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Englishisms in post-Soviet Russian : linguistic markers of historical change

Yuliya Thompson
San Jose State University

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ENGLISHISMS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN:
LINGUISTIC MARKERS OF HISTORICAL CHANGE

A Thesis

Presented to

The Faculty of the Department of Linguistics
and Language Development
San Jose State University

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

Yuliya Thompson

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APPROVED FOR THE DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND
LANGUAGE DEVELOPMENT

Peter Lowenberg

Dr. Peter Lowenberg, Associate Professor,
Department of Linguistics and Language Development

Cobie Harris

Dr. Cobie Harris, Associate Professor,
Department of Political Science

Kevin Moore

Dr. Kevin Moore, Lecturer,
Department of Linguistics and Language Development

APPROVED FOR THE UNIVERSITY

Rhea I. Williamson 05/06/08

ABSTRACT

ENGLISHISMS IN POST-SOVIET RUSSIAN: LINGUISTIC MARKERS OF HISTORICAL CHANGE

By Yuliya Thompson

By juxtaposing the socio-economic and political circumstances of Russia in the early 1990s with the concurrent accelerated use of English lexical items in the Russian language, this thesis proposes that this historical change and linguistic phenomenon are the accompaniments of each other. It is suggested that the rise of Englishisms in the Russian language of today can be viewed in terms of ideological shift and that the language donor is also the ideology donor, implying the nature of power relations between the West and Russia of the 1990s. By carefully examining which semantic senses of English words are transferred into Russian, and by analyzing thematic domains in which the English lexical items occur, it is proposed that transfer of English lexical items into Russian is happening not chaotically, but in a systematic manner parallel with the change in ideological paradigm the country has experienced in its post-Soviet phase.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Recent Rise of English Language Presence in Russian

English does not have an official status in Russia, "...neither is it developed to the stage of an institutionalized variety, nor is it used as a means of communication internal to the community" (Ustinova, 2005, p. 239). No laws are written in English and no public school instruction takes place in English. Foreign language learning in general is a mandatory requirement in public education, but it is not restricted to English. It has been suggested that "...of Russia's estimated 150 million population, it is thought that over 81% speak the official language of Russian as their first and only language" (BBC, 2007b). There are millions of Russians who have never had any academic exposure to English.

Simultaneously with the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, there appeared a large number of English words in the Russian language. As observed by Proshina and Etkin (2005, p. 443), "...there is something of an English language boom in Russia." They define the period of time since the decade of the 1990s through the present as the latest stage of intensified contact between the two languages, characterized by the "...flow of loans,

especially in information technology, advertising, and mass media" (Proshina & Etkin, 2005, p. 444). Ustinova (2005) reports an estimated 10,000 English words present in Russian today of which hundreds are in common use and are familiar to the average Russian. A recent BBC News article states that *ИМИДЖ-МЭЙКЕР* (*imidzh-mejjker*, "image-maker"), *ТИНЭЙДЖЕР* (*tinehjjdzher*, "teenager"), and *ОВЕРДРАФТ* (*overdraft*, "overdraft") are among many English words that are regularly seen and heard in modern Moscow (BBC, 2007a).

Today, Russian people routinely send *ЭСЭМЭСКИ* (*ehsehmehski*, "SMS-Short Message Service-messages"), surf the *ИНТЕРНЕТ* (*internet*, "internet"), play *БОУЛИНГ* (*bouling*, "bowling"), practice *СКЕЙТБОРД* (*skejttbord*, "skateboard"), purchase *БАРБИ* (*barbi*, "barbie"), work in the *ОФИС* (*ofis*, "office"), do *ШОППИНГ* (*shopping*, "shopping") at the *СУПЕРМАРКЕТ* (*supermarket*, "supermarket"), and chat about a popular *РЕАЛИТИ-ШОУ* (*realiti-shou*, "reality show") or *СУПЕРСТАРЫ* (*superstary*, "superstars"). English has penetrated all generations and professions, "...at the high tides of cross-cultural contact, linguistic borrowing has occurred in every imaginable field, from literature and finance to science and pop-culture" (Proshina & Etkin, 2005, p. 439).

The media, especially in the domain of advertisements,

have become thoroughly populated by English words; it is commonplace to see or hear English in the ads promoting both Western and domestic products and services. Ustinova and Bhatia (2005, p. 500) provide the following example in which the presence of English is underlined:

(1) Moloko vdvoine vkusnei esli eto Milky Way.

"Milk is twice tastier if it is Milky Way."

In this commercial, English is used to refer to the name of a non-Russian product. However, the following advertisement promotes a prestigious Russian mall-like commercial center:

(2) Kollekcii osen'-zima 07/08. Personal'nyjj VIP shopping. ("Kollekcii osen'-zima," 2007)

"Fall-winter 07/08 collections. Personal VIP shopping."

The presence of English is also reflected in the following ad marketing a domestic consulting business:

(3) NeoCentr. Konsaltingovaya gruppa. Uroki Uspekha.

NeoCentr + 10 let opyta > konsalting. ("Neocentr," 2007)

"NeoCenter. Consulting group. Success Lessons.

NeoCenter + 10 years of experience > consulting."

In addition to English words entering colloquial discourse and the realm of advertising, it is simply

impossible to refer to email and website addresses in written discourse without abandoning the Cyrillic alphabet and resorting to the foreign Roman alphabet. One of the endless examples is the novel convention for Russian newspapers to refer to the internet version of the newspaper in Roman letters. For instance, the Roman characters expression "www.izvestia.ru" is simply embedded in the overall Cyrillic alphabet text. It is striking that the most popular, widely-circulating newspapers of a country in which there is no native English speaking population would allow for Roman characters to appear on the front page of the newspaper, next to the newspaper's title.

Parallel to this linguistic change, since the dissolution of the USSR, the total number of Russian speakers has been declining rapidly due to the low birth rate in Russia (Groskop, 2007) and also because Russian is losing status in the majority of the former USSR republics. In fact, only five former Soviet republics have adopted Russian as a second official language (Arnold, 2007). As a reaction to the language's invasion by foreign lexical items and the shrinking number of its speakers, the Russian government is reacting by acts of language planning, the most recent one of which is President Putin's decree

declaring the year 2007 as The Year of the Russian Language. According to its official website, this initiative is aimed at strengthening the status of the Russian language via activities promoting Russian language and literature at the international level. These activities include exhibitions and fairs of books by Russian authors as well as forums and conferences related to the Slavic world in general (www.russian2007.ru). The fact that the chairman of the Organizing Committee of this event is Dmitry Anatolyevich Medvedev, who was the First Deputy Russian Prime Minister when the event was launched and who is currently (March 2008) the new President-elect, is indicative how serious is the State's concern about the current Russian language situation.

In addition to the presidential language planning action, in 2003, the lower house of the Russian government passed a law "...that would have banned politicians from swearing or needlessly using foreign words..." (BBC, 2003). The bill has not become a law because the upper house voted against it, calling it an "extreme of linguistic purity." Therefore, the influence of English is growing so swiftly that even the government expresses concern by adopting measures in hopes of controlling it.

Recent Research

English language influence on Russian today is a topic of interest for a number of linguists. Since the fall of the Soviet Union, considerable research has investigated the proliferation of lexical items from English in Russian language discourse. However, as noted in Rivlina (2005, p. 478), "...the Russian language has not been investigated in its interaction with English as thoroughly as have many other languages with a longer history of language contacts (with English), for example, East-Asian languages, or Indian languages." In fact, not until 2005 did the journal *World Englishes*, which has been published since 1984 and strives to investigate English around the world, begin to include studies of Russian-English interaction, or even the work of any Russian Linguists.

In general, the research that has been completed on the subject has focused on the following areas, thus covering an array of language contact and sociolinguistic issues connected to the presence of English in Russian. Proshina (2005) and Proshina and Etkin (2005) explore Russian-English contact in the historical context; they are interested in drawing parallels between the latest wave of contact (Post-Soviet) and previous waves. Ter-Minasova (2005), Leontovich (2005), Yuzefovich (2005), and McCaughey

(2005) discuss approaches for teaching English in light of the increased language contact.

Regardless of the particular research interest, all work on English-Russian contact in the post-Soviet context only alludes in varying degrees to the reasons behind this linguistic phenomenon. For instance, Ustinova (2005) classifies the functions of English in Russia and explores how English surfaces and interacts with Russian in the advertisement genre. Ustinova and Bhatia (2005, p. 505) consider the role of English in contemporary Russian to be a "marker of Westernization, internationalism, modernization, innovation, and prestige."

