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Colloquial language and promoting correct Polish (exemplified by the video blog “Mówiąc Inaczej” [“Speaking Differently”])

Summary. The aim of the article is to show the way colloquial language, first of all, lexis and phraseology, can be used to build a communicative community with its audience on YouTube. The material basis is the statements by Paulina Mikuła promoting the use of the correct Polish language among Internet users from 50 randomly selected episodes broadcast on the channel “Mówiąc Inaczej” [“Speaking Differently”]. The author has analyzed which colloquialisms and in what situations the videoblogger uses. Using lexis and colloquial phraseology, referring to examples from everyday life and not avoiding vulgar and offensive words are deliberate and conscious elements of creating an image by a youtuber.

Keywords: colloquial language, Paulina Mikuła, language correctness, YouTube, videoblog

*Język potoczny a propagowanie poprawnej polszczyzny
(na przykładzie wideobloga „Mówiąc Inaczej”)*

Streszczenie. Celem artykułu jest ukazanie, w jaki sposób język potoczny, przede wszystkim słownictwo i frazeologia, może być wykorzystywany do budowania wspólnoty komunikacyjnej z odbiorcami w serwisie YouTube. Podstawę materiałową stanowią wypowiedzi Pauliny Mikuły propagujące posługiwanie się poprawnym językiem polskim wśród internautów z 50 losowo wybranych odcinków wyemitowanych na kanale “Mówiąc Inaczej”. Przeanalizowano, po jakie potoczny i w jakich sytuacjach sięga autorka wideobloga. Posługiwanie się leksyką i frazeologią potoczną, powoływanie się na przykłady z życia codziennego oraz nieunikanie słów wulgarnych i obraźliwych to celowe i świadome elementy kreowania wizerunku przez youtuberkę.

Słowa kluczowe: język potoczny, Paulina Mikuła, poprawność językowa, YouTube, wideoblog

The service YouTube set up in 2005 giving its users the possibility to publish, play and comment on films them does not only have an entertaining role. Materials placed there may often have informational or educational functions. By analysing educational potential of the medium, Adrian Ciesiołka points out its constitutive features:

conveying the message by audio-visual means, adopted language of the communication, unlimited amount of material, the possibility to stop, forward and replay, the prospect of contact with the author, minimal amount of text, deprofessionalisation of the content, individualised mode, multilateral experience, being cost-free, the opportunity for the Internet users to realise their own creative "self", the style of content produced and the lack of territorial restrictions (Ciesiołka 2018: 108–109).

The aforementioned factors make more and more people opt for running video blogs aimed at transmitting knowledge. This group may be composed of professionals, e.g. scientists or teachers, as well as amateurs who are interested in a given field and want to share curious facts or their thoughts with the Internet users. There is no shortage of channels that address the issues of prescriptive linguistics. Among video blogs dedicated to linguistic correctness, a very popular one is that by Paulina Mięka entitled "Mówiąc Inaczej" ["Speaking Differently"].

As Katarzyna Maciejak notes:

Popular science video blogs constitute a specific communicative situation, because the genre itself favours the use of colloquial language, familiar to the viewer, on the other hand – addressing scientific topics, and thus often assuming the role of an expert creating a message on the »one-to-many basis«, requires the use of careful, elaborated Polish (Maciejak 2018: 337).

It is colloquial Polish as a conscious communication strategy used by the host of the channel "Mówiąc Inaczej" that will be the subject of this article. It aims at showing the way colloquial language¹, first of all, lexis and phraseology, can be used to build a communicative community with its audience, which, according to Małgorzata Kita's findings, is part of the attitude of identifying oneself with a particular social group (Kita 1993: 34). The study focuses on the units belonging mainly to the colloquial marked style², i.e. a style not accepted in official situations. It analyses the style and language of P. Mięka's statements from 50 randomly selected episodes broadcast on the channel "Mówiąc Inaczej" promoting the use of the correct Polish language among the Internet users.

¹ Detailed information about determinants of the colloquial language are included in numerous works, cf. e.g. Anusiewicz 1992; Markowski 1992a, 1992b; Lubaś 2000, 2001; Warchała 2003; Ożóg 2007; Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak 2008; Bartmiński 2012. The author of the article interchangeably uses the terms *common/colloquial language*, *informal/low register of Polish*, *everyday speech*, *live speech*, *language of proximity* being aware of the differences between them, though.

² Apart from that colloquial neutral style is distinguished (cf. e.g. Zdunkiewicz-Jedynak 2008: 97; Bartmiński 2012: 120).

P. Miłkowska is a graduate of Polish philology at the University of Warsaw, the author of the books “Mówiąc inaczej” and “LiteraTOURa”. She was also a co-host of the first edition of the cooking show “Bake off – Ale ciacho!” broadcast on TVP2. Her YouTube channel was set up in 2013, and she posted her first episode on July 18, 2013. A brief description placed on the site informs us in a very general way about the content and the host: “»Speaking Differently« is a channel about how to use the Polish language correctly. The advice is given by myself, Paulina. :)” (Mówiąc Inaczej). Up till now³ eight full seasons have aired, and the ninth series is currently on. In each season, the youtuber recorded at least a dozen videos: from 14 to 26 films. In total, more than 170 episodes have been posted. The channel is subscribed to by more than 494,000 YouTube users. The episodes that have had most views – over 1.2 million – are episodes 87 (*Words that are not mistakes, but you think that they are...*) and 134 (*How to write 10 songs entirely in Polish – taking the form of a conversation with Dawid Podsiadło*). The very name of the video blog – “Mówiąc Inaczej” – announces to us a wilful way of argumentation, as there has been a deliberate change in the word order in the phrase *differently speaking* meaning ‘or, in other words, otherwise’.

The researchers have noted the video blogger’s fondness for colloquialisms, but have rarely focused on discussing any specific examples. Joanna Ginter, looking at the ways of communicating with readers on blogs dedicated to linguistic and communicative correctness, did not overlook “Mówiąc Inaczej”. Among the persuasive devices used by P. Miłkowska, she listed:

use of vocabulary from low stylistic registers, close to younger speakers, including borrowings from the English language (e.g. phrases of fanatical character: “tak, dzióbias, ty, you”), using jokes or the specific reaction of the communicator (informal dress, facial expressions and gestures consciously inappropriate to the communicative situation) aimed at breaking with the stereotypical image of a boring, stiff Polish philologist (Ginter 2018: 55).

Ewa Gorlewska examined the discussed video blog from a genological perspective, i.e. the realisation of four aspects: pragmatic, stylistic, cognitive and structural. Looking into the stylistic aspect, she analysed the youtuber’s language. She emphasised: “A wide spectrum of the determinants of colloquiality is manifested in her speech, from colloquial lexis (expressive, humorous, euphemistic), through colloquial syntax (extended, elliptical sentences), to everyday manner of speaking (making use of non- and paraverbal means of communication)” (Gorlewska 2015: 55).

