

ENGLISH LOANWORDS IN MODERN RUSSIAN LANGUAGE

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ABSTRACT

MIROSLAV STYBLO JR.: English Loanwords in Modern Russian Language
(Under the direction of Laura A. Janda)

English loanwords are presently entering the Russian language, often replacing their native counterparts. This thesis addresses the question of why Russian speakers adopt English loanwords instead of using the existing native counterparts. By utilizing content analysis of word frequency data from the Russian national corpus, this thesis demonstrates that loanwords and their counterparts often have some semantic differences. These differences are revealed by examining the meaning and frequency of adjectives collocated with loanwords and their counterparts. Some adjectives are more likely to collocate with a loanword but not its counterpart, often resulting in narrowing of originally broad loanword meaning into a niche meaning. When an English loanword and its Russian counterpart have different meanings, the loanword has an advantage in lexical competition, and is therefore more likely to be adopted and used by Russian speakers. This thesis presents an objective and quantifiable method of determining such an advantage.

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INTRODUCTION

Why are there so many English loanwords in the modern Russian language? Why do Russian speakers choose to use English loanwords, when there are perfectly good native counterparts already present in the Russian language? What affects the process of lexical borrowing and why do some loanwords survive and others fade into obscurity? This thesis will attempt to answer all of these questions by presenting an explanation based on the theory of language contact, the history of English loanwords in the Russian language, and the analysis of several modern loanwords and their meanings.

This thesis will refer to previous works of language contact theory and Russian language history, and adopt methods that were previously used in linguistic studies on similar topics. Only English loanword nouns that entered the Russian language relatively recently, occur with high frequency, and possess non-neutral emotional connotation will be examined. The meaning of the loanwords and their Russian counterparts will be analyzed as they appear in context in the Russian language. A methodology that is suited for analysis of large amounts of textual data in the Russian National Corpus will be utilized to accomplish this task. The texts will be searched for occurrences of loanword nouns, their counterparts and the adjectives that modify them. The frequencies and the meanings of adjective-noun occurrences will be collected and recorded for each English loanword and its Russian counterpart(s). This data will then be analyzed with special attention paid to differences in contexts: adjectives that describe certain loanwords but

not their counterparts, or the converse. If the collection of adjectives that are most frequently used with a loanword differ from the collection of adjectives used with its counterpart, then that is a good indication that the meanings of the loanword and its counterparts also differ. The nature of this difference in meaning can be determined by looking at the meanings of adjectives that are present with the loanword but not the counterpart, or vice-versa. If the adjectives that are used more frequently with the loanword are all related to a particular area of meaning, then this is a possible explanation for why the loanword is used instead of its counterpart. It is because they have a slightly different meaning and Russian speakers choose to use the loanword to express this specific meaning, because it is not as conveniently expressed by the counterpart.

From the analysis of the data collected, it is clear that the majority of the English loanwords differ from their Russian counterparts in at least one distinct area of usage. The new loanwords are more frequently used in areas related to economy, business or politics, which is not surprising, considering the recent historical changes in Russia. By more frequently associating with certain adjectives, and less, or not at all with others, it is clear that some English loanwords develop meanings at least partially different from those of their Russian counterparts. Often the loanwords are not completely synonymous with their counterparts, and that is why they remain in use in the Russian language. If the loanword and its counterpart were synonyms, then they would have to compete with each other on the entire front, in all definitions and meanings. But the loanwords are often slightly different, because they are more frequently adopted and used in certain areas less frequently described by their Russian counterparts, like business, economics, and politics.

In this manner English loanwords are able to survive alongside their Russian counterparts, albeit usually in more specific, narrower meanings.

There are, of course, many other factors that can have an influence on whether or not a loanword is adopted into a language. If an important political figure or a famous entertainment personality frequently uses a certain loanword in the media, then the popularity of that word among the population increases. An example of this phenomenon would be the use of консенсус ‘consensus’ by Mikhail Gorbachev or the use of преференция ‘preference’ by Vladimir Putin. Another factor that can increase the popularity of a loanword is its phonetic similarity to an existing native word. The meanings of the native word and loanword can be completely unrelated, but the fact that the new loanword sounds familiar is enough to increase its popularity. One such example would be the increased popularity of the loanword кликнуть ‘to click’, because it sounds the same as кликнуть ‘to call out’. The historical and political connotations of words also play an important role in the modern Russian language. Some words and phrases that were frequent and popular during the Soviet times have gained negative connotations after the regime change in 1991. One obvious example would be товарищ ‘comrade’, but even other less political Soviet-era words are sometimes replaced by native or loanword counterparts. Whether this takes place because of undesirable overtones or preferable semantics, is difficult to establish. In fact, all of the factors described in this paragraph would be difficult to quantify and objectively consider when evaluating the popularity of a loanword and its chance of survival in the target language. That is why they are not included among the semantic, objective and quantifiable factors that are considered in this thesis.