Rivlina (2005, p. 478) focuses on cross-cultural analysis of semantic calques and grammatical influences of English on contemporary Russian, and observes that "...social changes could not but change the linguistic situation in Russian society: there was a considerable increase in English-Russian translations in all genres and spheres..." (Rivlina, 2005, p. 478). Thus, linguists tend to concentrate on *how* English is present, rather than *why* it is present in the contemporary Russian. My research interest lies precisely in the parallel social and linguistic changes in the 1990s Russia and the possibility of indexing historical processes by analyzing the semantic

senses of new lexical items.

Goal of this Thesis

This thesis proposes that it is convenient to view the linguistic phenomenon of increased English lexical items use in contemporary Russian in terms of ideological change and that this phenomenon is inseparable from the historical context. I intend to juxtapose the recent linguistic change of rapid lexical inventory expansion of Russian via English words with the historical change in Russian society of the nineties. By carefully examining which semantic senses of English words are transferred into Russian, and by analyzing thematic domains in which the English lexical items occur, I will illustrate that the ideology change and the linguistic change in post-Soviet Russia accompany each other and that the language donor is also the ideology donor, implying the nature of power relations between the West and Russia. My goal will be to illustrate how the socio-economic changes are encoded in the adopted English words. This approach is utile because it indicates that although English lexical items are present in an array of domains, these domains are ideology-specific; therefore, transfer of English words into Russian is happening not chaotically, but in a systematic manner parallel with the

change in ideological paradigm the country is experiencing in its post-Soviet phase.

This thesis is arranged in the following order: Chapter 2 attempts to capture the historical change that involves the ideological shift and is a precursor to the linguistic change of the post-Soviet Russia. Chapter 3 is devoted to the exploration of the subtle ways in which these historical changes are encoded in the English lexical items present in the Russian language of today. Chapter 4 summarizes the discussion and proposes that the language status quo in Russia is the result of linguistic and social change being the accompaniments of each other and that the ideology donor is also the language donor.

Chapter 2: Society

This chapter introduces the term "ideology," touches upon its complexity, and establishes its operational definition for the purposes of this paper. The basic ideals of socialist ideology will be surveyed and contrasted with the ideology of liberalism and the economic practices of neo-liberalism. Finally, the historical shift between ideologies will be illustrated through discussion of Russia's transition from Soviet to post-Soviet era.

Ideology

One of the broadest definitions of the term "ideology" is a set of ideas and beliefs that, according to Freeden (2003, p. 3), "...map the political and social worlds for us." These maps do not correspond to external, universal, and objective reality, but simply bring forth a pattern to interpret political and social facts and events (Freeden, 2003). In other words, ideology is similar to an interpretive lens or a world view. This term originated in the nineteenth century with Antoine Destutt de Tracy, who was interested in a branch of study concerning ideas (Freeden, 2003). Various social theorists have expanded the range of the term's meanings since its coinage. For

instance, Marx and Engels associated ideology with class and proposed that ideologies possess the power to create "...a framework within which decisions can be taken and make sense" (Freeden, 2003, p.11). Gramsci's contribution to the concept was placing ideology in the domain of society, and proposing that intellectuals were "...the major formulators and conductors of ideology..." and that they engaged in "manufacturing consent" among the general population in order to reinforce the dominant ideology (Freeden 2003, p. 20).

I will use "ideology" principally as a shorthand for "political ideology" and will adhere to Freeden's (2003, p. 32) functional definition of political ideology:

A political ideology is a set of ideas, beliefs, opinions, and values that (1) exhibit a recurring pattern, (2) are held by significant groups, (3) compete over providing and controlling plans for public policy and (4) do so with the aim of justifying, contesting or changing the social and political arrangements and processes of a political community.

Socialism

In general, socialism is an umbrella term for a number of ideologies and political movements emerging in the 19th century and is associated with such political thinkers as Robert Owen, Charles Fourier, and Pierre Leroux (Freeden, 2003, p. 84). Versions of socialism are unified by an

underlying idea of egalitarian distribution of wealth. Socialism views the group as the basic unit of society and esteems equality, abandonment of hierarchical distinctions, and distributing goods based on human need (Freeden, 2003). Hence, according to socialism, collectivism is the ideal way of organizing society. Under this ideology, private property is impossible; the land and the means of production are owned collectively by the entire population, and the political organization of society is aimed at creating a socio-economic system that embraces and makes these ideals a social reality. The socialized state's political objective is thus "...nationalization of the means of production, distribution, and exchange..." (Freeden, 2003, p. 83). Prior to the collapse of the Soviet Union, for almost seventy years, the Marxism-Leninism version of socialism was the prevailing ideology of the Russian people, and the Communist Party was the political body that commanded economy, among other social domains, whose goal was the creation a truly socialist state.

Neo-Liberalism

"Neo-liberalism" is frequently used synonymously with "capitalism" and is a set of economic practices heavily

based on the nineteenth century classical liberal precepts of Adam Smith, who considered market to be the most efficient allocator of resources that regulated itself towards a balance between supply and demand (Steger, 2003). During the post-Second World War period, governments of the West practiced Keynesian capitalism that allowed the State, in addition to the private sector, to regulate the economy. In the last quarter of the twentieth century, Keynesianism was replaced by neo-liberalism, in which the State's participation and guidance in the economy is significantly restricted (Bogomolov, 2001). This fairly recent phenomenon denationalizes economy through concrete measures such as privatizing public enterprises, removing restrictions on trade, reducing taxes and social spending, downsizing the government, and abandoning controls on global financial flows (Steger, 2003). Neo-liberalism is associated with the names of philosopher-economist Friedrich von Hayek from the University of Chicago and his students, including Milton Friedman (Globalexchange.org, 2007).

Neo-liberal economic practices are rooted in the ideology of liberalism. Similarly to socialism, liberalism is a term defining an array of various sets of ideas and political movements. In contrast to socialism, liberalism

conceptualizes the individual as the basic social unit (Freedman, 2003). While in socialism individual interests are insignificant and dismissible compared to the collective, liberalism advocates the freedom and choice of the individual, including the freedom of ownership and freedom from economic and physical coercion (Fulcher, 2004, p. 81) and "entertains the idea of the open-ended development of human beings towards increasingly civilized states of existence." Notions of liberty and justice are the accompaniments of this ideology. The emphasis on the individual rights and equal opportunity for all presupposes the economic system in which the means of production are in private ownership and are operated for profit and in which it is the market, not the state, that commands the distribution of goods and services. Hence, socialism and liberalism fundamentally differ in how they conceptualize society, its organization, its goals, and the roles of the individual and of the government.

From Soviet to Post-Soviet

This section briefly examines the historical events during which the radical transformation of Russian society occurred, including an ideological shift. It considers political and economic circumstances during the period of

the country's transition from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics into the Russian Federation and the role of the West in its transformation.

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics collapsed in 1991. This was an event of enormous proportion and colossal importance because it brought to an end the capitalism versus socialism debate, and it established the West, headed by the U.S., as a dominant ideological influence in the global arena of the early nineties. This transformation in world politics has led to profound changes in numerous social spheres in Russia, including politics, economy, culture, education, and religion.

One of the principle transitions was the departure from the authority of the Communist Party recognized in Article 6 of the 1977 Soviet Constitution:

The leading and guiding force of the Soviet society and the nucleus of its political system, of all state organizations and public organizations, is the Communist Party of the Soviet Union... .
("Constitution," 1996).

In contrast to the Soviet political system, Article 3 of Russia's post-Soviet 1993 Constitution bans any usurpation of power in the Russian Federation, while Article 1 transforms the socialist autocratic totalitarian State into a "...democratic federal law-bound State with a republican form of government" (Garant-Internet, 2001).

Another crucial consequence of the USSR's fall was the radical remodeling of the economic system from the Socialist model, based on state ownership and planning via Five Year Plans, into a market-based model, in which it is the free markets, rather than the government, who command the distribution of goods and services. In contrast to the Soviet State ownership, Article 35 of Russia's 1993 Constitution protects the right of private property while Article 34 promotes competition by explicitly prohibiting "...economic activity aimed at monopolization..." (Garant-Internet, 2001), which is radically different from the centrally planned economy.

