of the weekend, presenting both linguistic and cultural data to show that it is one of the key words in Australian culture.

15 A Google Graphics search produced a modification containing even more diminutive forms: *Piątek, piąteczek, piątunio, piątus, piąteczek, piątuniek – znajdziesz tysiące słów, by opisać to, co kochasz* (lit. ‘Friday, then five diminutive forms derived from the word Friday followed by a comment: You will find thousands of words to describe what you love’). Unlike English, the Polish language is rich in diminutive suffixes, so that many diminutives of the word *piątek* can be formed.
such as *Byle do wiosny!* (lit. ‘Only till spring!’) and *Byle do lata!* (lit. ‘Only till summer!’). The expressions were used in spoken discourse to cheer the interlocutor up, inspire hope, bring encouragement, suggest improvement in the course of time etc. In certain communicative situations, they can be used as leave-taking formulae optimistic in character.

The use of the name *piątek* (‘Friday’) is significant. Viewed from a linguocultural perspective, it can be concluded that the presence of the constituent *piątek* corroborates the gradual development of Polish weekend culture. Friday afternoon is the start of the weekend and thus the day is the indicator of the off-work period.

The Polish corpus contains as few as 5 occurrences, but the WebCorp search brought more information on the use of the unit in question. For example, like the pragmatic idiom *Miłego dnia!*, the phrase accompanies pictures to be sent electronically – for instance, one of them shows Bugs Bunny working in a quarry (*Jeja*). Numerous examples of its use were attested in the Google Graphics search. As shown by the analysis of the corpus search and the analysis of the findings retrieved by means of WebCorp, the pragmatic idiom *Byle do piątku!* tends to be used in the spoken variety of Polish as well as in internet communication such as blogs, chats, demotivators etc.

4 Conclusions

The transformation of 1989 changed Poland in many respects: a new political system was adopted and the economy was replaced with another model, so society was now adapting to a transformed reality, rich in new phenomena, processes and situations. This state of affairs forced language users to deal with the post-transformation environment and develop appropriate communicative strategies. It involved finding ways of functioning linguistically in the new situations: either borrowing, for instance, from English, modifying Polish language units or coin- ing new ones.

In many of the situations, language users needed pragmatic idioms, since the old means of expression were now inappropriate or inadequate. After 1989,

---

16 The frame *Byle do X*, in which X is the moment after which life should be much easier may be modified. An example of such a modification is observed in a demotivator which contains the following string of realizations: *Byle do 15... Byle do piątku... Byle do wypłaty... I tak jeszcze przez 30 lat* (lit. ‘Only till 3 p.m.... Only till Friday... Only till pay day... And like this for the next 30 years’).
many idioms were coined as a result of the period of growth following the transformation. Moreover, the constant growth also contributed to an increase in the stock of pragmatic idioms. A multiaspectual analysis of selected examples shows that the study of such units involving various parameters offers an insight into their complex character.

First of all, pragmatic idioms reveal a considerable amount of cultural information, i.e. facts regarding post-transformation Poland. The first of the idioms analyzed confirms the influence of the English-speaking world on the Polish communicative style. It reflects the changing language behaviors in the new reality, in which being pleasant and friendly gains a new dimension. From the linguistic perspective, it can be concluded that the canonical form borrowed from English, *Miłego dnia!*, is easily modified and it can be seen that a pattern based on it now has a place in the Polish language.

The origins of the second unit can be traced back to the problems of budding Polish democracy in which public debate still leaves a lot to be desired. A multifunctional phrase *Ja panu nie przerywalem* began to be used not only in the language of politics but also in other varieties. Found in various cultural texts, memes or press articles, it developed a connotative potential which is also important from the communicative perspective.

The third expression, *Byle do piątku!*, which in fact exploited a pattern known before 1989, illustrates the changes in social perception of the weekend. It is indicative of the increasing importance of having free time at the end of the week: Friday is the day one is looking forward to since it starts the weekend period. The frequent use of the expression as a text accompanying visual material which can be sent to an addressee is indicative of new ways of cheering somebody up.