Terms

Semantic concretization

Semantic concretization takes place when a formerly unfamiliar word is acquired in a meaning that is significantly narrower than its actual meaning. For example, конференция was acquired in the narrow meaning of ‘a place for speeches’ from the actual meaning of ‘conference’. Similarly, спектакль was acquired in the narrow meaning of ‘a comedy’ from the actual meaning of ‘performance, spectacle’ (Comrie 1996:196).

Semantic narrowing

Semantic narrowing is a concept similar to semantic concretization, except that the change or narrowing of meaning takes place on a lesser scale and is not as significant.

Emotional connotation

This term will be used when referring to the positive or negative properties of nouns and adjectives. For example, the word *killer* would possess negative emotional connotation, *savior* would possess positive emotional connotation, and the word *printer* would possess no emotional connotation.

Overlap in meaning

This term describes the degree to which two words are synonyms. For example: *dad* and *father* would have a large overlap in meaning, but *dad* and *parent* would have a smaller overlap in meaning.

Niche meaning

I will use this term to describe the phenomenon where a certain word acquires an exclusive meaning which is not generally associated with the word's synonyms. For example, *boss* and *chief* are synonyms that can be used to describe someone in a leadership role, but only *chief* has the niche meaning describing the leader of a group of Native Americans.

Collocation

This term refers to a relationship between two words located near each other in text. For the purposes of this thesis, I will use this term to refer to a situation when an adjective precedes a noun that it modifies.

Collocation distribution

Collocation distribution refers to the frequencies with which the most popular adjectives are collocated with a noun.

Semantic context

This term will be used when referring to the meaning of adjectives that are collocated with a noun.

Lexical competition

Lexical competition takes place when speakers of a language can choose between two words (sometimes a loanword and its native counterpart) to describe the same thing. Then the two words are in lexical competition with each other.

Lexical slot

Lexical slot encompasses all of the meanings of a word. For example the words *boss* and *chief* share the lexical slot of “person in a leadership position”.

BACKGROUND

Overview

To understand how English loanwords enter the Russian language it is necessary to know both the theory behind language contact as well as its long history in Russia. Language contact is the interaction of speakers of two languages, through both direct and indirect contact. Depending on the nature and intensity of this contact, a language change can occur, as one language adopts words or features of another. Even the least intense forms of language contact can result in lexical borrowings or loanwords, the focus of this thesis. During the interaction of target language speakers with source language speakers, or with media that uses the source language, new words can be introduced into the target language. When a word enters a target language it can do so in several ways. The two ways relevant to this thesis are lexical addition and lexical replacement. Lexical addition takes place when a loanword enters a language where it has no native counterpart with the same meaning. This situation is common when a foreign item or concept is introduced to a target culture along with the foreign word that describes it. Lexical replacement takes place when a native counterpart with the same meaning as the loanword already exists in the target language. In this case, lexical competition takes place as the target language speakers decide whether to use the foreign loanword or its native counterpart.

Language contact, language change and lexical borrowings have occurred all over the world and Russia is no exception. The sources of lexical borrowings did not remain constant, as French, German, and English were each at one time the most the popular source of borrowings. But even once English became most popular, the intensity of borrowings from it varied, as Russia suffered through two World Wars and a Cold War and underwent two revolutions of ideology. These events helped to shape the attitudes of Russian speakers towards borrowings from English. It was during the times of change, like the 1917 revolution or the collapse of communism in 1991, that using new foreign words to describe new foreign concepts was seen as common sense and acceptable. But after the end of WWII or during the height of the Cold War when the attitudes towards the West and the United States were particularly negative, so were the attitudes towards foreign loanwords. During these times it was commonplace for the government to institute linguistic policies that aimed to remove foreign borrowings from Russian or replace them with native counterparts. While these efforts were not always successful, they negatively affected the loanwords' chances of survival in the language by limiting their exposure to the public.

Often as a result of lexical competition, one word emerges as the most popular, and the other either fades away as an archaism or remains used in a narrow or restricted meaning. By analyzing the frequency with which loanwords and counterparts are used in different contexts, we can determine their exact meanings and whether or not they are different. This will later help us to determine the nature and the result of their lexical competition. Previous works have defined language contact (Thomason 2001), chronicled the use of English loanwords in Russia (Comrie 1996), used grammatical form

frequencies to compare the meanings of Russian synonyms (Solovyev, Janda forthcoming), and analyzed the linguistic nature of adjectives (Featherstone 1994). I will draw upon all of these works to prepare the background information and method for my analysis of English loanword use in modern Russian language.