By the arrival of the nineties, Russia was in dire economic straits; even "...by 1985, it became increasingly clear that Soviet economy was in an advanced state of economic collapse relative to the economic and technological strides of the advanced economies of the West" (Roberts, 1995, p. 38). Some historians call the late USSR economy "inefficient and wasteful" and "unable to provide proper economic development of the country and a decent standard of living for its citizens" (Arbatov, 2001, p. 179). Mikhail Gorbachev's vision was to ease the country into the Swedish-like model of free market economy, known for its large public sector and high taxes: "...it is

important that society itself comprehend and accept the transition to the market" (Gorbachev, 2001, p. xiv). Many Soviet economists, including Leonid Abalkin, Stanislav Shatalin, and Grigorijj Yavlinskijj, were in favor of a gradualist approach to the market economy transition (Pomer, 2001).

However, the participants of the Houston 1990 Group of Seven (US, UK, Japan, Germany, Italy, France, and Canada), armed with the expertise of the International Monetary Fund, World Bank, the European bank for Reconstruction and Development, and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, presented the USSR with the set of conditions for Western cooperation (Bogomolov, 2001) that encouraged considerably more rapid and liberal measures than what Russians had in mind. The West's prescription amounted to Russia's instantaneous acquisition of neo-liberal economics, the "shock therapy" maneuver (Klein, 2007, p. 223). In other words, the message from the seven industrialized countries was that if Russia were to become a part of the global economy, it had to subscribe to the dominant ideology of the West through redirecting itself towards the capitalistic conceptualization of society.

Hence, Boris Yeltsin--the first President of Russia in the post-Soviet context--undertook "immediate capitalist

transformation" (Pomer, 2001, p. 154). His Russian collaborators consisted of a team of economists many of whom in the final USSR years belonged to a so-to-speak free market book club and were enthusiasts of Milton Friedman's ideas (Klein, 2007). Among Yeltsin's collaborators from the West were the neo-liberal advocates Jeffrey Sachs from the Harvard University Economics Department, British Professor Richard Layard, and Swedish Professor Anders Åslund:

The reform program [shock therapy] was directed by Western advisers holding official status in the Russian government. They drew on the authority of international organizations and dominated Western public opinion. Time and again, Russia was told that it had no alternative to 'big bang' liberalization and that this choice was supported by the entire Western world. Supposedly, the burden of reform had to be borne in anticipation of inevitable success. Proposals for more gradual phased transformation were branded as anti-reform or procommunist. (Bogomolov, 2001, p. 55)

In 1992, the United States Agency for International Development awarded a \$2.1 million contract to the Harvard Institute of International Development that sent young lawyers and economists to Russia and whose jobs "...ranged from writing privatization decrees to launching a New York style stock exchange and designating a Russian mutual fund market" (Klein, 2007, p. 223).

In exchange for President Yeltsin's promise of a healthy and thriving economy within a short period of time,

Parliament granted him special powers allowing him to issue laws by decree, rather than presenting them for Parliament approval (Klein, 2007, p. 222), thus permitting the exercise of nearly absolute executive power, unchecked by other governmental branches, on his neo-liberal quest. The intention of Yeltsin's circle was to implement the 'shock therapy' measures "...so suddenly and quickly that resistance would be impossible" (Klein, 2007, p. 223). The range of shock therapy measures that took place shortly after the dismantling of the Soviet Union included rapid privatization of the country's approximately 225,000 state-owned companies, abandoning price controls, liberalization of international trade and currency flows, and stabilizing the currency value via reducing State spending (Pomer, 2001, p. 23). Thus, the entire decade of the 1990s in Russia was permeated by the West's encouragement, financial support, and ideological interference.

Undoubtedly, the fact that Russia has adopted the neo-liberal economic policies does not mean that it has turned into a US-like capitalist state with the ideals of liberalism in the vanguard overnight. In fact, some political scientists are of the opinion that:

Russia is a capitalist country [only] to the extent that it is part of the global capitalist economy, of the world capital market and of the international capitalist division of labour...the difference is

that "socialist" decorations have been taken down, and the real elements of socialism that existed in Soviet society have been extirpated or weakened.
(Kagarlistsky, 2002, p.7)

Rather, what is of utmost significance is that these historical changes of the early 1990s introduced a radically different world view to the Russian people.

Chapter 3: Language

This chapter introduces the term "Englishisms," discusses the method of data collection, outlines the transliteration convention, and introduces dictionaries employed. The semantic senses of Englishisms are investigated and a diachronic analysis employed where appropriate. Furthermore, it is demonstrated that Englishisms can be viewed as pertaining to specific domains and that this pattern is harmonious and coherent with the new way of conceptualizing Russian society.

Englishisms

The term "loan word" is pertinent to both historical and contact linguistics. One of its definitions is a lexical item that has been borrowed from another language, "...a word that originally was not *part of vocabulary* [emphasis added] of the recipient language but was adopted from some other language..." (Campbell, 1999, p. 58). Crystal offers a similar definition: "A linguistic unit (usually a lexical item) which *has come to be used* [emphasis added] in a language or a dialect other than the one where it originated" (Crystal, 2003, p. 250). For example, "coups d'etat," "hors d'oeuvre," and "perestroika,"

are examples of borrowings in English. Since further elaboration is required as to the necessary and sufficient requirements for being a "part of vocabulary" and "come to be used," there is no unanimous consensus among linguists about what constitutes a loan. Kyoko Takashi, a linguist who studies English borrowings in Japanese, encounters this difficulty in her research and states that "...the methodological problem of how to draw a line between integrated loans and non-integrated loans has continued to plague loan word research" (Takashi, 1990, p. 329). Robert Phillipson, a linguist who is interested in English in the global perspective, is of the opinion that terms like "borrowing" and "loan word" are misleading in general "...since speakers of a language who borrow words from another have no intention of returning anything. The transaction is purely unidirectional, and reflects the desirability of the product to the consumer" (Phillipson, 1993, p. 7).

Since, "loans" and "borrowings" are thus not indisputable labels, Russian linguists have adopted various terms to describe the presence of English words in contemporary Russian language, such as "Englishisms," "Anglocisms," "English-based innovations," "Russian-English convergence," and "foreignisms." Due to the issues present

in the definition of a "loan word," since the history of the most recent English-Russian contact phase is still young, and because it is not transparent which English words are strong loan candidates and which constitute only brief and temporary occurrences, it may be premature to assign precisely the status of the way in which English is present in modern Russian. Hence, the term "Englishisms" is operational, utile, and convenient for the purposes of this project. Rather than "borrow" or "loan," I will give preference to "transfer" or "adopt" and will occasionally resort to "donor language" and "recipient language."

Data Collection and Analyses

The study applies a replicable and independently motivated methodology of collecting and analyzing Englishisms appearing in the present day in major daily Russian language newspapers. Copies of the five most widely circulating Russian-language daily newspapers for a randomly allotted one-week period during November 2007 have been selected. Two large research companies, TNS Global and Comcon, whose area of expertise is Russian advertising markets (FIPP, 2007), have identified the following as the five most widely circulating newspapers:

1. *Komsomol'skaya Pravda* (KP) (issued since 1925)
2. *Moskovskijj Komsomolec* (MK) (issued since 1919)
3. *Izvestiya* (issued since 1917)
4. *Rossijjskaya Gazeta* (issued since 1991)
5. *Kommersant* (issued since 1997)

In each of these issues all foreign words were identified. The ones that are transferred from English were labeled as Englishisms and were thus distinguished from the rest of the foreign words present in the texts. For each Englishism, I recorded the name of the newspaper, the article type (for example, news story, editorial, advertisement), the date, and how many times it occurred within an article, that is, any potentially useful information for investigating the patterns in which the Englishisms occur. Where appropriate, I resorted to additional newspaper issues in order to find supplemental sentences employing Englishisms that were originally discovered via the random criteria.

Data collection possesses some diachronic elements; where appropriate, I consulted a Russian dictionary of 53,000 words from the Soviet epoch (Ozhegov, 1960) and a recent Russian dictionary of 25,000 words (Krysin, 2007). Such comparison was utile in determining whether a particular Englishism was in use during the Cold War time

period and if so, what meaning it had compared to present day. I have made all translations of definitions. For synchronic comparison of the Englishisms to their original counterparts in English I used the Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary of 57,100 words (Cowie, 1989).