K. Maciejak, discussing the broadcasting strategies of videobloggers running popular science channels on YouTube (Maciejak 2018), emphasised their use of the colloquial variety of language. She focused on the lexis,

³ The state as of 2.11.2021.

colloquial comparisons and expressions of linguistic humour; one of the channels analysed by her was the video blog of P. Mikuła. She devoted a lot of space to the jokes finishing the episodes, the so-called dry jokes.

It is difficult to determine precisely the target audience of the content posted on the channel "Mówiąc Inaczej", but it can be assumed that the presenter directs their deliberations primarily to representatives of the younger generation, as they, after all, do not shy away from using the informal register of Polish. As she stated in an interview with a journalist of the Natemat.pl portal: "[...] my viewers, who try to point out a mistake to me, sometimes write: »Wow, it seems to be colloquial speech! Should you speak in such a way while running such a channel?« I love it, though and use it very often. Actually, in each episode. And this appears to let me reach the masses, younger viewers" (Sikora 2014). In one of the episodes she said directly: *The point is always to adapt the language to the situation we are in. All this aims at the most efficient communication with others* (episode 143). One can assume that this is her goal: she knows that in order to reach the young, she has to implement words and collocations that they use every day⁴. She appreciates everyday language, yet she warns her viewers: *There is one more issue. It is known that colloquially we express ourselves the way we like. Here the rules are less strict, there is no pressure. But when we are in an official situation and we have to use standard Polish, well, we have to watch ourselves* (episode 103). Władysław Lubaś indicates what purposes colloquialisms are used for by journalists: "In the media, colloquial vocabulary is primarily found in texts that are created with the aim of winning the favour of readers and listeners for the author. It is to transform them at all costs into a discourse partner equal to the audience, to establish and maintain contact, and to bridge any prestige gaps between them" (Lubaś 2000: 86). The video-blogger seems to make the willingness to reach the viewer her priority.

As E. Gorlewska points out, P. Mikuła "[d]escribes her attitude to language as liberal, that is open to innovations, word play, the use of colloquial style in various spheres of communication, even those where it would be appropriate to use a more formal register" (Gorlewska 2015: 50). Making herself seem an ordinary girl, the host of the channel "Mówiąc Inaczej" consciously exposes those qualities that allow her to be identified with the average Internet users following particular episodes. And this makes the viewers watching her treat her as one of them. This image is built primarily by means of the language – the use of colloquial lexis and phraseology⁵. Jacek Warchala notices that "[...] we become more effective in terms of persuasion if we operate with the

⁴ The image of an ordinary girl is not the only one used by the youtuber. After looking into the ways the content is presented, it can be concluded that that she sometimes plays the role of a teacher, as well as a coquette.

⁵ Colloquial syntax appears in P. Mikuła's statements as well, but as it a broader issue, it was not discussed in the analysis.

same views, the same concepts, formulated in the same mutually understandable language; thus, we are able, as senders of the message, to indicate the same interpretive horizon that is observed by its recipient" (Warchala 2003: 229). And this is what P. Mięka does. "I think I showed people that it is possible to talk about the Polish language, something very serious, in a frivolous way. This was a novelty and a surprise for people who thought that only aloof professors, who have enormous knowledge and in front of whom one is utter a sound, could talk about language" (Czupryn 2016) – she said in the interview for "The Times Poland".

In episode 2 of her series in a vivid manner – full of humorous threats and visual comparisons – she explained that she would often resort to colloquialisms:

So, I call upon everybody: don't stress out, colloquial speech is not a linguistic error. We need it, thanks to it we can spontaneously talk about our joy, our happiness, our grief, our nervousness, our stress, our terror. If we give up this colloquial speech, we will soon feel frustrated like the preppies for whom certain behaviour is unbecoming. I personally love colloquial speech or colloquialisms and I have no intention of giving them up. So if anyone visiting my channel thinks that I will only use model speech, then unfortunately, but we must part ways. Besides, it is really hard for me to imagine that in a situation where you hear someone next to you say that something pissed them off a lot, your reaction is as follows: Did you hear? The redneck said it pissed him/her off. That's a rock bottom⁶ (episode 2).

The very titles of episodes – and these are elements that draw the viewer's attention in the first place – are often subordinated to the strategy of using the language of proximity. Hence colloquial words and collocations that express negatively biased emotions, np. *Tak se myślę, że po co się wkurzać* [It got me thinking, why piss off], *Podsumowując, niektóre moje odcinki są do bani* [Summing up, some of my episodes suck], *Młodzieżowe słowo roku, czyli o tym, jak młodzi potrafią wkurzać* [Youth word of the year or how the young may piss you off], *Jak poprawiać ludzi (np. youtuberów) i nie wyjść na strasznego buca* [How to correct the youtubers and not come off as a terrible jerk], *O maleństwie, które wkurza* [The pissing off little one], *4 wkurzające błędy z internet* [4 pissing off mistakes from the Internet], *Jak uniknąć wpadki językowej, czyli o słowach, które mylimy, bo są podobne* [How to avoid linguistic blunders or about words we confuse because they are similar], and to the contrary – there are many adjectives and nouns that have positive connotations such as the words with the prefix *super-*, so characteristic of young people's language: *25 tacińskich sentencji, dzięki którym zabrzmicie super-mądrze* [25 Latin sentences making you sound super wise], *Och, jaki superodcinek!* [Wow, what a super episode!]. The use of colloquial lexemes can introduce an element of surprise, such a measure, therefore, has a persuasive function, e.g. *Akurat w tej kwestii babeczki mają łatwiej + bonus* [Ladies have it better here + a bonus], *"Nie wiem, czy mam gruby tyłek..."*, czyli rzecz o interpunkcji, cz. 1 ["I have no clue whether I have a big butt..." or talking about interpunction part 1].

⁶ In the Polish original: *Dno i dziesięć metrów mutu*.

In an effort to reach the younger generation, P. Mięka also includes other phrases from youth language in the headlines, such as the expression *taka sytuacja* [*such a situation*], which we use – as we read on the website of the project by Obserwatorium Językowe Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego [Language Observatory of the University of Warsaw; abbreviation in the article: OJ UW] entitled *Najnowsze słownictwo polskie* [*The latest Polish vocabulary*] – “when we want to underline that we don’t like the situation we have found ourselves in (or someone else has found themselves in), or a problem we have to face (or someone else has to face), but we cannot do anything about it as it does not depend on us, though we would like it to change” (OJ UW): *Gramy, procenty, promile – taka sytuacja* [*Grams, per cent, per mill – such a situation*]; collocation *zrobić komuś dzień* [*make sb’s day*] ‘make sb feel in a good mood for the rest of the day’ (OJ UW): *Zrobię Wam tym filmem dzień, czyli irytujące kalki językowe* [*This film will make your day or irritating calques*]; acronym OCB widely used in online communication and text messages: *Ad hoc, qui pro quo, sic! – OCB?* or the adverb *epicko*⁷, which in the youth register underwent neosemantisisation and acquired positive connotation, as it might be attributed such meanings as ‘unbelievable, magnificent, unique, as well as impressive, spectacular’ (OJ UW): *Epicko z okazji Wielkanocy* [*Epichy for Easter*].