Language Contact

Language contact occurs when the speakers of two languages interact. It has always occurred throughout history and it would be difficult to find a language whose speakers have avoided contact with other languages for a significant period of time. Face-to-face interaction between speakers is not always necessary for language contact to occur. English is the modern *lingua franca*, and it often impacts languages without physical contact between speakers ever taking place. Much like “learned contact” between Latin and other languages of the Middle Ages, English impacts other modern languages through its use in science, business, education and diplomacy. When flying to international destinations, reading an article about a new scientific discovery or simply searching the Internet to preview the latest blockbuster film, there is a very good chance of being exposed to English without necessarily seeing a native speaker (Thomason 2001:10).

Those engaging in “learned contact” do not always consider it to be a conflict of languages or cultures. This was the case with the elite upper class in 19th-century Russia who freely chose to speak French. The chances of serious language erosion, language shift or language death during “learned contact” are very small. In most cases, only the borrowing of words or simple structures takes place. But even when the existence of the

target language is not threatened, there can be negative attitudes towards the use of the source language and words borrowed from it. In such cases governments often adopt regulatory language policies that limit the use of foreign borrowings in the standard and literary language. Such is the case in France, where the French Language Academy approves new words, decides which structures are parts of the standard grammar, and attempts to keep French free of English borrowings, usually by replacing them with native counterparts (Thomason 2001:35,41).

The extent of borrowing depends, among other things, on the intensity of language contact. Usually words are borrowed first, then structure and grammar. Even people who are not fluent in a foreign language can borrow a word from it, especially if the loanword is simpler than its native counterpart word or phrase, or if it is more appropriate to use because of stylistic reasons. Fluency in the source language becomes more relevant when borrowing structural elements. Non-basic vocabulary, such as terms related to business, technology and culture are often the easiest to borrow and integrate into the target language. Next are stress placement and word order. Inflectional morphology is less likely to be borrowed, because it would have to be worked into an existing self-contained and highly organized system (Thomason 2001:64-69).

Thomason represents the intensity of language contact using the following scale:

1. Casual contact (borrowers need not be fluent in the source language and/or few bilinguals among borrowing-language speakers)
2. Slightly more intense contact (borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals, but they are probably a minority among target-language speakers)

3. More intense contact (more bilinguals, attitudes and other social factors favoring borrowing)
4. Intense contact (very extensive bilingualism among target-language speakers, social factors strongly favoring borrowing)

We can see that intensity of language contact can vary, but for the purposes of English-Russian language contact as addressed in this thesis, we will need to consider only the two least intense variants (Thomason 2001:70):

1. Casual contact

- borrowers need not be fluent in the source language
- there are few bilinguals among target-language speakers
- only non-basic vocabulary is borrowed
- lexicon borrowed usually includes content words, most often nouns, but also verbs, adjectives, and adverbs
- no structure is borrowed

2. Slightly more intense contact

- borrowers must be reasonably fluent bilinguals, probably a minority among borrowing-language speakers,
- lexicon borrowed includes function words (e.g. conjunctions and adverbial particles like *then*) as well as content words and other non-basic vocabulary
- minor structural borrowing, with no introduction of features that would alter the types of structures found in the target language
- phonological features such as new phonemes, but for loanwords only

- syntactic features such as new functions or functional restrictions for previously existing syntactic structures, or increased usage of previously existing syntactic structures, or increased usage of previously rare word orders

Even at higher levels of language contact, some words or language elements remain unlikely to be borrowed. Words and concepts that are already present in a language are less likely to be replaced by foreign borrowings because there is no need for them. The word *telephone*, for example, is much more likely to be borrowed than *walk*, or *mother*. That is, non-basic vocabulary is the first to be borrowed and basic vocabulary comes later, if at all. Words for cultural items that are not present in the target culture are also easy to borrow. For example when the Russians explored along the coast of northern California, they introduced to the Native American speakers of Pomo the following items and the words representing them: *cat*, *spoon*, *sack*, *wheat*, *mustard*, *milk*, *coffee*, *tea*, *dishes*, *apple*, *socks*, *letter*, and *book*. Because these concepts and words were not present in the Pomo culture, it was easy to borrow them (Thomason 2001:72-73).