The standardized GOST 16876-71 (<http://www.transliteration.ru>) convention was employed for transliteration of Russian into English which is summarized below. If the Roman variant is not similar to IPA, I provided the IPA equivalent, shown in Table 1.

Table 1.

Transliteration Convention

а-а	р-р
б-б	с-с
в-в	т-т
г-г	у-у
д-д	ф-ф
е-е-/je/	х-kh-/x/
ё-jo	ц-с-/ʦ/
ж-zh-/ʒ/	ч-ch-/tʃ/
з-z	ш-sh-/ʃ/
и-і	щ-shh-/ʂ/
й-jj-/j/	ъ-"
к-к	ь-'/j/
л-л	ы-y-/ɨ/
м-м	э-eh-/e/
н-н	ю-yu-/ju/

о-о	я-ya-/ja/
п-р	

I will present each Englishism as its native cyrillic version followed in parenthesis by its transliterated into Roman letters counterpart, and the English gloss in single quotation marks, in this manner: ДИСКОНТ (diskont, "discount").

Morphology and Englishisms

The examples of sentences employing Englishisms will exhibit the accompanying appropriate Russian inflectional and derivational morphemes. Inflectional morphemes illustrate how foreign lexical items are incorporated in Russian discourse, conforming to a specific sentence role (Finegan, 1999, p. 44). Item (4) provides an example.

- (4) ...Biznesmen budet obladat' immunitetom ot ugolvnogo presledovaniya... (Novikov, 2007, p. 5).
 "...the businessman will hold immunity from criminal investigation..."

Englishism БИЗНЕСМЕН (biznesmen, "businessman") is in the subject position and has no affix. According to Russian grammar, masculine nouns ending in a consonant are marked with a zero-affix in the nominative; therefore, this lexical item conforms to its position in the sentence. In

item (5), an -a genitive case marker is affixed to the Englishism because N + a is the Russian grammar case production mechanism for masculine nouns that end in consonants.

(5) Zayavku biznesmena v komissiyu privjoz brat pokojjnogo prem'era strany... (Novikov, 2007, p. 5).

"The businessman's petition was delivered by the brother of the deceased Prime Minister of the country..."

The genitive case marker -a is the grammatical expression of possession and attributes to the Englishism its ownership role in relation to the preceding noun, transforming БИЗНЕСМЕН (biznesmen, "businessman") into БИЗНЕСМЕНА (biznesmena, "businessman's").

My discussion in the following chapter will also include examples of Englishisms with accompanying derivational morphemes whose function is to alter the lexical category of the word. Recall (3) from Chapter 1; it is an advertisement for consulting services:

(3) NeoCentr. Konsaltingovaya gruppa. Uroki Uspekha. NeoCentr + 10 let opyta > konsalting. ("Neocentr," 2007)

"NeoCenter. Consulting group. Success Lessons.

NeoCenter + 10 years of experience > consulting.”

In this sentence, there are two related Englishisms: a noun **КОНСАЛТИНГ** (konsalting, “consulting”) and an adjective **КОНСАЛТИНГОВАЯ** (konsaltingovaya, “consulting” (ADJ)). As a masculine noun that ends in a consonant, this Englishism receives zero-affixation in the nominative case. The suffix **-ОВАЯ** implies an adjective that agrees in number, gender, and case with the following noun. Although an Englishism's integration in the system of derivational morphology could be considered as evidence for a loan status, in light of the earlier discussion on loans and borrowings, for the purposes of this project, I will treat all Englishisms that were descriptively revealed through my research equally, regardless of their status as assimilated loan or nonce borrowings.

Domains of Englishisms

Data collected for this project (Appendices) suggest that all Englishisms identified in this study can be thematically organized as occurring in the domains of:

- (a) Market Economy
- (b) Modern Technology and Goods
- (c) Culture

These domains are an interrelated web because encoded

in them are the essential attributes of the ideology behind capitalism. As discussed in Chapter 2, (a) and (b) imply the individual as the basic unit of society. The individual's freedom from economic coercion is expressed in privately owned means of production operated for profit via the mechanism of market economy within a general framework of indefinite development of society. Meanwhile, (c) is comprised of a wide range of cultural norms and practices sanctioned by the ideology described in (a) and (b). The fact that such exhaustive domain classification of Englishisms revealed by the study is possible indicates that Englishisms are part of the pattern of the post-Soviet Western influence on Russia.

Market Economy. Contemporary Russian language boasts Englishisms that presuppose in various degrees the speaker's familiarity with the attributes of market-based economy, that is, private property, limited or absent government interference in the market, expectation of profit, competition, and creative ways of enhancing profits. Over 55 such Englishisms were revealed in the body of my data (Appendix A). Numerous English lexical items that express such concepts are present in the 2007 Russian dictionary (Krysin, 2007) but are not found in the

1960 Russian dictionary (Ozhegov 1960). Therefore, it is reasonable to conclude that the items' absence in the Soviet epoch dictionary suggests their absence in the lexicon of the time. For example, брэнд (brehnd, "brand") and its derivatives брэнди́рованный (brehndirovannyj, "branded") and ребрэ́ндинг (rebrehnding, "rebranding") are defined as a self-advertising symbol of a company (Krysin, 2007). They are found in items (6), (7), and (8).

- (6) Tekstom proehkta takzhe predusmatrivaetsa razreshenie reklamy vina na televidenii v rezhime analogichnom reklame pivnykh brehndov.

(Parfent'eva, 2007, p. 12)

"The project commands for the TV wine ads to occur in the same format as the beer brand ads."

- (7) Esli by Evroset' zapustila polnost'yu brehndirovannye telefony, kak eto delayut evropejjskie operatory, to ob"jom ikh prodazh mog by sostavit' poryadka 2-3 millionov apparatov v god. (Hodonova, 2007, p. 11)

"Had Evroset' launched only the branded phones, in the European manner, the volume of their sales would amount to 2-3 million phones per year."

- (8) Po mneniyu direktora, proshlyjj god byl itogovym i

perelomnym v provedenii kompanii rebrehndinga.

(Provornova, 2007, p. 20)

"According to the director's opinion, last year was crucial in conducting the campaign of re-branding."

This lexical item and its derivatives entail the scenario impossible in the command economy: a privately owned company that strives to maximize its profits in a competitive market. As evident from the English dictionary entry for "brand," this specific commerce sense of the word is its primary meaning (Cowie, 1989), and it is the only sense transferred from English into Russian. Other senses of the word, such as "an identifying mark on cattle," are not present in Krysin 2007.

Another example of a word that, according to my diachronic comparison, entered Russian in the post-Soviet period and transferred only and exclusively the commerce or finance sense of the original (English) lexical item, is офшор (ofshor, "off-shore") in (9). The 2007 dictionary defines it as a "center for joint (international) entrepreneurship providing to the foreign participants benefits for conduct of financial operations" (Krysin, 2007, p. 554).

(9) Esli sdelki prohodili s offshorami..., to s

vysokojj dolejj veroyatnosti mozhno govorit' o primenenii skhemy minimizacii nalogooblozheniya. (Dement'eva, 2007, p. 9)

"In case of conducting transactions through off-shores, it is reasonable to suspect application of tax minimizing tactics."

Similarly, ХОЛДИНГ (kholding, "stock holding company") in (10), is another Englishism that retains only the commerce sense of "a stock holding company that uses its capital to purchase stock of other companies in order to control them" (Krysin, 2007, p. 860).

(10) Sotovaya kompaniya sdelala ofertu na pokupku kholdinga Golden Telecom. (Erokhina, 2007, p. 9)

"A cell phone company made an offer to purchase the stock holding company, Golden Telecom."

Фьючерс (f'yuchers, "futures [financial contracts]") is also a finance-sense-only Englishism. Its meaning in Russian amounts to a financial operation implying a purchase at a current price some time in the future (Krysin, 2007).

(11) Dohkody banka po operaciyam na valyutnom i f'yuchersnom rynkah, poluchennye v etom mesyace, sostavlyayut bolee 610 millionov rubejj. (Chajjkina, 2007, p. 1)

"The bank's profit from operations on currency and futures markets for this month amounted to over 160 million rubles."