The biggest number of colloquialisms appear, of course, in the main part of the programme. In addition to words from the general variety of colloquial language, P. Mięka also reaches for units belonging to youth slang, often those that are not listed in dictionaries of the Polish language, their meaning can be reconstructed on the basis of an online dictionary of slang entitled *Miejski.pl* or a dictionary of neologisms being created as part of the project *Najnowsze słownictwo polskie* [*The latest Polish vocabulary*]. And this a confirmation of the fact that the youtuber is versed in the latest language trends and knows which phrases are popular among young users of Polish.

Andrzej Markowski stresses: “The main characteristic of colloquial expressions is their expressive character, emotional in particular. It reflects the attitude of the speaker to the reality of which they speak, sometimes also towards the text itself” (Markowski 1992b: 27). Expressiveness can reveal itself already at the level of word formation. For example, what is worth noticing is the fact of adding to statements prefixes that have a valorising function and are sometimes even duplicated. In such forms, valorisation *in plus* accumulates:

Znalazłam **superciekawy** artykuł na ten temat oraz wpis na stronie Rady Języka Polskiego (episode 171).

[I have found a **superinteresting** article and note on the website of the Council for the Polish Language].

⁷ Translator’s note: *epichy* – in English it is mostly used an adjective *epic*.

Naprawdę uważam, że to to megamegaciekawy trop (episode 138).

[I really think it is a **mega interesting** lead]⁸.

The neologism *zaczadzisty*⁹ has a similar function:

Ło, zaczadziste te nazwy (episode 138).

[Wow, these names are so **cool**].

Typically youthful words also include the hybrid *wiadomix*¹⁰, which is an equivalent of the word *wiadomo*¹¹, which belongs to the general language (cf. OJ UW; Miejski.pl):

Kwiecień to wiadomix – kwiat, bo wtedy wszystko kwitnie (episode 138).

[**Needless to say** – April is a flower, as everything is in full bloom]¹².

For higher expressiveness diminutive and augmentative words are willingly used in live speech, often in an exaggerated way. P. Mięka, does not shy away from them deliberately introducing them into his speech:

I podobnie jest z fryteczkami: możemy mówić “ten frytek” albo “ta frytka”. I wcale nie musi nam wtedy chodzić o tę panią z “Big Brothera”, tylko też o kawałek ziemniora. [...] Ale fryteczki to ja lubię, powiem wam, fryteczki to ja sobie potem zjem, o (episode 49).

[And it is similarly with **fryteczki**¹³; we may say “ten frytek” or “ta frytka”¹⁴. And we may not necessarily mean the lady from “Big Brother”¹⁵, but a big piece of **ziemniór**¹⁶. I like **fryteczki**, though, I must tell you, and I will eat **fryteczki** later].

Dziś odcinek w nowym miejscu, więc lekki stresik jest (episode 112).

[Today’s episode is in a new place, so I feel a little stressed out¹⁷].

*To skoro “czmychać” ma “m” w środku, to jeszcze “c” dorzucili do tego słowa, więc mamy “czmychać” przez “ch”. A “czyhać” nie ma nic, ani “m”, ani “c”, samo “h” takie właśnie **golutki** czyha* (episode 112).

⁸ Translator’s note: *mega* in English is not a prefix here but a separate word and is not normally used in this context.

⁹ Translator’s note: there is no exact English equivalent, its meaning is similar to *cool*.

¹⁰ Translator’s note: there is no English equivalent, a compound consisting of the Polish words meaning ‘known’ and ‘mix’.

¹¹ Translator’s note: there is no English equivalent; a word meaning ‘needless to say’.

¹² Translator’s note: play of words in Polish – April is called a “flower month” as there are many flowers.

¹³ Translator’s note: there is no English equivalent; a diminutive word meaning ‘fries’.

¹⁴ Translator’s note: *ten frytek*, *ta frytka* are female and male versions of the word *fry* – untranslatable as English nouns do not have grammatical gender.

¹⁵ Translator’s note: a popular participant of a TV reality show had a nickname “Fry”.

¹⁶ Translator’s note: no English equivalent, an augmentative word meaning ‘a big potato’.

¹⁷ Translator’s note: untranslatable diminutive word word meaning ‘a little stress’ was used in the Polish original.

[If “czmychać” has “m” in the middle, and they added “c” to the word, hence we have “czmychać” spelled with “ch” while “czyhać” has nothing, neither “m” nor “c”, only “h”, just such a *bare*¹⁸ “czyha”].

The set phrases *z całego serca* [meaning ‘from all my heart’] and *kamień spadł komuś z serca* [meaning ‘a load off my chest’] have undergone double modification with the use of augmentative forms¹⁹:

Na koniec apel do młodych: róbcie swoje, ćwiczcie kreatywność i dobrze się przy tym bawcie, a wyrośnięcie na zdrowych, mądrych i odważnych ludzi. Czego wam i nam z całego serducha w tym nowym 2018 roku życzę, o! (episode 98).

[Finally, a call to the young: do your job, practice your creativity and have fun while doing it, and you will grow up to be healthy, smart and courageous people. Which I wish you and us **with all my heart** in this new 2018, lo!].

Łączenie rzeczowników żeńskich z formą “dwoma” w żadnym wypadku nie jest błędem, dzięki czemu odsapnęłam, ponieważ nie ukrywam, **kamień z serducha mi spadł**, bo dla mnie jednak dość istotne jest to, czy popełniłam błąd czy nie. Na szczęście w poprzednim odcinku tutaj tego błędu nie popełniłam (episode 74).

[Combining feminine nouns with the form “dwoma” [meaning ‘both’] is in no way a mistake, thanks to which it was a relief for me, because I can’t hide, **it was a load off my chest**, because it is vital for me whether I have made a mistake or not. Fortunately, in the previous episode I did not make this mistake here]²⁰.

Popular in colloquial speech univertation and encompassing serve as a manifestation of economisation of the language. They appear in statements on the video blog in order to illustrate the content being discussed or to praise viewers for attempting to use the benchmark standard:

Dziś odcinek o tym, co przywędrowało do nas z Niemiec. Nie, nie chodzi o porno. (episode 19).

[Today’s episode is about what came to us from Germany. No, it’s not about **porn films**].

*A tak poważnie. Ludzie, czego wy się boicie? No czego wy się boicie? Że co, że źle odmienicie? No to źle odmienicie. Moim zdaniem nawet jeżeli próbujecie, to **szacun** za próbę. Lepiej jest próbować, nawet jeżeli z marnym skutkiem, niż pisać czy mówić à la Kali pić, Kali jeść (episode 40).*

[But seriously. People, what are you afraid of? Well, what are you guys afraid of? That your inflection will be incorrect? So let it be. In my opinion, even if you try, [you deserve] **respect** for trying. It is better to try, even if with poor results, than to write or speak ungrammatically].

¹⁸ Translator’s note: the word *golutkie* has no exact equivalent in English, it is a diminutive form of the adjective *bare*.

¹⁹ Colloquial collocations in canonical form will be discussed later in the article.

²⁰ Translator’s note: both phrases in Polish original contain the word *serce* meaning ‘heart’, their augmentative form being *serducho* meaning ‘a big heart’ was used in the original Polish examples above.