A significant amount of borrowing over time can eventually lead to change in the target language. In addition to changes in lexicon, the target language can also undergo changes in pronunciation rules or word order. It is difficult to predict exactly how language change will take place, because speakers' attitudes are powerful forces that can produce unexpected results. The social factors that control these attitudes are difficult to determine, and there is little in the way of constraints that rule out or predict language change and lexical borrowings (Thomason 2001:72-78).

This thesis will deal only with a subset of language change: lexical additions and replacements. It will examine the introduction of borrowed words for borrowed concepts, as well as the replacement of native words by new loanwords. This thesis will also examine how the new word and the old word compete for the same meaning and analyze the influences that lead to one word being preferred over another. There are many mechanisms for contact-induced change, but only the following is most relevant to this thesis: deliberate change. Deliberate decision can be used by speakers to change any aspect of a language, but the most common change is the adoption of loanwords (Thomason 2001:134-149).

English Loanwords in Russian

The intensity of language contact between Russian and English and the rate of borrowings has varied over time, with English only relatively recently becoming the preferred source language for foreign borrowings. The first significant contact between Russians and English speakers occurred in the middle of the 16th century, when King Edward VI sent an envoy to Czar Ivan IV the Terrible to open new markets for British merchandise.

Thereafter, British and Russian merchants began incorporating the first English loanwords into Russian: words that usually were not already present, such as *mister*, *alderman*, and *earl*. Although a few Russians visited Britain, more British subjects visited Russia, usually after being invited by the government. British professionals, doctors, pharmacists, artisans and officers began working in Russia and in exchange, a

small number of Russians were sent abroad to be trained as translators and interpreters (Proshina 2005:439).

In 1649 relations deteriorated and British merchants were deported or restricted to the north, as Russia feared subordination by Britain. But Peter the Great later reinvigorated the relations between the two countries. After he visited Britain from 1697-8, he appointed British engineers, mathematicians and ship builders to Russian offices and departments. He also promoted the field of translation, believing that a translator should learn a craft or science and a scientist or craftsman should learn a language. During Peter's rule loanwords were considered necessary, and the attitude towards them was quite positive, since it was natural to name foreign concepts using foreign terms. During Peter's reign approximately 150 English words were added to the Russian lexicon, for the most part terms related to navigation, titles, religion and some words pertaining to daily life and culture (Proshina 2005:440).

During the second half of the eighteenth century the number of English words added to the Russian language increased, as Russian government and high-ranking nobility became more Anglophilic. Catherine the Great favored English culture and promoted translation of its literature into Russian by establishing a translator's society. But the majority of books, particularly fiction, were first translated from English to French or German and only then into Russian. In the 1770s, visiting actors performed English language plays in the English theater, and translations of English literature, especially Shakespeare, were abundant. Many technical inventions of that time facilitated even more English borrowings. The first official Russian-American contact occurred in the late 18th century, when the president of the Russian Academy of Science

met with Benjamin Franklin in Washington. John Quincy Adams became the first US ambassador to Russia and became a close friend of Emperor Alexander. In the early 19th century American merchants and manufacturers began establishing themselves in St. Petersburg (Proshina 2005:440-441).

In the 19th century, English language, literature and culture were second in popularity to French, but that slowly began to change. Originally, French was the language of the educated classes and the nobility, and many writers, like Pushkin and Tolstoy, were bilingual. But by the end of the 19th century, education became available to other classes and the proportion of French speakers decreased as did the familiarity with French borrowings. At that time English borrowings were still only a small percentage of the total foreign borrowings into Russian. The first Russian dictionary of foreign words from 1803 listed 120 words of English origin, mostly related to money, measures, dishes, drinks, card games, titles, parties, clothing and dress names. By 1866, another dictionary listed 300 words of English origin, comprising 15% of all loan words. During the 1860s and 70s English-Russian contact weakened as language purism became popular and the attitudes of the pre-revolutionary society towards foreign borrowings became more hostile (Comrie 1996:188) and (Proshina 2005:441-442).

Technological developments at the beginning of the 20th century led to increased borrowings from German and English. English became fashionable, and many new words entered the Russian language: кодачить ‘take a photo’, фильм ‘film’, джаз ‘jazz’, бойкот ‘boycott’, and теннис ‘tennis’. German was popular because of its use among Marxists, and remained popular until World War I. But the movement to replace foreign words with Russian counterparts was still present, and succeeded even in technological

fields like aviation: авиатор became (>) лётчик 'pilot', аэроплан > самолёт 'airplane'. During WWI the rate of borrowing from German dropped, and while some Russian replacements were successful: санаториум > здравница 'sanatorium', фельдшер > лекарский помощник 'medical assistant', and Петербург > Петроград 'Petersburg', many others were not: бутерброд > хлеб с малсом 'sandwich' and платзкарт > спальное место 'place in a sleeping car' (Comrie 1996:189-191).