In conclusion, it should be emphasized that as important tools of communication, pragmatic idioms should be analyzed from various perspectives. A multiaspectual analysis of pragmatemes reveals their properties and their potential, which is important from both a theoretical perspective and a practical one. As for the former, such analyses contribute to a better understanding of formulaic language, while in terms of the latter, the research studies in question may improve lexicographic descriptions of pragmatic idioms and the quality of their presentation in the process of language teaching.
References

Aijmer, Karin (1996): *Conversational Routines in English*. London: Longman.

Banaszkiewicz-Zygmunt, Edyta & Krzysztof Olendzki (2000): *Poland. An Encyclopedic Guide*. Warsaw: Polish Scientific Publishers PWN.

Bartmiński, Jerzy (2001): *O językowym obrazie świata Polaków końca XX wieku* [On the linguistic picture of the world of Poles at the end of 20th century]. In Stanisław Dubisz & Stanisław Gajda (eds.), *Polszczyzna XX wieku. Evolucja i perspektywy rozwoju*, 27–53. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA.

Brown, Dennis (1987): *New Zealand radio rugby commentary in English: an analysis of non-standard features*. Auckland: University of Auckland, Department of Anthropology.

Burger, Harald (2010): *Phraseologie. Eine Einführung am Beispiel des Deutschen*. 4. Auflage. Berlin: Erich Schmidt.

Chlebda, Wojciech (2001): *Frazeologia polska minionego wieku* [Polish phraseology of the last century]. In Stanisław Dubisz & Stanisław Gajda (eds.), *Polszczyzna XX wieku. Evolucja i perspektywy rozwoju*, 155–165. Warszawa: Dom Wydawniczy ELIPSA.

Coulmas, Florian (1979): On the sociolinguistic relevance of routine formulae. *Journal of Pragmatics* 3, 239–266.

Coulmas, Florian (1981): *Routine im Gespräch*. Wiesbaden: Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion.

Cowie, Anthony P., Roland Mackin & Isabel R. McCaig (1983): *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English*. Volume 2. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Croft, William (2001): *Radical Contrastive Grammar. Syntactic Theory in Typological Perspective*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dąbrowska, Anna (2001): O sposobach zmniejszania dystansu między rozmówcami [On the ways of shortening the distance between interlocutors]. In Grażyna Habrajska (ed.), *Język w komunikacji*. Volume 1, 187–194. Łódź: Wyższa Szkoła Humanistyczno-Ekonomiczna w Łodzi.

Dobrovol’skij, Dmitrij & Elisabeth Piirainen (2007): *Figurative Language: Cross-cultural and cross-linguistic Perspectives*. Amsterdam: Elsevier.

Fernando, Chitra (1996): *Idioms and Idiomaticity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Fiedler, Sabine (2007): *English Phraseology. A Coursebook*. Tübingen: Narr.

Filatkina, Natalia (2007): Pragmatische Beschreibungsansätze. In Harald Burger, Dmitrij Dobrovol’skij, Peter Kühn, Neal R. Norrick (eds.), *Phraseology. An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*. Volume 1, 132–158. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Filatkina, Natalia & Monika Hanusa (2010): Wissensstrukturierung und Wissensvermittlung durch Routineformeln: Am Beispiel ausgewählter althochdeutscher Texte. *Yearbook of Phraseology* 1, 45–71.

Fillmore, Charles, Paul Kay & Mary C. O’Connor (1998): Regularity and idiomaticity in Grammatical Constructions: The Case of *Let Alone*. *Language*, 64 (3), 501–538.

Fléchon, Genviève, Paolo Frassi & Alain Polguère (2012): Les pragmatèmes ont-ils un charme indéfinissable? In Pierluigi Ligas & Paolo Frassi (eds.), *Lexiques. Iné谛tês. Cultures*, 81–104. Vèrone: QuiEdir.

Fras, Janina (2005): *Komunikacja polityczna. Wybrane zagadnienia catnków i języka wypowiedzi* [Political communication. Selected issues of genres and language]. Wrocław: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Wrocławskiego.
Galasiński, Dariusz (1992): *Chwalenie się jako perswazyjny akt mowy* [Boasting as a persuasive speech act]. Kraków: Instytut Języka Polskiego Polskiej Akademii Nauk.

Goffman, Erving (1971): *Relations in Public*. New York: Harper.