The biggest number of expressive elements can be found at the lexical level. Although colloquial Polish is dominated by a negative connotations, the video blogger repeatedly uses positively valorising words. She uses them to express her opinion about the discussed linguistic curiosities, to encourage viewers to use correct wording or to express her favourable opinion about the sources she used in preparing the episode:

*A teraz coś, co was naprawdę zaskoczy. Coś na miarę pisowni "ożeż". **Prawdziwa petarda**. To jest teraz takie modne – petarda. Więc to będzie prawdziwa petarda (episode 70).*

*[And now something that will really surprise you. Something to match the spelling of "ożeż" [exclamation meaning 'dee']. A real **petard**. It's so fashionable now – a petard [meaning: 'a piece of hot gossip or news']. It will be a real petard].*

*Ale w zapisie trzeba pamiętać o "-ę". Naprawdę byłoby **super**, gdybyście pamiętali o tym (episode 112).*

*[And remember to use "-ę"²¹ in spelling. It would be **superb** if you remembered about it].*

*No i **super**, pięknie to brzmi (episode 143).*

*[**Superb**, it sounds beautiful].*

*Po polsku można to też wyjaśnić, ale trzeba się trochę nagadać. A tutaj mamy taką dość krótką konstrukcję i już, więc w zasadzie chyba **spoko**. Czy nie? (episode 84).*

*[You can also explain it in Polish, but it requires more talking. And here we have a rather short construction and that's it, so basically I think it's **cool**, isn't it?].*

*A wiecie, że ja **się jaram** takimi rzeczami (episode 129).*

*[I **dig** such things, you know].*

*Ja się **jaram** tą historią, ja się jaram i myślę, że inni ludzie, którym będziecie tę historię opowiadać, też się będą jarać (episode 143).*

*[I **dig** this story, I dig it and I think that other people telling this story will dig it, too].*

Devices being primarily manifestations of linguistic aggression are also present in P. Mikula's statements, these include vulgar words, curses, invectives or insults, but they appear in a softened form. And although linguists underline that vulgar terms are usually emotionally negative and express a negative attitude to reality (Anusiewicz 1992: 17), the youtuber tries to weave them into her statements skilfully, so as not to excessively offend anyone, but only to emphasise her stance or, more often, to imitate the style of expression of potential viewers. She says: "I compare correct forms to vulgar words because they clash and it may shock, but I know that this way my audience will remember faster what I'm talking about. Sometimes I take risks, but I believe that the end justifies the means (laughter)" (Padol 2016).

²¹ A Polish letter not present in the English alphabet.

In order to manifest negative feelings, especially nervousness, the host of “Mówiąc Inaczej” very often uses the verb *wkurzyć* [meaning ‘piss off’]. Sometimes she repeats it several times in one episode, which is supposed to intensify her emotional state:

“Moje osobiste” was wkurzyło, strasznie was wkurzyło, do tego stopnia was wkurzyło, że prawie kazaliście mi złożyć legginsy na tyłek i usunąć go natychmiastowo z YouTube’a (episode 7).
 [“My personal” **pissed you off**, it **pissed you off** terribly, it **pissed you off** to the point that you almost told me to put my leggings on immediately move my ass away from YouTube].

Ale teraz przejdźmy do kasy. Pieniądze teraz będą. Ponieważ bardzo często, ale to bardzo. Jejku, i to mnie naprawdę wkurza. Jak inne błędy mnie nie wkurzają, to ten błąd naprawdę mnie wkurza. Bardzo. Jak słyszę: “pięć złotych”. “Dziesięć złotych”. “Dwadzieścia złotych”. Ludzie, a “ch” gdzie? Na końcu ma być “ch”. Pięć złotych, dziesięć złotych, dwadzieścia złotych. Mamy “dwa złote”, mamy “jeden złoty”, mamy “trzy złote”, ale powyżej pięciu mamy “złotych”. Jasne? “Polskich złotych” mamy, o (episode 11).

[And now let’s pass on to cash. Now it will be about money. Because very often, but very. Gosh, and it really **pisses** me off. Other mistakes don’t piss me off, but this mistake really **pisses** me off. Very much so. When I hear: “Pięć złotych”. “Dziesięć złotych”. “Dwadzieścia złotych” [PLN 5, 10, 20]²². People, and where is the “ch” where? There should be a “ch” at the end. “Pięć złotych”, “dziesięć złotych”, “dwadzieścia złotych” [PLN 5,10, 20]. We have “dwa złote” [PLN 2], “jeden złoty” [PLN 1], we say “trzy złote” [PLN 3], but above five we say “złotych”. Clear? “Polish złotys” we have, lol].

Chodzi o słowo “technologia”, a właściwie “technika”. Sytuacja wygląda tak, że na nowości techniczne mówimy nowości technologiczne. I mnóstwo osób, zwłaszcza inżynierów, się wkurza. Ja to wkurzenie rozumiem, ale obawiam się, że na tym etapie naprawdę niewiele możemy z tym zrobić (episode 129).

[It’s about the word “technology”, or rather, “technic”. The situation is that instead of technological novelties we say technical novelties. And lots of people, especially engineers, get **pissed off**. I understand their being **pissed off**, but I’m afraid that we really can’t do much about it at this stage].

At times, other verbs expressing disapproval appear:

*Niemniej jednak. Ktoś mi zarzucił, że to jest błąd “niemniej jednak”, ja **piardzielę** (episode 7).*
 [Nevertheless. Someone accused me of using “nevertheless” incorrectly. **Holy crap**].

Swearing is also used to reinforce presented judgments:

*Jeśli jednak takie nieodmienianie imienia Joe wam nie odpowiada, no to, **kurde**, możecie odmieniać (episode 140).*

[However, if you don’t like not inflecting the name Joe, well, **damn**, you can inflect it].

*Nie wiem za bardzo, jak mogę wam jeszcze pomóc, żebyście odróżniali bynajmniej od przynajmniej, nie wiem, może jakoś na skojarzenia spróbujcie? No nie wiem, **cholera**. Ale się nie poddawajcie, niech moc będzie w wami (episode 8).*

²² Translator’s note: inflected forms of the Polish word *złoty* are nonexistent in English.

[I don't know too much how I can still help you to distinguish between at least and at last²³, I don't know, maybe try somehow by association? Well, I don't know, **dammit**. But don't give up, may the power be in you].

Proszę też, żebyście tych form ze sobą nie mylili, choćby nie wiem, **kurde**, co (episode 81).

[I also ask you not to confuse these forms with each other, no matter what, **fudge**].

The offensive wording can function as a quote, as P. Mikuła attempts to use it to recreate the way viewers who follow her channel and comment on the videos she posts communicate:

I już widzę te komentarze w stylu: ty **głupia pipo**, wsadź sobie tę durną zasadę gdzieś, a co powiesz na to, że mówimy "kufel, kufla, cyrkiel, cyrkla, hebel, hebla" (episode 49).

[I can already imagine comments like: you **dumb pussy**, shove this stupid rule in whatchamacallit, how will you react to us saying "kufel, kufla, cyrkiel, cyrkla, hebel, hebla"²⁴].