After the 1917 revolution, those who rose to positions of prestige and power were able to assert the acceptability of many features of their own speech and reject features of the old norms. What was colloquial became stylistically neutral, and what was non-standard became colloquially standard. This resulted in the belief in some emigrant circles that the Revolution distorted the Russian language. After 1917, the old regime disappeared along with its words. So-called историзмы 'historisms' became less frequently used, until they disappeared: Дума 'council', губернатор 'governor', ексекутор 'seneschal', фрейлина 'maid of honor', полицейский 'policeman', гувернантка 'governess', аттестат 'certificate', адвокат 'attorney', посол 'ambassador'. Some words, like посол, were later re-instated. Others were revived only in reference to officials from other countries. Most recently, some words, like дума and адвокат, were revived after the fall of communism in 1991 (Comrie 1996:10,201-202,216).

Not long after the revolution, English became the largest single identifiable source of loanwords, followed by the less prestigious German and French. As English became more popular, foreign words were no longer mostly end-stressed like French words (метро 'subway', бюро 'office', кино 'cinema'), but they usually preserved the stress from the original language. Some words even had different stress location and

pronunciation at different times. For example the pronunciation of William Shakespeare's first name in Russian changed from Вильям to Вильям to Уильям (Comrie 1996:226).

Borrowing slowed down during the turbulent first decade of Soviet power, since previously borrowed words were still being assimilated into the language and other words were borrowed internally, usually from the political discourse into everyday use. A 1923 survey showed that Red Army men, who were mainly peasants, were unfamiliar with many foreign words like система 'system', ультиматум 'ultimatum', регулярно 'regularly', инициатива 'initiative', and меморандум 'memorandum'. To familiarize the population with foreign words, it was suggested that they should be used along with Russian counterparts. It was believed that the language of the press should be closer to the colloquial language, as shown by newspaper excerpts from Pravda, 29 May 1924: Эта модификация, это изменение тактики... 'This modification, this change of tactics...' and Izvestiya № 295, 1924: Стимул (побуждение) к борьбе... 'Stimulus (inducement) to struggle...' Between the late 1920s and the early 1930s the situation improved, and rural people were using loanwords that "formerly would have sounded very unusual in the mouth of a peasant". Loan words were no longer limited to the urban areas, but were spread by agitation, propaganda, and the Red Army (Comrie 1996:193,197).

During the 1930s, rapid industrialization caused further increase in borrowed words of British and American origin, as did the anti-Nazi alliance during World War II. During this time, the attitude towards the German language was understandably negative and German words were often used in negative contexts, like блицкриг 'blitzkrieg' and

полицай ‘member of local population in occupied areas who is serving the German police’. This anti-German sentiment also led to the elimination of German military terms that dealt with ranks. Even well-established borrowings like солдат ‘soldier’ and матрос ‘sailor’, were temporarily replaced by красноармеец ‘red army man’ and краснофлотец ‘red navy man’. The word офицер ‘officer’, was replaced by красный командир ‘red commander’, сержант ‘sergeant’ was replaced by командир отделения ‘section commander’, and so on. But many of these changes did not last long. By the 1940s, many borrowings were re-introduced, along with English-based rankings маршал ‘marshal’, полковник ‘colonel’, генерал ‘general’, and even генералиссимус ‘generalissimo’, reserved specifically for Stalin (Proshina 2005:442) and (Comrie 1996:222).

The reluctance to borrow foreign words remained strong after the war, during the so-called Struggle against Cosmopolitanism. Once again there were efforts to restrain borrowing and purify the language by rejecting existing loan words:

Французские булки ‘French rolls’ became (>) городские булки ‘town rolls’, Американский орех ‘American nuts’ > южный орех ‘southern nuts’, брауншвейгская колбаса ‘Braunschweig wurst’ > московская колбаса ‘Moscow wurst’, цукаты ‘candied fruit’ > киевская смесь ‘Kiev assortment’. Only some of these replacements, like московская колбаса ‘Moscow wurst’, were successful. The Cold War resulted in increasing hostility towards the US and a more negative attitude toward English borrowings, as even popular non-fiction used Americanisms in a mostly negative light. Many terms related to sports and technology were replaced: тайм > половина игры ‘half time’ and голкипер > вратарь ‘goalkeeper’. But some new borrowings did appear:

аллергия ‘allergy’, бойлер ‘boiler’ and офис ‘office’ (Proshina 2005:442) and (Comrie 1996:209-210).