Gomulka, Stanisław (2016): Poland’s economic and social transformation 1989–2014 and contemporary challenges. *Central Bank Review* 16, 19–23. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.cbrev.2016.03.005, accessed August 15, 2017.

Granger, Sylviane & Magali Paquot (2008): Disentangling the phraseological web. In Sylviane Granger & Fanny Meunier (eds.), *Phraseology: An interdisciplinary perspective*, 27–49. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Grybosiowa, Antonina (2003). *Język wtopiony w rzeczywistość* [Language melted into reality]. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Grzenia, Jan (2005): *Siema*. Retrieved from https://sjp.pwn.pl/poradnia/haslo/siema;5924.html, accessed August 17, 2017.

Hickey, Francesca & Koenraad Kuiper (2000): A deep depression covers the South Tasman Sea: New Zealand Met Office weather forecasts. In Allan Bell & Koenraad Kuiper (eds.), *New Zealand English*, 279–296. Wellington: VUW Press and Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Inoue, Ai (2007): *Present-Day Spoken English. A phraseological Approach*. Tokyo: Kaitakusha.

Jakubowska, Ewa (1998): Good wishes in a cross-cultural perspective. In Janusz Arabski (ed.), *Studies in Foreign Language, teaching and Learning*, 232–246. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Jakubowska, Ewa (1999): *Cross-Cultural Dimensions of Politeness in the Case of Polish and English*. Katowice: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Śląskiego.

Jeja. Retrieved from www.obrazki.jeja.pl/127651,byle_do_piatku.html, accessed August 11, 2017.

Kampka, Agnieszka (2009): *Perswazja w języku polityki* [Persuasion in political language]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo naukowe SCHOLAR.

Kauffer, Maurice (2011): Actes de langage stéréotypes en allemand et en français. Pour une ré-définition du stéréotype grâce à la phraséologie. *Nouveaux Cahier d’Allemand* 1, 35–53.

Kauffer, Maurice (2013): Le figement des ‘actes de language stéréotypés’ en français et en allemand. *Pratiques* 159/160, 42–45.

Kuiper, Koenraad (1996): *Smooth Talkers. The Linguistic Performance of Auctioneers and Sportscasters*. Mahawah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Lüger, Heinz-Helmut (2007): Pragmatische Phraseme: Routineformeln. In Harald Burger, Dmitrij Dobrovol’skij, Peter Kühn, Neal R. Norrick (eds.), *Phraseology. An International Handbook of Contemporary Research*. Volume 1, 444–459. Berlin, New York: De Gruyter.

Marcjanik, Małgorzata (2007): *Grzeczność w komunikacji językowej* [Politeness in language communication]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.

Mel’čuk, Igor (1988): *Dependency Syntax: Theory and Practice*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press.

Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego [National Corpus of the Polish Language]. Retrieved from www.nkjp.pl, accessed July 15, 2017.

Moon, Rosamund (1998): *Fixed Expressions and Idioms in English*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Nattinger, James R. & Jeanette S. DeCarrico (2001): *Lexical Phrases and Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Nosowicz, Jan F. & Joanna Szerszunowicz (2004): Interpersonal Idioms in Teaching Foreign Languages. In Jan F. Nosowicz (ed.), *Edukacja dla przyszłości*, 184–190. Białystok: Wydawnictwo Wyższej Szkoły Finansów i Zarządzania w Białymstoku.
Ożóg, Kazimierz (2004): *Polszczyzna przełomu XX i XXI wieku. Wybrane zagadnienia* [The Polish language at the turn of the 20th and 21st centuries. Selected problems]. Rzeszów: otwarty Rozdział.

Pawley, Andrew (1991): How to talk cricket: On linguistic competence in a subject matter. In Robert Blust (ed.), *Currents in Pacific Linguistics: Papers on Austronesian Languages and Ethnolinguistics in Honour of George Grace*, 339–368. Canberra: Pacific Linguistics.

Pawley, Andrew (2001): Phraseology, Linguistics and the Dictionary. *International Journal of Lexicography* 14 (2), 122–134.