Idąc waszym tokiem rozumowania, kiedy ja uważam, to chyba wiadomo, że osobiście, nie? W komentarzu pod moim filmem by było: ty **tępa dzido** (episode 7).

[Following your line of reasoning, when I think, it is obvious that it is personally, isn't it? There was a comment under my film: you **blunt cooze**].

I trochę trudno mi uwierzyć w to, że jeśli wasza dziewczyna albo wasz chłopak wybywa z domu, a wy nie chcecie się na to zgodzić, powiedzicie: dokąd idziesz, dokąd zmierzasz, ty **łachudro**? Podejrzewam, że nie. Powiecie: gdzie idziesz, **łajzo**? Ale mogę się mylić (episode 47).

[And I find it a little hard to believe that if your girlfriend or your boyfriend leaves home, and you don't want to accept it, you will say: where are you going, where are you going, **you scoundrel**? I suspect you won't. You will say: where are you going, you **bastard**? But I could be wrong].

It happens that the video blogger, addressing the audience with words from a low register, wants to make the Internet users change their way of thinking:

Mnie się zwyczajnie PS z kropką po S podoba, ta wersja jest dla mnie bardziej przejrzysta, klarowna. Po prostu podoba mi się. A wam nic do tego, więc się zwyczajnie od mojego PS i mojej kropki po S **odwalcie**. I spokój święty mi dajcie. O, zrymowało się (episode 44).

[I simply like PS with a dot after the S, this version is for me more transparent, clearer. I simply like it. And you have nothing to do with it, so simply **fuck off** my PS and my dot after S. And give me alone. Oh, rhymed].

And finally, common terms serve P. Mikuła as a better, in her opinion, illustration of some of the rules of correctness, e.g.:

²³ Translator's note: these are not exact translations of the phrases but they illustrate the same type of mistake made.

²⁴ Translator's note: untranslatable: different inflections of the Polish words: *kufel, cyrkiel, hebel*, meaning 'mug', 'compass', 'hebel'.

Jest taka jedna oklepana zasada, która pomaga zapamiętać poprawną końcówkę, bo przecież mówimy “w dupie”, a nie “w dupiu”. Nie wiem, jak wam, ale mnie ona pomaga (episode 24).

[There’s one clichéd rule that helps you remember the correct ending, because, after all, we say w dupie [meaning ‘in the ass’]²⁵, not “w dupiu” [meaning ‘in the ass’]. I don’t know about you, but I find it helpful].

*I właśnie na tej zasadzie zapisałam: “toby była **dupa** z gęby” (episode 129).*

*[And just analogically I wrote: “it would be **the ass** out of the mouth”].*

What does the author of the video blog say about the reasons for adopting such a convention? In an interview with Małgorzata Gołota, she admits:

I also try, when speaking and writing about correct Polish, to evoke a lot of associations, because it has also helped me at times. Sometimes I use vulgarisms. Although there were also times when the audience wondered why I compared the construction “w cudzysłowie” [meaning ‘in parenthesis’] to “w dupie” [meaning ‘in the ass’] when we have the phrase “w rowie” [meaning: ‘in the ditch’]. But precisely “ditch” is not “ass”! The word “ass” makes people laugh and, because of its vulgarity, does not fit into the study of correct Polish, so – paradoxically – people are more likely to remember the juxtaposition “w cudzysłowie jak w dupie” [“in parenthesis” just as “in the ass”²⁶]. The contrast, which I find convincing, observed here helps to remember the correct form (Gołota 2016).

The youtuber uses everyday speech to introduce the author’s remarks concerning creating episodes or particular stages of presenting the content:

*Wiem, że to bardzo krótki odcinek, ale tak jak wspomniałam, nagrałam go na **totalnym** spontanie – jak to mówi dzisiaj młodzież, chociaż być może wcale tak nie mówi (episode 121).*

*[I know it’s a very short episode, but as I mentioned, I recorded completely **off the cuff** – as the youth say today, although they may not be saying that at all].*

*Tak w ogóle to dzisiaj będzie **na bogato, na bogato, kawiarnia, te sprawy**. Trzeba korzystać z predyspozycji, jakie daje Warszawa (episode 8).*

*[By the way, today we will **get large, the café and the likes**. You need to take advantage of Warsaw].*

*No to co, **lecimy** (episode 129).*

*[So, let’s **get started**].*

*Uwaga: **wjeżdża** przykład pisowni rozdzielnej: Teraz to bym tego nie zrobiła (episode 129).*

*[Attention: **here goes** an example of writing words separately. I wouldn’t do it now].*

P. Mikuła does not only indicate the correct forms and point out mistakes, but also points out to the Internet users what can happen if they resort to words and lexical combination inadequate for the communicative situation they are in.

²⁵ Translator’s note: untranslatable, nouns are not inflected in English.

²⁶ Translator’s note: The juxtaposition invented by the author is based on the same ending of the two Polish words.

Giving advice, she does not hesitate to use items from the colloquial register as in this way it seems easier for her to make the audience aware of the consequences of using incorrect terms or encourage them to choose the correct ones:

*Nie ma sensu gadać bez sensu, bo na świecie jest za dużo rzeczy bez sensu, żeby jeszcze gadanie dorzucać [...], dlatego pomyślmy dwa albo trzy razy, zanim po nie sięgniemy. Bo jeśli po nie sięgniemy bez pomyślniku, no to możemy komuś wyrządzić wielką krzywdę albo wyjść na **chamów i prostaków** (episode 115).*

[There is no point in talking rubbish, because there is too much rubbish in the world to add talking to it [...], so let's think two or three times before we resort to it. Because if we start talking without thinking, well, we can do somebody great harm or come off as **boors and simpletons**].

*Bierzemy tę 51. parę butów i myślimy: kurczę, już jestem tu półtorej godziny, może warto wyjść, ale z drugiej strony, jak kocha, to poczeka. Kiedy tak mówimy, to okazujemy brak szacunku naszemu partnerowi, traktujemy go przedmiotowo; jeśli nic sobie z tego nie robimy, to znaczy, że **coś jest z nami ostro nie tak** (episode 115).*

[We take that 51st pair of shoes and think: blimey, I have already been here for an hour and a half, maybe it's worth leaving, but on the other hand, if she/he loves me, she/he'll wait. When we say this, we show disrespect to our partner, we treat them like an object; if we do not do anything about it, it means that something is **really wrong** with us].

*No i w związku z tym warto zastanowić się, co z tym robimy: tępiemy czy w ogóle nas to **nie rusza** (episode 168).*

[Well, in relation to the above it's worth considering what to do about it: either we fight with it or it **doesn't bother** us].

Vocabulary with negative overtones is also used to criticise repeating mistakes mechanically and ridiculing those who do not care about accuracy on a daily basis. This can be seen in the following examples:

*Wiem, że niektórych z was razi to, gdy mówię, że w języku specjalistycznym jest tak, a w języku potocznym jest tak. Bo macie taką myśl w głowie: to niech się ludzie douczą i nie opowiadają **durnot** (episode 122).*

[I know that some of you feel offended when I say that specialized language is one thing, and common language is another. Because you bear it in your mind: then let people teach themselves and not speak **nonsense**].