After Stalin’s death, relations with the outside world were relaxed as tourism and cultural and scientific contact became possible. Russians increased their exposure to foreign words and way of life, and the rate of borrowing again peaked in the 1960s. Some new words included: акваланг ‘aqualung’, шорты ‘shorts’, бармен ‘barman’, дизайнер ‘designer’ and компьютер ‘computer’. During this time there was a shift from transliteration of borrowed words to more practical transcription. Adaptation of foreign words into new nativized formations took place: анонимщик (‘writer of anonymous letters’, from анонимный ‘anonymous’ and the Russian suffix –щик, denoting a person), безкомпромиссность (‘quality of being uncompromising’, from компромисс ‘compromise’ and компромиссный ‘compromising’, the prefix без- meaning ‘without’ and the suffix –ость, used for abstract nouns). During this time, lexical purism was no longer a significant issue in Soviet language planning. During the Thaw of the 1960s, new words were borrowed through mass media, pop culture, science and literary translation. By the middle of the 20th century, the lexicon contained 2000 English words (Comrie 1996:210-211) and (Proshina 2005:442).

From the 1970s to the mid-1980s the rate of borrowings decreased because the language was still saturated with borrowings from the 1960s and because after the end of Khrushchev’s Thaw, the perception of loanwords once again became more negative. During this time, the excessive use of foreign words could have been adopted as a sign of dissent, much like in student slang. Some loanwords from this period include: импичмент ‘impeachment’, истеблишмент ‘establishment’ and консенсус ‘consensus’.

Interest in English as a source of borrowings continued, as earlier borrowings gained new meanings: банк 'financial bank' > 'database'. New words and calques of words as well as word combinations entered the language: мозговая атака 'brain storm' and факторы риска 'risk factors'. Another source of foreign words was the translation of acronyms: НЛО (неопознанный летающий объект) - 'UFO' and СПИД (синдром приобретенного иммунного дефицита) - 'AIDS'. The nativized use of foreign affixes like -дром, -тека, -визор, -трон, -мобиль, and -абель increased. New words formed with these suffixes were no longer confined to specialized vocabulary: велосомобиль 'pedal car' and собакотрон 'dog track'. Some new stump compounds were even created: универсам and универмаг 'supermarket'. Most recently, the suffix -инг '-ing' has been undergoing integration with Russian stems: договор селинга 'selling agreement', much in the same way as the suffix -изм '-ism' integrated into the language earlier: алкоголизм 'alcoholism' (Comrie 1996:213-215, 312).

Seven decades of Soviet establishment promoted a standard language within a static and conservative system (standard grammar, censorship, and a standardized educational reading list). Despite the fact that the standard language was excessively based on a bureaucratic style and lagged behind the developments in the spoken language, an underlying desire to speak the educated or literary standard prevailed. Russian and foreign words were used concurrently, but could easily vary in appropriateness across different registers and styles. Non-standard speech was always present in Russian, usually the result of geographical dialects and the use of the vernacular or *prostorechie*. Well-educated speakers used standard language in all situations, but could switch between registers and use the non-standard forms to show

solidarity with certain social groups, for example. The speakers of *prostorechie*, however were limited to using one register. Upward social mobility in the Soviet Union created speakers of Russian who were trying to transition from the stigmatized and less prestigious non-standard or regional varieties to the standard language. During both the beginning and the decline of the Soviet Union, the higher artistic and bureaucratic styles were influenced by the lower colloquial ones, with the help of rapid developments in journalism and mass media. The need to reach ordinary people led to the inclusion of colloquialisms in the standard language. In the past, the divergence from the standard language could have been seen as a mark of social status (such as pronouncing loanwords as they are pronounced in the source language), but the universalization and standardization of education introduced and solidified a standard language among the masses (Comrie 1996:6, 10-11, 25-27).

At the end of Cold War only one superpower remained, English was the international language, and American culture, entertainment and corporations were proliferating all over the world. The development of the Internet united people, brought them into contact with English, and induced them to borrow more English words. In present-day Russia, there are two tendencies in the evolution of the lexicon. As a reaction to the fall of Communism, the language is being purged of words associated with the Soviet period and ideology. A campaign took place to restore pre-revolutionary place names and replace ideologically marked words such as товарищ ‘comrade’ > господин ‘mister’, отдел ‘section’ > департамент ‘department’ and родина ‘motherland’ > отечество ‘fatherland’. Calques from English can frequently be heard on TV: будьте с нами ‘stay with us’. The number of borrowings may seem threatening, since Russian is

being flooded with English loanwords, like: инвестиция ‘investment’ and эксклюзивный ‘exclusive’, even when there are Russian counterparts: капиталовложения and исключительный, respectively. But this is only a temporary trend and the current fascination with English might recede just as the use of French loanwords did after the 1917 Revolution and the use of German after World War II did (Proshina 2005:442) and (Comrie 1996:313-314).