Pawley, Andrew (2007): Developments in the study of formulaic language since 1970: A personal view. In Paul Skandera (ed.), *Phraseology and Culture in English*, 3–45. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Peeters, Bert (2007): Australian perception of the weekend: Evidence from collocations and elsewhere. In Paul Skandera (ed.), *Phraseology and Culture in English*, 79–107. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Piekot, Tomasz (2000): Problem analizy frazeologii socjolektalnej (na przykładzie socjolektu kulturystów nieprofesjonalnych) [The analysis of sociolectal phraseology (on the example of amateur body builders)]. *Poradnik Językowy* 4, 50–56.

Piirainen, Elisabeth (2008): Figurative phraseology and culture. In Sylviane Granger & Fanny Meunier (eds.), *Phraseology: An interdisciplinary perspective*, 207–228. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Piirainen, Elisabeth (2016): *Lexicon of Common Figurative Units. Widespread Idioms in Europe and Beyond*. Volume 2. New York: Peter Lang.

Przepiórkowski, Adam, Miroslaw Baniko, Rafał L. Górski & Barbara Lewandowska-Tomaszczuk (eds.) (2012): *Narodowy Korpus Języka Polskiego* [National Corpus of the Polish Language]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN. Retrieved from http://nkjp.pl/settings/papers/NKJP_ksiazka.pdf, accessed February 10, 2018.

Richter, Frank & Manfred Sailer (2014): Idiome mit phraseologisierten Teilsätzen: eine Fallstudie zur Formalisierung von Konstruktionen im Rahmen der HPSG. In Alexander Lasch & Alexander Ziem (Hrsg.), *Grammatik als Netzwerk von Konstruktionen. Sprachwissen im Fokus der Konstruktionsgrammatik*, 291–312. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Roos, Eckart (2001): *Idiom und Idiomatik: ein sprachliches Phänomen im Lichte der kognitiven Linguistik und Gestalttheorie*. Aachen: Shaker.

Ruusila, Anna (2015): *Pragmatische Phraseologismen und ihre lexikographische Darstellung. Am Beispiel eines mehrsprachigen elektronischen Spezialwörterbuch für Übersetzer*. Frankfurt am Main, Berlin: Peter Lang.

Skowroński, Krzysztof P. (2007): Amerykanizacja polskiej kultury kulinarnej [Americanization of Polish culinary culture]. In Katarzyna Łeńska-Bąk (ed.), *Pokarmy i jedzenie w kulturze. Tabu, dieta, symbol*, 361–381. Opole: Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego.

Szerszunowicz, Joanna (2007): A Comparative Analysis of Small Talk. In Lawrence N. Berlin (ed.), *Theoretical Approaches to Dialogue Analysis. Selected Papers from the IADA Chicago 2004 Conference*, 39–48. Tübingen: Max Niemeyer.

Szerszunowicz, Joanna (2015): Periodic growth of phrasemes from a linguo-cultural perspective: Polish phraseology after the political transformation of 1989. *Yearbook of Phraseology* 6, 103–124.
Jerzy and Katarzyna Mosiołek-Kłosińska (eds.), Zmiany w publicznych zwyczajach językowych, 45–64, Warszawa: Rada Języka Polskiego przy Prezydium PAN.

Wray, Alison (1999): Formulaic language in learners and native speakers. Language Teaching 32 (4), 213–231.

Wray, Alison (2009): Identifying formulaic language: Persistent challenges and new opportunities. In Roberta Corrigan, Edith A. Moravcsik, Hamid Ouali & Kathleen Wheatley (eds.), Formulaic Language. Volume 1: Distribution and historical change, 27–51. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Wray, Alison & Michael R. Perkins (2000): The functions of formulaic language: An integrated model. Language and Communication 20 (1), 1–28.

Ziem, Alexander (2014): Von der Kasusgrammatik zum FrameNet: Frames, Konstruktionen und die Ideen eines Konstruktikons, In Alexander Lasch & Alexander Ziem (Hrsg.), Grammatik als Netzwerk von Konstruktionen. Sprachwissen im Fokus der Konstruktionsgrammatik, 263–290. Berlin, Boston: De Gruyter.

Zimny, Rafał & Paweł Nowak (2007): Słownik polszczyzny politycznej po roku 1989 [A dictionary of political Polish after 1989]. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe PWN.