*Czy my zawsze musimy skutecznie te **durnowate** schematy? (episode 98).*

[Do we always have to repeat these **nonsensical** patterns?].

*Taki błąd to jest wstyd, **siara straszna**, aż szkoda gadać [...]. Ludzie, spinamy tyłki i zatrzymujemy to, bo inaczej **kaplica** (episode 81).*

[Such a mistake is a shame, cringe, needless to say [...]. People, let's get our **asses together** and stop it, otherwise it's a total **flop**].

Colloquialisms are also used to comment on researchers' hypotheses or explain linguistic phenomena:

*Kolejna hipoteza. Styczeń należy wiązać z czasownikiem stygnąć, bo wtedy jest na dworze tak zimno, że wszystko stygnie. Moim zdaniem mocno **naciągane** (episode 138).*

*[Another hypothesis. We should associate the word “styczeń” [meaning ‘January’] with the verb “stygnąć” [meaning ‘cool down’], as it is so cold outdoors, that everything cools down²⁷. In my opinion it’s too much of a **reach**].*

*My sobie zapożyczyliśmy słowo “technology” i **olaliśmy** tłumaczenie. W ten właśnie sposób technika stała się technologią (episode 129).*

*[We borrowed the word “technology” and we **ditched** any translation. In this way we confused technique with technology].*

In order to maintain viewers’ attention or encourage them to share presented curiosities with others, the host of the channel “Mówiąc Inaczej” addresses the viewers with sentences containing verbs belonging to the colloquial variety of the language:

*Nieraz spotkałam się, że ktoś zamiast “metr” mówi “meter” albo “metryr”. **Czujecie?** Albo “jedna metra”. Nie, żadna z tych form nie jest poprawna. Mówimy tylko “metr” (episode 11).*

*[Many times I heard somebody say “meter” of “metryr” instead of “metr”. **Do you get the feeling?** Or “jedna metra”. None of these forms is correct. We may only say “metr”²⁸].*

***Kumacie** wy to? (episode 143).*

*[Do you **get it?**].*

*Ewentualnie sami z siebie możecie powiedzieć: a wiecie, że konstrukcja “i to by było na tyle” to taki żart językowy? I tu **jedziecie** z całą historią (episode 98).*

*[Alternatively, you can yourselves say: and did you know that the construction “that’s it” is just a linguistic joke? And here you **go** with the whole story].*

Occasionally, direct forms of addressing the Internet users appear:

*Jeśli język obcy przychodzi z pomocą, zapożyczenia, właśnie tego typu kalki, to dlaczego z tego rezygnować, **no dzióbaski**, dlaczego? (episode 84).*

*[If a foreign language comes handy by means of borrowings, just this kind of calques, why give not take advantage of it, **my cuties**, I’m asking why?].*

Verbs from the lower register are also used by the video blogger to accurately characterise the action of making mistakes:

*Te wszystkie słowa są bardzo do siebie podobne, więc łatwo się **machnąć** (episode 112).*

*[All these words are so alike that it’s easy **to goof**].*

*Łatwo to zapamiętać, tylko trzeba to mieć gdzieś tam w głowie. Jak ja się na tym **przejechałam** w podstawówce, do tej pory mi wstyd (episode 112).*

²⁷ Translator’s note: no such relation can be observed in English translation due to different word stems.

²⁸ Translator’s note: all words mean ‘metre’ and are not inflected in English.

[It's easy to remember, you just have to keep it somewhere in your mind. When I **slipped up** on it in primary school, I have been ashamed of it ever since].

Nienawidzić. Tutaj mamy dwa kłopoty. Pierwszy polega na tym, że gdy napiszemy to "nie", to jakoś tak nam się ręka potrafi **omsknąć**. Mówi się tak? Chyba tak. **Omsknąć i walimy** spację, i piszemy to oddzielnie (episode 112).

[Nienawidzić [meaning 'hate']²⁹. Here we have two problems. One is when we have already written this "nie", our hand happens to **drop**. Do we say so? Maybe yes. **Drop** and we **hit a space bar** and we write it separately].

Once P. Mikuła happened to insert a phrase in English, which is very common among representatives of the younger generation:

Kilku prezydentów USA używało zdrobnienia swojego imienia, np. Bill Clinton, który był Williamem, oraz Jimmie Carter, który był Jamesem. Dlaczego? **Who nows**. To znaczy ktoś może **knows**, ale nie ja, więc jeśli jesteście ciekawi, z czego to wynika, to musicie poszukać informacji gdzie indziej (episode 140).

[Several U.S. presidents have used diminutive forms of their names, such as Bill Clinton, who was William, and Jimmie Carter, who was James. Why? **Who knows** [already in English in the Polish original]. I mean perhaps somebody **knows** [already in English in the Polish original], but I don't, so if you are interested what the reason for it is, you must seek information elsewhere].

It is characteristic of colloquial Polish to precede verbs with the corresponding form of verbum *wziąć* [take]. As we read in *Wielki słownik języka polskiego* [Great Dictionary of the Polish Language; abbreviation in the article: WSJP] edited by Piotr Żmigrodzki: *wziąć* is "used together with the following form of the imperative mode of various verbs in order to strengthen the impact on the recipient of the message" (WSJP). P. Mikuła frequently addresses her audience using such a combination, e.g.:

No ludzie kochani, no **weźcie wyluzujcie, weźcie się ogarnijcie**. Obie formy są poprawne, tak (episode 8).

[Well, dear folks, **well, take it easy, get a grip**. Both forms are correct, yes].

Jeśli popełniacie te błędy, ulegacie tym tendencjom, tej modzie, może po prostu **weźcie przestańcie**, bardzo was proszę (episode 159).

[If you make these mistakes by following to these tendencies, this fashion, maybe just **take a break**, I'm asking you so much].

No bo ludzie, po co nam sukcesy, pieniądze, telefony, komputery, hulajnogi, jeśli pewnego dnia okaże się, że brakuje nam zdrowia. [...] **Weźcie pomyślcie** o tym już teraz, nie wygłupiajcie się, bo zdrowie – choć to brzmi banalnie – jest najważniejsze (episode 122).

[Well, folks, why do we need success, money, phones, computers, scooters if one day it turns out that we lack health. [...] **Take to think** about it just now, don't fool yourselves, because health – although it sounds trivial – is the most important thing].

²⁹ Translator's note: in Polish the word can be divided into two parts: *nie* [no] and *widzieć* [see].

In her speeches, the youtuber often uses non-standard exemplifications much different from those common in books or language guides – in order to explain and illustrate specific rules, she selects examples that are not found in academic textbooks, dictionaries or other sources of correctness. She resorts to situations from everyday life, describing them using colloquial lexis:

A nuż, widelec uda mi się dzisiaj wyrwać jakąś niewiaścę (episode 52).

[*Maybe by a mere chance I will pick up some chic today.*]

A wy róbcie, jak chcecie, jak chcecie, to nawet żryjcie tego kotleta. Ale pamiętajcie, że tylko w moim potocznej (episode 44).