Russia, unlike France for example, has no significant government resistance to the adoption of foreign loanwords into the language. Russian youth slang is particularly receptive, with 20% of slang words being of English origin. Equally receptive is the language of technology, business and mass media. Some of the words recently borrowed for business include: *broker*, *dealer*, *distributor*, and *manager*. This is mainly because their Soviet-era counterparts like директор ‘director’, начальник ‘chief, director’ now have negative ideological connotations. Other recent words are from the field of technology and sports: *display*, *file*, *interface*, *skateboard*, *freestyle* and *overtime*. Even some borrowings from other languages are being replaced by English counterparts: анимация > анимейшн ‘animation’, макияж > мейкап ‘make-up’, бутерброд > сендвич ‘sandwich’ and шлягер > хит ‘hit’. Despite the popularity of English loanwords, some Russian linguistic conservatives are once again voicing their negative attitudes towards foreign loanwords (Proshina 2005:443).

Similar Works

My thesis states that English loanwords do not always have the same meaning as the Russian counterparts they are trying to replace. I examined works that study

language contact and lexical replacement (Thomason 2001). I have also examined works and articles which specifically chronicle the usage of English loanwords in the Russian language (Comrie 1996), (Krongauz 2006), (Markova), (Nicholls 2004), (Romanov 2000) and (Shabad 2001). Although I have not come across any works which address all of these issues combined, I have found at least two works that use the analysis of word frequencies within large amounts of textual information in order to study language (Solovyev and Janda forthcoming) and (Featherstone 1994).

One of these studies (Solovyev and Janda forthcoming) focuses on determining the degree of semantic similarity of synonyms based on the similarity of their syntactic properties. Although this study does not involve loanwords, it attempts to solve the same problem that I am facing, that is how to determine whether or not apparent synonyms are different and why. Solovyev does this by examining the lexical behavior of all the synonyms, focusing on the frequency with which each synonym appears with a certain preposition in a certain case. This is done by collecting data from the Russian National Corpus and subjecting it to statistical analysis. The degree of similarity in lexical behavior of various synonyms is used to determine the degree of similarity of synonyms. This approach is objective, does not rely on intuition and the results are easily quantifiable, given the electronic format and ease of searching the language corpus.

Though this approach uses word frequency analysis to show grammatical similarities of synonyms, it does not do the same for their semantic similarity. For my approach, I will analyze English loanwords and Russian counterparts, and focus on comparison of their semantic contexts. To accomplish this, I will not only focus on the quantitative characteristics of the words' lexical properties, but also examine the

qualitative characteristic of the words' semantic context. See Table 4 and **Error! Reference source not found.** in the appendix for the results of a re-creation of Solovyev's study of synonyms using my method. The results were achieved by analyzing the frequency distribution of adjectives most frequently collocated with each of the words in the synonym cluster for 'sadness': грусть, печаль, тоска, уныние, меланхолия, хандра. By looking at the data, we see that the adjective frequently collocated with all of the synonyms is глубокий 'deep'. On the contrary, the adjective смертный 'deadly, mortal' is only collocated with the synonym тоска. Interestingly, this adjective also has higher collocation frequency with тоска than with any other adjective. These kinds of interesting details only become noticeable as a result of a qualitative word frequency analysis.

Adjectives that collocate with the loanwords can be divided into relational and qualitative. Qualitative adjectives designate a trait or a quality characteristic of the noun modified, i.e.: *white house, bad driver*. Relational adjectives designate a relationship which characterizes the noun modified as being of, from or connected with something or someone, i.e.: *wooden house, French writer*. In Russian, qualitative adjectives have short forms and comparatives: белее 'whiter'. Same forms are not present for relational adjectives, and even if created (деревянное 'more wooden'), they can be used only metaphorically. That is, something either is 'wooden' or it isn't. We can describe something as 'more wooden' only if we are making a metaphoric reference to stiff, inflexible or ungraceful behavior, for example (Townsend 1975:209).