These three Englishisms are similar because they are passing from English into Russian in specific contexts; although they have more than one semantic sense in English, the commerce sense that is transferred into Russian is not their primary meaning. The most general sense of "offshore" is "at sea, not far from the land" (Cowie, 1989, p. 858); the more common sense of "holding" is not a "company" but more generally a "thing owned" (Cowie, 1989, p. 594). Analogously, the Russian "futures" does not convey the plural sense of "time that will come after the present" which, according to the dictionary, is its primary meaning in the donor language (Cowie, 1989, p. 503). The fact that these Englishisms are transferring only in the contexts pertinent to the the market economy suggest that the Soviet way of conceptualizing economic development possessed neither the mechanisms essential to the capitalist economy nor labels to refer to them.

Another set of related Englishisms are риэлтор (riehtor, "realtor"), дилер (diler, "dealer"), and брокер (broker, "broker"), which are only found in the 2007 dictionary and appear in (12), (13), and (14).

- (12) Imena pokupatelej riehtory ne razglashayut..., upominaya lish chto eto predstaviteli malogo biznesa. ("Pokupatel' rastjot v cene," 2007)
 "Realtors do not disclose the buyers' names... and only comment that they are small business entrepreneurs."
- (13) V nashejj gubernii oficial'nym dilerom kompanii 'Rostsel'mash' yavlyaetsa 'Saratov-agropromkomplekt.' (Kiseljova, 2007, p. 25)
 "In our district, Saratovagropromkomplekt is the official dealer of the company Rostsel'mash."
- (14) V ideale zhe professional'nyjj broker dolzhen... obojjti neskol'ko bankov, rassmotret' predlagayushhiesya varianty i podobrat' naibolee podhodyashhijj. ("Zarabotat' Ne Poteryav," 2007)
 "Ideally, a professional broker will consult with several banks, examine all available offers, and select the most appropriate accordingly."

These Englishisms presuppose a scenario in which a middle person or an organization provides a link between a product or a service and an interested party, thus regulating supply and demand and gaining profit in the process. In the Soviet economy and culture, the presence

of a middle person in the above setting was not an option due to the fact that the Soviet state was considered to be the sole provider of economic welfare to its citizens. In fact, one of the provisions of Article 10 of the 1977 Constitution is, "No one has the right to use socialist property for personal gain or other selfish ends" ("Constitution," 1996). I would like to highlight the negativity built in this Article via expressions "personal gain" and "selfish ends." The middle man between the product or service and an entity that wants it was not a socially acceptable scenario and was considered immoral, inappropriate, deceitful, dishonest, and pertaining to the black market. This mechanism was labeled negatively as перепродажа (pereprodazha, "resale,") or спекуляция (spekulyaciya, "resale for profit"). In fact, Russian dictionary from 1960 defines спекуляция (spekulyaciya) as a "criminal act of purchase and resale of products to individuals with the purpose of gaining profit that is achieved through illegally making the selling price higher than the purchase price" (Ozhegov, 1960, p. 744). But when риэлтор (riehtor, "realtor") and брокер (broker, "broker") entered the language, it became possible to reinterpret the middleman liaison as a positive (or at least neutral), creative manner to gain profit and to earn wages.

Negativity attached to перепродажа (pereprodazha, "resale") and спекуляция (spekulyaciya, "resale for profit") are not encoded in риэлтор (riehtor, "realtor"), дилер (diler, "dealer"), and брокер (broker, "broker"). As evident from examples (12), (13), and (14), in contemporary Russian society, dealers, realtors, and brokers are novel, socially acceptable professions. Thus, the adoption of new lexical items allows the speakers to talk and think about the same mechanisms from the perspective of a different ideology.

The following subset of Englishisms within this domain is comprised of words that existed in the lexicon during the Soviet era but that have been semantically reanalyzed after the break up of the USSR. БИЗНЕС (biznes, "business") is one such Englishism. The 1960 dictionary defines it as a "source for personal gain and illegitimate enrichment" and the dictionary entry for БИЗНЕСМЕН (biznesmen "businessman") is, "in USA: entrepreneur" (Ozhegov, 1960, p. 46). Consequently, the meaning of "business" and its derivatives within Soviet ideology bore pronounced negative semantics manifested by such expressions as "illegitimate enrichment" and by direct reference to the enemy country in which this term is used, the US.

In contrast, the 2007 dictionary defines БИЗНЕС (biznes, "business") as an "entrepreneurial economic

activity resulting in income and profit" (Krysin, 2007, p. 126). Similar to the other Englishisms discussed above, БИЗНЕС (biznes, "business") and its derivatives single out only the commerce aspect of the lexical item because at the time of transfer those were the only useful for Russian language contexts, as highlighted by items (15), (16), and (17):

(15) Nikak ne poluchaetsya razvivat' malyjj biznes, v tom chisle na sele. (Lapshin, 2007, p. 24)
 "It is difficult to develop small business, including in the rural areas."

(16) Po slovam Gennadiya Zaharova..., "biznes kompanii razvivaetsya v drugom napravlenii." (Smirnov & Ryabova, 2007, p. 10)

"In the words of Gennadijj Zakharov..., 'business of the company is taking on a different course.'"

(17) Vy uspešnyjj biznesmen, opytnyjj stroitel'nyjj specialist, pol'zuetes' doveriem oblastnoj vlasti. (Lapshin, 2007, p. 24)

"You are a successful businessman and an experienced construction specialist entrusted by local authorities."

These sentences transparently demonstrate that the post-Soviet connotation is free from the Soviet value

judgement and that a semantic shift took place from the “illegitimate enrichment” sense of the word to the “economic activity” sense, thus indicating a drastic shift in ideology. Again, as in the Englishisms appearing in (6) through (14) above, the historical process in Russia described in Chapter 2 is manifest in this item.

Modern Technology and Goods. Over 35 Englishisms related to modern goods and technology occur in the body of collected data (Appendix B). The majority of the lexical items pertinent to this domain transfer the primary semantic sense of the English word into Russian; among them are блог-сервис (blog-servis, “blog service”), РИНГТОН (rington, “ringtone”), and хайтек (khajjtek, “high tech”):

(18) Nazhav knopku na telefone, pol'zovatel' poluchaet dostup k... takim servisam kak sluzhba mgnovennih soobshenijj, blog-servisam, novostnym kanalam... .
(Hodonova, 2007, p. 10)

“With one click the user gains access...to such applications as instant messaging, blog service, and news channels... .”

(19) Gospodin Kudryashov schitaet chto stoimost' kontenta Evroseti budet srednerynochnojj...za rington pol'zovatel' platit 30 rubejj... .

(Hodonova, 2007, p. 11)

"Mr. Kudryashov thinks that Evroset' cell phone applications will be at half market price...the user will pay thirty rubles for a ringtone... ."

(20) A vnutri [kompleksa] ukroyutsya osnashennye otbornym khajj-tekom...ofisy. (Osin, 2007, p. 6)

"The offices inside [the complex] will be supplied by top quality high tech equipment."

However, Englishisms from the following set transfer only a specific, technology- or product-related meaning from English into Russian because this meaning was the only one relevant and necessary at the time. Examples appear in the use of (21), (22), and (23):

(21) Krome noutbukov i interaktivnojj doski v komplekt vkhodyat multimedijjnyjj proektor i markernye doski. (Korneva, 2007, p. 10)

"In addition to laptops and the interactive board, the package contains a multi-media projector and white boards."

(22) Takoe ustrojstvo chem-to napominaet ruchnye chasy. Ego displejj mozjno nastroit' tak, chtoby cifry mel'kali s opredeljonnoj skorost'yu.

("Issledovateli," 2007)

"Such device somewhat resembles a wrist watch. Its

display can be set so that the digits blink with the certain speed."

- (23) Krupneishijj rossijjskijj sotovyjj ritejjler
Evroset' s dekabrya nachinaet prodavat' telefony s
predustanovlennym kontentom i internet servisami.
(Hodonova, 2007, p. 11)

"In December, the largest Russian cell phone retailer Evroset' will start offering phones with a preset personal content and internet services."

In English, the primary meaning of "interactive" is an adjective referring to two or more people or things influencing or having an effect on each other (Cowie, 1989); however, its technology sense, which is of secondary importance in English, is the only possible meaning in Russian. Similarly, unlike in English, дисплей (displejj, "display") is employed solely as a noun describing an interactive screen, thus limiting it solely to the domain of technology (Krysin, 2007). Likewise, while English "content" broadly means the things that are included or held in something (Cowie, 1989), its Russian counterpart possesses only the technology sense, that is, the software applications of a cell phone or a computer.