[*Do as you like, do as you please, even get stuffed on the pork chop. But remember, only in colloquial speech.*]

Ale moim zdaniem są też i tacy, całkiem inteligentni, którzy się nudzą, bo ta nuda im pomaga. Dzięki niej potrafią się odciąć od świata, zresetować, nabrać sił, energii i są dzięki temu kreatywni. [...] na przykład w jednym słowniku znalazłam informację, że nuda to stan przygnębienia, zniechęcenia wynikający z bezczynności i monotonii życia, i to jest jakaś grubsza sprawa (episode 115).

[*But in my opinion, there are also those, quite intelligent, who are bored, because this boredom helps them. Thanks to it they are able get away from the world, reset, gain strength, energy and thanks to it they and are creative [...] for example, in one dictionary I found a piece of information that boredom is a state of despondency, discouragement resulting from idleness and the monotony of life, and this is some bigger stuff.*]

Bo rzeczywiście czasami nie wiemy, czy w celowniku mamy końcówkę -u czy -owi. Na przykład pojawiają się rozkminy w stylu "koniu" czy "koniowi" (episode 63).

[*Because, indeed, sometimes we do not know whether we have the ending -u or -owi in the mind³⁰. For example, one happens to suss out "koniu" or "koniowi".*]

Numerous fixed phrases are characteristic of colloquial language. "Colloquial collocations express the conveyed content in a pictorial and specific way, which is vivid" – notes A. Markowski (Markowski 1992b: 38). As in the case of vocabulary, petrified phrases used by P. Mięka often have youthful provenience, many of them are classified as not only *colloquial* but also *common*. K. Maciejak underlines: "Videobloggers use fixed phrases primarily to present reality in a negative light [...] and to exaggerate negative states [...]" (Maciejak 2018: 349). This assumption is reflected in the analysed material. Her reaction to errors or alleged incorrect constructions is also expressed by means of colloquial fixed phrases with a negative connotation, e.g.:

*Zauważyłam, że jest więcej takich form, które wydają wam się błędne, a takie nie są, np. czemu. Już nie raz i nie dwa słyszałam, że powinniśmy mówić "dlaczego", a nie "czemu", ponieważ to "czemu" **jakoś tak zaluje wiochę**. A ja się pytam, czemu, ach czemu od razu wiochę? (episode 26).*

³⁰ Translator's note: -u or -owi are different case endings in Polish.

[I've noticed that there are more forms that seem wrong to you, which are not, such as "what for". I have heard more than once and more than twice that we should say "why" and not "what for", because this "what" somehow **smells of a bumpkin**. And I ask, why, oh why immediately a bumpkin?].

Mam taką koleżankę z liceum jeszcze, która zawsze, gdy dzwoniła do mnie w dniu urodzin, zwracała się: solenizantko. A ja myślałam, że oszaleję, że **pawia puszczyć**, ponieważ w głowie miałam to, że solenizant obchodzi imieniny. A ona miała rację. I ona się dobrze do mnie zwracała. Widzicie, ile to się człowiek nerwów naje, gdy nie zna zasad? Musicie znać zasady, to się nie będziecie denerwować (episode 52).

[I have such a friend, yet from high school, whenever she called me on my birthday, she would address me: "solenizantko"³¹. And I thought I would go crazy, or **puke**, because I had it in my head that "solenizant" was someone who celebrated their name day. And she was right. And she was addressing me correctly. You see how much nerves a person gets when they don't know the rules? You have to know the rules, then you won't get nervous].

Kiedy pierwszy raz usłyszałam, że ludzie popełniają ten błąd, pomyślałam, że **ktoś sobie robi ze mnie jaja, żarty, że ktoś sobie robi ze mnie**. Ale chyba, kurczę, nie (episode 81).

[When I first heard that people make this mistake, I thought someone **was kidding me, making fun of me**. But I guess, gee, no].

Jeśli jednak mówimy: "Bynajmniej raz w roku odwiedzam dentystę", no to trochę **robimy z siebie głupa**, tak? (episode 8).

[However, if we say: "I nowise visit the dentist at least once a year", well we make **a bit of a fool of ourselves**, don't we?].

P. Mikuła informs us to approach certain language issues in a relaxed way, through using word phrases indicating lack of any need to rigidly follow the rules in certain situations, e.g.:

Być może się teraz komuś narażę, ale myślę, że dzięki kalkom **mamy trochę więcej luzu w galotach** (episode 84).

[I may offend somebody here, but I think that thanks to calques we **pull that stick out of our ass**].

To znaczny zwyczajowo się ten przecinek przyjął i **trzody nie ma**, jeżeli go tam postawicie (episode 17).

[I mean the comma has become common in that place, so it is **no bummer** if you put it there].

Oczywiście w mowie potocznej jest to forma dopuszczalna, tak że **nie ma ciśnienia**, ostatecznie **nie ma ciśnienia** (episode 17).

[Obviously, this form is admissible in colloquial speech, so there is **no pressure**, eventually there is **no pressure**].

³¹ Translator's note: no English equivalent — a person who celebrates their name day or birthday; *jubilat* is a person celebrating an anniversary.

Jednak żeby nie było, że gadam bez sensu. Jeżeli chcecie się postugiwać polszczyzną wzorcową, czystą, piękną, mówcie: nie tylko, lecz także. Jeśli zaś nie chce wam się albo nie jesteście w stanie tego zapamiętać, **olejcie temat** i mówcie, jak chcecie. To znaczy w przypadku akurat tego spójnika skorelowanego (episode 38).

[However, so as not to make my speech sound like gibberish. If you want to use beautiful pure standard Polish, say: not only, but also. If, on the other hand, you don't want to or are unable to remember it, then don't **give a shit** and speak as you like. That is, in the very case of this correlated conjunction].

Hejka, dzisiaj o takich błędach, które dość często są mi wytykane. No jeden z drugim musi, bo inaczej się przecież udusi. A ja tak sobie myślę, po co te nerwy, po co te nerwy. **Nerwy w konserwy** (episode 103).

[Hey, you, today is going to be about the mistakes that are often pointed out to me. Someone has to, they can't hold it. But I think to myself why get nervous, why get nervous. **Chill out**].

Colloquial expressions are also used in order to:

- better illustrate the discussed issues:

"Ten pomarańcz", a może "ta pomarańcza". Według słowników jeśli mowa o owocach, to zawsze mówimy "ta pomarańcza". [...] Natomiast jeśli mówimy o kolorze, to w mianowniku mamy "ten pomarańcz". Na przykład: Pomarańcz mojej spódnicy **dawał po oczach** tak bardzo, że widać mnie było z daleka. O (episode 49).

["Ten pomarańcz" or perhaps, "ta pomarańcza"³². [...] If we talk about colours, than in the subject case we have "ten pomarańcz". For example: the orange was so **garish**, that you could see it for miles. Lo].

Inteligentni się nie nudzą. Mam wrażenie, że bardzo często rodzice używają tego powiedzenia, kiedy dziecko przychodzi do nich i mówi: mamo, tato, nudzi mi się. Wtedy rodzice mówią: Inteligentni się nie nudzą. **Wjeżdżają dziecku na ambicję** i to dziecko zaczyna szukać rozwiązania i przestaje liczyć na to, że dorośli to rozwiązanie mu podsuną pod nos (episode 115).

[The smart never get bored. I have the impression that very often parents use this saying when a child comes to them and says: Mom, Dad, I'm bored. Then the parents say: the smart never get bored. They **challenge the child's ego** and it is the child who begins to look for a solution and stops counting on adults to serve it up on a plate].

- recall her own and the audience's experience:

Raczej to wygląda tak, że piszę, piszę, piszę i nagle **łapię zawiechę**, więc szybko zaglądam do słownika ortograficznego, sprawdzam, jak powinnam zapisać dane słowo, i piszę bez błędu. No bo są takie proste słowa, których zapis jakoś nie może utkwąć mi w głowie (episode 112).

[Rather, it looks like this: I'm writing, writing, writing, and suddenly I **get stuck**, so I quickly take the spelling dictionary, check how I should spell the word, and write it down without an error. Well, because there are such simple words, their spelling slips my mind].

³² Translator's note: these two phrases are the masculine and feminine forms of the word *orange* in Polish.

Fakt, że istnieje coś takiego jak spójnik skorelowany “nie tylko, lecz także”, na niektórych wywarł tak duże wrażenie, a mówiąc kolokwialnie: **zrył banie**, że postanowili założyć mu fanpage. Oto i on (episode 38).

[The fact that such a thing as a correlated conjunction “not only, but also” exists made such an impression on some people, and colloquially speaking, for some turned out to be such a **banana skin** that they decided to set up a fanpage for it. Here it is].

Dziś będzie odcinek o kobietach, o kobietach, które – jak to kobiety – lubią się przychrzaniać, **zawracać bułę, zawracać gitarę, szukać dziury w całym, aż do porzygu**. Czyli o kobietach, które oglądają mój program ze zrozumieniem albo bez zrozumienia i próbują znaleźć moje błędy, niedociągnięcia, a jak już je znajdują, to dopiero się zaczyna taniec pingwina (episode 44).

[Today’s episode will be about women, women who as women like to **be nit-picky, be a pain in the neck, a pain in the ass, who pick holes in everything** to the point of making everyone puke. In other words, about women who watch my program with or without understanding and try to find my mistakes, shortcomings, and when they find them, the penguin dance just begins].

- provide guidance:

Nigdy **nie robiłam tego na chama**. To znaczy zawsze pytałam: mam cię poprawiać czy nie? I wszyscy odpowiadali: poprawiaj, poprawiaj, to mi się przyda. Ale **nigdy na chama**, to wielka gafa tak bez pardonu komuś powiedzieć: źle mówisz, jak tak możesz mówić, **jesteś wieśniakiem**, nie oglądasz Pauliny. Nie róbcie tak, po prostu (episode 43).

[I have never tried to **force** anybody into doing anything. That is, I have always asked: should I correct you or not? And everyone answered: please correct, correct, it will be useful for me. But never **by force**, it’s a big blunder to say to someone so without any pardon: you speak badly, how can you speak like that, you’re a **bumpkin**, you don’t watch Paulina. Simply don’t do that].

No, jeśli chcecie **być bardzo a-ę**, to warto takich zaleceń stylistycznych przestrzegać, wtedy nikt się nie przyczepi (episode 143).

[Well, if you want to **keep stiff upper lip**, it’s worth sticking to such stylistic recommendations, then nobody will nitpick].

- raise the viewers’ self-esteem:

I jeszcze jedna bardzo ważna rzecz. Ostatnio zauważyłam, że pod jednym z moich filmów, tym o wtańczeniu, poszłem, ktoś zwrócił mi uwagę, że zamiast “dzięki temu” powiedziałam “przez to”. Dokładnie komentarz brzmiał tak: “Nie przez to, tylko dzięki czemu -,- Przez coś to można przeskoczyć”. Ależ mój drogi komentatorze, kochany widzu. No nie przejdzie mi to przez gardło. No ale muszę, muszę, muszę. Panie Aleksandrze, ma pan rację. [śmiech] Ma pan rację, **wygrał pan internety** i jest pan zwycięzcą. Cholera, no rzeczywiście, powinnam powiedzieć “dzięki temu” (episode 18).

[And one more very important thing. Recently I noticed that under one of my videos, the one about incorectly using the words “tun on” and “go”, someone pointed out to me that instead of “due to it” I said “through it”. The exact comment went like this: “Not through this, but due to this-,- You can jump through something”. But my dear commentator, dear viewer. Well, it will not go down my throat. Well, but I must, I must, I must do it. Mr. Alexander, you are right. [laughter] You are right, **you won the Internets** and you are the winner. Damn, well indeed, I should say “due to this”].

It can be assumed that the strategy chosen by the youtuber is bringing the desired effect. By using colloquial Polish, she removes communication barriers between the host of the channel and the Internet users. This confirms the thesis of K. Maciejak that: "The use of language reserved for private contacts additionally allows broadcasters to create a relationship with viewers based on proximity and community" (Maciejak 2018: 339). The positive reception of such a way of talking about language can be proved by the comments of viewers posted under the videos, not infrequently referring to the colloquial constructions used by the author, as well as by the fact that the number of subscribers to the channel is still increasing, and new episodes still remain to be popular.

The presence of colloquial language structures in the media is, of course, not a new phenomenon, different studies even emphasise the expansion of colloquialism (cf. e.g. Lubaś 2001; Ożóg 2007; Warchala 2018) which began in the mass media in the 1990s. The use of colloquialisms for language culture activities should be considered a kind of novelty. Some researchers even doubted whether such a convention was not in conflict with the issues raised in the films (cf. Gorlewska 2015: 55). However, it should be emphasized that the relatively new medium of the YouTube service has contributed to the development of new broadcasting patterns. The popular science nature of the channel "Mówiąc Inaczej" allows for the introduction of more informal speech. Undoubtedly, the use of colloquial lexis and phraseology, referring to examples from everyday life or not avoiding vulgar and offensive words are deliberate and conscious elements of image creation by P. Mikuła. The attractiveness of colloquial language and the use of it in situations that are not typical for it should be considered as the promotion of linguistic accuracy – as it was pointed out by M. Kita (Kita 1993).

J. Warchala emphasises: "[...] the development and expansion of both phenomena, mass culture and colloquial language, have only been possible thanks to the enormous, until recently unimaginable, development of the means of communication, especially electronic ones" (Warchala 2003: 196). It seems that P. Mikuła has combined these two levels very well. She was one of the first to use the potential of a video-sharing website to promote correct Polish. As she personally admits, "YouTube is a place where you look for spontaneity, authenticity, naturalness. So I try to talk about the language as if I were telling my friends about it. I manage to do so, and I have the impression that it works" (Czupryn 2016). The aforementioned spontaneity is also an important feature of colloquial style. It can be assumed that it is the ability to adapt to the audience, also in terms of language, that contributed to the popularity of the host of the video blog "Mówiąc Inaczej".

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