Moving beyond technology, the Englishism памперсы (pampersy, "diapers") only connotes the sense relevant to

this product and in Russian has no additional senses such as “overindulging with care.”

(24) ...Lidery SPS menyayut svoi politicheskie vzglyady kak pampersy mladencam. (“Pravye Pojjdut Marshem,” 2007)

“...The SPS [political party] members change their political views as often as an infant's diapers.”

This lexical item is defined in the Russian 2007 dictionary as “a hygienic, multilayered pad resembling underwear for infants or for those who suffer from urinary tract diseases” (Krysin, 2007, p. 559). It is the only word in the Russian lexicon describing disposable diapers, and thus undergoes metonymic linguistic coinage in which the name of the product stands for the product itself. This item replaced the native ПОДГУЗНИКИ (podguzniki, “cotton diapers”) since modern diapers have become easily accessible in the Russian market.

The examples above reveal the evident necessity to bridge the gap between the modern goods and technology and contemporary Russian language, which results in Englishisms, but what are the origins of this gap? The existence of Englishisms in this domain depicts that these items are not produced in Russia, since Russians do not

have native words to label it. Since these words and the devices they refer to are in common use, these goods are highly desirable.

The reason these products were not produced domestically (hence, there were no Russian lexical items to label them) and were in high demand is due to the legacy of the Soviet economic system and ideology. As briefly mentioned in Chapter 2, the late-USSR economy was deteriorating profoundly, partly due to its exhaustive defense spending, and "technological backwardness intensified" (Kagarlitsky, 2002, p.3). The state could not even adequately meet the population's basic needs for clothing and food, much less technology or modern products, which led to "...bare store shelves, long waiting lines, and the surge of the black market" (Pomer, 2001, p. 154). Upon the Union's dissolution and Russia's attempt to join the global economy, Russia became a thirsty market for a wide range of imported commodities, including technology, since a very limited amount of goods was produced domestically. In fact, Kagarlitsky (2002, p. 3) reports that the late 20th century Russia saw "unprecedented economic collapse" and that overall industrial and agricultural production dropped by half between 1991 and 1998.

So, it is a consequence of the stagnant condition of the late Soviet and early post-Soviet economy that the country's imports in general have exploded. The import of Englishisms to describe these new items occurred simultaneously. In addition to the straightforward lack of domestic products in Russia, the abandonment of the Soviet world view made it ideologically permissible to accept commodities from the former ideological Cold War enemy, the West. Russia's joining the global market via subscribing to the neo-liberal economic course is what made the influx of foreign goods, including the technology, possible. Interestingly, while the diachronic analysis of the dictionaries from 1960 and 2007 proved useful in depicting the enormous historical change recorded in the market economy relevant Englishisms, the *mere existence* of the modern technology and goods domain of English lexical items in Russian is what manifests and bespeaks the social changes of the decade. The impressive amount of Englishisms pertinent to this domain came into being in the 1990s as a companion of the enormous societal transformation.

The Englishism *фордовцы* (*fordovtsy*, "Ford plant workers") transparently conveys this historical and ideological change of Russia joining the global market. Its context is an article about the strike of Ford plant

workers in Russia in 2007.

(25) Eshjo odin fordovec udaryaetsya v arifmetiku:

"Dazhe ehkonomisty podschitali chto uvelichenie nashikh zarplat privedjot k udorozhaniyu 'Fokusa' vsego na 500 rublejj." (Ovchinnikov, 2007, p. 2)

"Another Ford plant worker shows off his math:

'Even the economists calculate that raising our wages would increase the Focus price only by 500 rubles.'

The Englishism фордovцы (fordovtsy, "Ford plant workers") is only applicable for the Ford plant workers in Russia and although it would be understood, it sounds a bit awkward to a native Russian speaker's ear to describe Ford workers in another country by this lexical item. This Englishism would not have been possible in the USSR era because only since the Soviet economy switched to the neo-liberal direction that the door became open for the foreign investors to built plants and factories utilizing the availability of cheap labor. In other words, the new economic course had opened the door to this specific foreign lexical item in the following manner. It is the inherent nature of capitalism to search for the new markets in order to function (Harris, 2006) and Russia has been no exception; "...there are still plenty of openings in the

manufacturing sector that U.S. companies are speeding to fill. Anyone who can get a foothold in Russia is making big money..." (Schneider, 2007). So, Russia's joining the global economy allowed Ford, among many other corporations, to build plants in Russia, and that enabled the emerging of *фордовцы* (fordovtsy, "Ford plant workers"). Thus, analogously to the market economy domain of Englishisms, the mere existence of the domain of modern goods and technology mirrors the historical processes Russia had undergone at the end of last century and the two are intricately connected in that they echo the transformation of a centrally planned to a market economy.

Culture. In addition to providing an unorthodox interpretation grid for conceptualizing social processes, the pivotal political and economic metamorphoses of the post-Soviet society have allowed changes in attitudes of Russians towards everything Western. As discussed in Chapter 2, during the transformation from the Soviet to post-Soviet era, Western economic practices were being applied with the strong hope for fast improvement of the disastrously impoverished country; free market economy was regarded as a model. Similarly, in the early 1990s, a broad spectrum of Western cultural norms and practices,

including various art, cinematography, and literature forms, sports, fashion, and entertainment began to be viewed in a favorable light and as a certain ideal of a higher standard of living, as evidenced in the exploding popularity of Hollywood movies, Western music, and fashion. Processes described by Kumaravadivelu (2006, p. 7) were emerging in Russia of the early 1990s:

The culture of American consumerism is spreading fast, as evidenced by young people in various parts of the world wearing Levi jeans and Nike shoes, sporting Texaco baseball caps and Chicago Bull sweatshirts, watching music videos on MTV and blockbusters from Hollywood, and eating at McDonald's and Pizza hut... .

In the body of my data, I have found over 50 culture-pertinent terms exemplifying this phenomenon (Appendix C). The sudden openness and eager interest in various sub-domains of American culture in Russia is mirrored in such Englishisms as суперстар (superstar, "superstar"), блэк джек (blehk dzhek, "blackjack"), пауэрлифтинг (pauehrlifting, "power lifting" [type of weight lifting]), and гламурный (glamurnyyj, "glamorous").

(26) Ты-superstar. ("Programma," 2007)

"You are a superstar [name of a TV show]."

(27) ...obychnye rossiyane po-prezhnemu

besprepyatstvenno mogut sygrat' v virtual'nyjj

poker ili blehk-dzek. ("Internet Kazino," 2007)

"...ordinary Russians are still able to easily play virtual poker or black jack."

(28) Proekt "Noch' chempionov" organizovala Federaciya pauehrliftinga Rossii... .

(Belousova, 2007, p. 17)

"The "Night of Champions" project was organized by the Federation of Powerlifting of Russia... ."

(29) Vprochem, izbalovannyh glamurnyh moskvichejj uzhe davno ne udivit' ni edojj i napitkami, ni mobil'nym telefonom Vertu za million evro.

("V Zapisnuyu Knizhku," 2007)

"In fact, it is hard to impress the spoiled glamorous Moskovites, be it food and beverage or a million euro Vertu cell phone."

Without the Communist Party's thorough censorship and rigid control over the domains of mass media and fine arts that were characteristic for the Soviet era, the Russian people stopped being exposed to endless propaganda against anything anti-Soviet. On the contrary, the road was paved for the massive influx of Western literature, cinematography, and various other art forms—a radical departure from the absolute ban on all Western media during the Soviet times; hence Englishisms like nonfiction (non fikshn, "non fiction"), триллер (triller, "thriller"), and

бэк вокалистка (behk vokalistka, "female background vocalist") joined the lexical inventory of Russian, as exemplified in items (30), (31), and (32):

(30) Vchera v Moskve zavershilas' devyataya yarmarka intellectual'noj literatury "Non/Fiction."

(Grossman, 2007, p. 10)

"The ninth Fair of Intellectual Literature 'Non Fiction' has ended yesterday in Moscow."

(31) "Donni Brasko," triller, S.SH.A. ("Programma," 2007)

"'Donny Brasco,' thriller, USA [TV Guide]."

(32) Shon Rajjder i Bez poteryalis' na fone svoejj behk-vokalistki. (Baranov, 2007, p. 8)

"Shaun Ryder and Bez were outshadowed [in the photo] by their female background vocalist."

Thus, along with the fundamental changes in the economy and the flow of imported foreign commodities, post-Soviet Russia saw a drastic attitudinal change to the former ideological enemy. As exemplified by the Englishisms from the free market domain, it became culturally appropriate to desire material wealth, which is expressed by Englishisms for luxuries, such as бизнескласс (biznesklass, "business class"), as illustrated in items (33), (34), and (35). It implies the attributes of luxury, enhanced comfort, and

overall elite status. It does not merely refer to the air travel, but extends to describing real estate and automobiles, thus semantically shifting from the donor language:

- (33) Boeing 787 biznes klassa mozhet udovletvorit' vse zhelaniya biznesmena mirovogo urovnya... .
(Thomas, 2007, p. 13)

"Business class of Boeing 787 will meet all wishes of a world class businessman... ."

- (34) Mezhdu tem, [in Moscow] zhil'jo biznes klassa podorozhalo na 9.42%--do 4,113 tysyachi dollarov za kvadratnyjj metr... . ("Ceny na zhil'jo," 2007)
"Meanwhile, [in Moscow] the cost of luxury real estate has increased by 9.42%--up to 4,113 thousand dollars per square meter."

- (35) ...Za eti den'gi mozjno kupit' avtomobil' biznes-klassa. ("Zastolbili," 2007)

"...It is possible to purchase the luxury automobile for this price."

As society was gradually shifting away from the ideals of collectivism and lack of focus on the individual, Russian culture, exhausted by economic hardships, was penetrated by the orientation on affluence in general, without the aura of egotism attached, as illustrated by the Englishism ШОППИНГ

(shopping, "shopping") appearing in the Russian press both in cyrillic and Roman letters. In Russian, ШОППИНГ (shopping, "shopping") does not simply mean purchasing goods from stores, as it does in English. The 2007 Russian dictionary defines it as "attending stores with the goal of purchasing goods while traveling abroad" (Krysin, 2007, p. 889), that is, "shopping in a foreign country;" hence, the foreignness of the concept to the soviet tradition and economic circumstances is recognized by its dictionary definition. However, descriptively, as items (36) and (37) highlight, this word is applied outside of traveling abroad context in Russian language of today:

(36) Nachni den' s shopping! ("Nachni den'," 2007)

"Start your day with shopping!"

(37) Shopping v kakojj-to mere tormozit starenie.

(Margieva, 2007)

"Shopping, to some extent, slows down aging."

This Englishism entails the possession of excess money at one's disposal, an assortment of quality goods and stores that sell them, and the sense that shopping can be a hobby rather than just a chore. This word is accompanied by the overall semantic neutrality, if not positivity, as the context cited above clearly displays. In other words, this Englishism refers to a leisure activity of a

consumerist nature, which would have been ideologically impossible in the Soviet epoch.

In addition, the similar course towards personal liberties is reflected in Englishisms like геј (gejj, "gay") and фрик (frik, "freak"), elaborated in (38) and (39). These lexical items are possible in a culture where the individual is the basic unit of society and where her/his concerns are valid and self expression is not persecuted. The fact that society needs foreign lexical items to describe concepts pertinent to individual expression symbolizes the change in how the individual's role in society is conceptualized,

(38) Lider moscovskih geev Nikolajj Alekseev prishjol na izbiratel'nyjj uchastok...i na byulletene napisal: "Net gomofobam, net Luzhkovu... ." (Antipova, 2007, p. 2)

"The leader of the Moscow gay community, Nikolajj Alekseev, arrived at the polling station and wrote on the ballot: 'No to homophobes, no to Luzhkov...'. "

(39) Pevice Jolke, otmechennoj za pesnyu 'Mal'chik-krasavchik," frik Zverev vruchal "Zolotojj grammofon." (Margolis, 2007, p. 10)

"Freak Zverev [controversial Russian celebrity]

presented a Zolotojj Grammofon award to the singer Jolka for the song Mal'chik-Krasavchik."

Hence, the cultural domain of Englishisms encompasses a wide range of concepts, including luxury items, affluent leisure activities, sports, entertainment, various art forms, and fashion. It is coherent with the domains of market economy and modern technology because it reflects the cultural norms and practices of a society that functions within a specific economic system and ideology. Since the Western-style economy has been taken as a "model" system, the broad domain of culture too was perceived as a desired ideal in Russia of the early 1990s.

Chapter 4: Conclusion

The previous chapter demonstrated how Englishisms gathered for this project can be viewed as fitting in the domains of market economy, modern goods and technology, and culture. These domains are the components of the ideological web behind the neo-liberal economic tendencies: market economy is a mechanism by which goods are distributed in a society where the individual's liberty from economic coercion is expressed through private ownership of the means of production employed for profit and accumulation of wealth within a general framework of indefinite societal development. Since culture reflects societal norms and practices, it is the inherent part of this ideological web. The fact that it is possible to categorize all Englishisms in this study in the specific pattern suggests that Englishisms are part of the overall Western influence on post-Soviet Russia which can be briefly summarized into the diagram below. In it, the West is at the top, symbolizing the dominance status over Russia. The arrows represent the unidirectional flow of influence from the West in the 1990s:

The West**Ideology**

(Economic Model, Modern Goods and Technology, Culture, Language)

**Russia**

The departure from the Soviet ideology was made possible in Russia by the shock therapy measures examined in Chapter 2 that involved privatization and abolition of state control over prices and foreign trade flows and by the adoption of the new Constitution sanctioning private property, encouraging economic competition, and abolishing authoritarian governmental rule. Once the Russian society started changing how it conceptualizes its organization and development, the ideological gaps were filled with concepts alien to the previous world view. I have attempted to depict how Englishisms reveal these ideological gaps. Hence, the broad range of English language presence in Russian, including the seemingly straightforward lexical gap fillers as well as those items that undergo a semantic shift, are united in a coherent pattern. This pattern is the new way of conceptualizing society, and the new lexical items are essential in describing the make up of a new mode of perceiving society and its goals.

In contrast to the more than 130 Englishisms in my data, I found fewer than 20 non-English words that have recently entered (Appendix C). Among them are words like Аль-Каида (al'-kaida, "Al Qaeda"), муджахедин (mudzhahedin, "mujahideen"), васаби (wasabi, "wasabi"), and круассан (kruassan, "croissant"). So why does contemporary Russian heavily resort to English and not another language? After all, there exists a rich and long history of cultural and economic ties between Russia and its neighbors, including Norway, Finland, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Belarus, Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Mongolia, North Korea, China, Sweden, and Japan. Moreover, there are over 100 minority languages spoken within Russia today (BBC, 2007b), including Tartar, Ukrainian, Chuvash, Bashkir, Mordvin, and Chechen. However, no borrowings from the above languages are found in the major, widely circulating Russian newspapers, as the results of my analysis indicate. It is striking that Russians who share apartment buildings, streets, places of employment, public schools, and transportation with the native speakers of minority indigenous languages do not employ lexical items from any of those languages, while having no trouble utilizing ХОЛДИНГ (holding, "stock holding company") and МЕДИА (media, "media") in their discourse. For example, in

my data, "stock holding company" was found in 18 articles and "media" in 12 in one week period.

The discussion in this paper suggests that the answer to the query above does not simply lie in the increased language contact and cannot be addressed as a cultural dialogue, as some researchers speculate: "The present stage of English-Russian interaction is treated as another episode in the history of the 'culture dialogue' between Russia and the West" (Rivlina, 2005, p. 479). Rather, this linguistic phenomenon is similar to the cultural monologue, since there is hardly any exchange between the languages; the transfer is unidirectional. English happens to be the language of the most powerful country in the world, in terms of military strength and capital. It is also the language of the Washington-based institutions such as the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank. All major decisions affecting the future of our planet's population are in English: "Reference to English as a 'global' language has therefore much less to do with demography or geography than with decision-making in the contemporary global political and economic system" (Phillipson, 2001, p. 189). Not surprisingly, the overwhelming majority of foreignisms in Russian are from English and are all related to the economic structures, mechanisms, and the cultural

lifestyle of the dominant global state.

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Appendix A

Englishisms Relevant to Market Economy (according to Cyrillic alphabetical order)

Russian Word	Transliterated in Roman Alphabet	Gloss	Number of Articles
аутсайдер	autsajjder	outsider	3
баинг	baing	buying	1
банк-кастодиан	bank-kastodian	bank custodian	1
бизнес	biznes	business	2
бизнесмен	biznesmen	businessman	14
билборд	bilbord	billboard	1
бонус	bonus	bonus	2
бренд	brehnd	brand	4
брендирован- ный	brehndirovan- nyjj	branded	1
ребрендинг	rebrehnding	re-branding	2
венчурный	venchurnijj	venture	1
проект	proekt	project	
гипермаркет	gipermarket	supercenter	2
грантовая	grantovaya	grant (ADJ)	2
девелопер	developer	developer	2
дивиденды	dividendy	dividends	4
дилер	diler	dealer N	1
дилерский	dilerskiijj	dealer (ADJ)	1
ДИСКОНТ	diskont	discount	3
ИМИДЖ	imidzh	image	7
кастомизиро-	kastomiziro-	customized	1

ванный	vannyjj		
кастомизация	kastomizaciya	customizing	1
консалтинг	konsalting	consulting	4
контент	kontent	content	2
контрактник	kontraktnik	contractor	1
ликвидность	likvidnost'	liquidity	3
логотип	logotip	logotype	1
		(logo)	
мажоритарный	mazhoritar-nyjj	majority	4
маркетинг	marketing	marketing (N)	3
медиа	media	media	17
менеджер	menedzher	manager	6
менеджмент	menedzhment	management	5
топ-	top-	top management	6
менеджмент	menedzhment		
миноритарии	minoritarii	minorities	10
офис	ofis	office	8
офшор	ofshor	offshore	2
пиар	piar	PR	2
презентанция	prezentaciya	presentation	4
премиум	premium	premium	1
приватизация	privatizaciya	privatizing	2
провайдер	provajjder	provider	1
рефинансирова-	refinansirova-	refinancing	2
ние	nie		
ритейлер	ritejjler	retailer	4
риэлтор	riehltor	realtor	2
сервис	servis	service	1
сервисное	servisnoe	service (ADJ)	1
слоган	slogan	slogan	1

(страховой)	(strahovojj)	(insurance)	2
полис	polis	policy	
супермаркет	supermarket	supermarket	1
тендер	tender	tender (N)	9
фордовцы	fordovtsy	Ford plant	1
		workers	
фьючерс	f'yucers	futures	3
		contract	
фьючерсный	f'yucersnijj	futures	2
		contract (ADJ)	
ХОЛДИНГ	holding	stock holding	18
		company	

Appendix B

Englishisms Relevant to Modern Technology and Goods

Russian Word	Transliterated in Roman Alphabet	Gloss	Number of Articles
аэрогриль	aehrogril'	air grill	1
блог-сервис	blog-servis	blog service	1
бэйдж	behjjdzh	name tag	1
грид	grid	grid	1
технология	tehnologiya	technology	
дефолт	defolt	default	1
дисплей	displejj	display	2
дистрибу-	distribu-	distribution	1
торская сеть	torskaya set'	network	
инжиниринговая	inzhiniringo- vaya	engineering	3
интерактивная	interaktivnaja	interactive	3
(доска)	(doska)	(board)	
интернет	internet	internet	14
интерфэйс	interfejjs	interface	1
информацион-	informacionnye	information	3
ные технологии	tehnologii	technologies	
компьютер	kompjuter	computer	9
компьютеризи-	kompjuterizi-	computerized	1
рованные	rovannye		
маркерная	markernaya	marker (board)	1
(доска)	(doska)		

мобильный	mobil'nyjj	mobile (cell)	3
телефон	telefon	phone	
ноутбук	noutbuk	laptop	2
памперсы	pampersy	diapers	1
портал	portal	portal	2
программиро-	programmiro-	programming	1
ванние	vanie		
реалтон	realton	realton	1
рингтон	rington	ringtone	1
сайт	sajjt	site	14
веб-сайт	veb-sajjt	web site	1
сервер	server	(computer)	2
		server	
серверные базы	servernye	(computer)	2
	bazy	server bases	
ЭСЭМЭСКА	ehsehmehska	SMS (short message service)/text message	1
софт	soft	software	1
тюнер	tyuner	tuner	1
файл	fajjl	file	1
хайтек	hajjtek	hi tech	1
хакерские	hakerskie	hacker ADJ	1
хантер	hanter	hunter	1
		(Russian car model)	
эквалайзер	ehkvalajjzer	equalizer	1
экран-дисплей	ehkran-	displaying	2

	displejj	screen	
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Appendix C

Englishisms Relevant to Culture

Russian Word	Transliterated in Roman Alphabet	Gloss	Number of Articles
анимационный	animacionnyjj	animation (ADJ)	1
арт группа	art gruppa	art group	1
барбекю	barbekju	barbeque	1
барби	barbi	barbie	1
бизнескласс	biznesklass	business class	1
блэк джек	blehk dzhek	black jack	1
боулинг	bouling	bowling	1
бэк вокалистка	behk vokalistka	back vocals female singer	1
бэмби	behmbi	bambi	1
бэтмен	behtmen	batman	2
гей	gejj	gay	1
гламурный	glamurnijj	glamour ADJ	1
гомофоб	gomofob	homophobe	1
дартс	darts	darts	2
дизайнер	dizajjner	designer	2
дисней-клуб	disnejj-klub	disney club	1
кикбоксинг	kikboksing	kickboxing	3
киллер	killer	killer	1
комеди-клуб	komedi-klab	comedy club	1
мэйнстрим	mehjjnstrim	mainstream	1
микс-файт	miks-fajjt	mix fight	1
нонконформизм	nonkonformism	non-conformism	1
пауэрлифтинг	pauehrlifting	powerlifting	2

		(type of weight lifting)	
пентхаус	penthaus	penthouse	1
перфоманс	performans	performance	1
позитвный	pozitivnyjj	positive	8
позициониро-	pozicioniro-	to position	1
ваться	vat'sya	oneself	
реалити-шоу	realiti-shou	reality show	2
релиз	reliz	release	1
саунд	saund	sound	1
скейтборд	skejtbord	skateboard	1
сноуборд	snoubord	snowboard	1
спрэд	sprehd		1
суперстары	superstary	superstars	3
супергерой	supergerojj	superhero	1
суперкиллер	superkiller	virtuoso	1
		assassin	
сэксуальный	seksual'nijj	sexual, sexy	8
таунхаус	taunhaus	townhouse	1
тинэйдже-	tinehjjdzhe-	teenage (ADJ)	1
ровский	rovskijj		
ТОП-моменты	top-momenty	highlights	1
		(top moments)	
ТОП-модель	top-model'	top model	2
трансвестит	transvestit	transvestite	1
триллер	triller	thriller	2
трэк	trehk	track	3
трэнд	trehnd	trend	3
уикенд	uikend	weekend	2
упс	ups	oops	2

фанк	fank	funk	2
фрик	frik	freak	1
ХИТ	hit	hit (N)	1
ХИТМЭН	hitmehn	hitman	1
чарт	chart	chart	1
ШОППИНГ	shopping	shopping	5
шоу	shou	show	3
шоумен	shoumen	showman	1
		(host)	

Appendix D

Foreignisms of Non-English Origin

Russian Word	Transliterated in Roman Alphabet	Gloss	Number of Articles
аки-басё	aki-basjo	aki basho	1
Аль-Джазира	al'-dzhazira	Al Jazeera	1
Аль-каида	al'-kaida	Al Qaeda	1
аль-каидовец	al'-kaidovec	Al Qaeda member	1
амурные дела	amurnye dela	amorous business	1
васаби	wasabi	wasabi	1
имам	imam	imam	2
ипотека	ipoteka	property loan	9
йети	yeti	snowman [fictional character]	2
круассан	kruassan	croissant	1
муджахедин	mudzhahedin	mujahideen	1
оферта	oferta	business offer	5
пермячи	permyachi	Tatar dish	1
сарма	sarma	Turkish dish	1
сумо	sumo	sumo	4
сумоистка	sumoistka	female sumo practitioner	2
Талибан	taliban	Taliban	1
тэйп	tehjjp	Chechen family	1

		organisation term	
фатх	fathk	(Palestinian) Fatah Movement	1
хамас	khamas	hamas (Islamic Resistance Movement)	2