Qualitative adjectives can also build adverbs and abstract nouns: белизна 'whiteness'. Under some circumstances, relational adjectives may acquire qualitative

meaning: *сердечная болезнь* ‘heart disease’ is relational, and *сердечный человек* ‘warmhearted person’ is qualitative. Few adjectives are purely relational or qualitative. A relational adjective may acquire a secondary meaning primarily from context and then function like a qualitative adjective. A relational adjective may acquire a secondary meaning that is figurative or metaphoric, and thus a primarily relational adjective may transform into parts of speech that are particular only to qualitative adjectives, as seen above. The correlation between qualitative and relational adjectives can be represented by a continuum. The distinction between qualitative and relational adjectives becomes important during the analysis section of this thesis, as it is often the qualitative adjectives that are more descriptive and better define the meaning of a noun (Townsend 1975:209) and (Featherstone 1994:7, 66, 80).

Summary

The background material consulted for this thesis included linguistic works on language contact, historical accounts of English loanwords in Russian, and previous studies that focused on similar language topics and used similar research methods. According to linguistic theory, loanwords can enter the target language as a result of even the mildest of language contacts. For this to occur, it is only necessary that the speakers of the target language be exposed to people, media or culture associated with the source language. Loanwords can enter a language even through non-personal, removed or learned contact, as was the case throughout Russia’s history. French, German and most recently English, were all popular sources of lexical borrowings into Russian. English became the most popular source after World War I, and has remained so until today.

During this time the intensity of contact between Russian and English did not remain constant, as world events, ideological revolutions and changes in Russia's leadership affected the exposure of Russian speakers to English. Over the course of a century a large number of English loanwords have entered the language in many different areas of use. As is often the case, they were related to new concepts that were also being introduced into Russian society during that time. The most frequent lexical additions occurred in reference to new concepts in business, industry, politics, art, fashion, entertainment and technology. Not all of the loanwords that entered the Russian language remained in use. Many loanwords already had Russian counterparts, or they later developed them, often as a result of a government campaign to "purify" the Russian language. Some loanwords were able to complete the lexical replacement of their native counterparts, but others did not, and remained in use only with a fraction of their original meaning or disappeared from the language completely. To study English loanwords in the Russian language, it is important to understand the theory behind language contact, as well as its history in Russia. To understand why lexical borrowings take place, it is important to be able to compare the loanword with its native counterpart. One approach is to collect word frequency data of the synonyms and compare their lexical properties in order to determine the level of their similarity. While this is a useful approach, I believe that focusing on analysis of the synonyms' semantic properties can result in much more interesting data. By understanding and comparing the meanings of loanwords and their synonyms, we can better understand when and why each of them is used. To determine the meaning of a word, we can examine the context that it appears in. The easiest way to accomplish this for nouns is to determine which adjectives they are most frequently

collocated with. Qualitative adjectives are usually more descriptive than their relational counterparts and better characterize the noun that they collocate with, often giving the noun positive or negative connotations. The application of language contact theory provides for a better understanding of English lexical borrowings in Russian, and frequency analysis of collocated adjectives provide a better understanding of loanword meanings. The loanwords meanings can be compared with the meanings of their native counterparts, and based on this comparison we can analyze the loanword-counterpart relationship, better understand the nature of the lexical competition, and make educated predictions about its outcome.

METHODOLOGY

Overview

The main focus of this thesis is to study the use of English loanwords in the Russian language. The method chosen to accomplish this task is *content analysis*, because it is best suited for searching through large amounts of textual data and analyzing word frequencies. This method becomes more efficient and fruitful when used with an electronic source of data, such as the Russian National Corpus. This corpus contains large amounts of electronic Russian texts that are searchable for single words, word combinations and parts of speech. This chapter outlines the data collection and analysis process and presents a pilot study that tests it.

Method

To accomplish the goals of this thesis it is necessary to examine English loanwords in the Russian language and determine how they differ from their native counterparts. It is also necessary to track loanword use to determine how loanwords are adopted into the language and how they compete with their native counterparts. The data obtained should allow for predictions about which English loanwords will be more easily adopted into the Russian language. The methodology best suited to these tasks is content analysis (also called textual analysis) (Content Analysis 2007), with Russian National

Corpus or Ruscorpora (Natsional'nyj Korpus Russkogo Iazyka) as the main source of data.

Content analysis or textual analysis is the standard methodology in the social sciences for the study of communication and language. It is used to determine the frequency of specific words within a text or set of texts. From the word frequencies, meanings and relationships, researchers can make conclusions about the text, the writer, the audience and even the culture of which this text was a part. Combined with the use of computers, content analysis allows for speedy analysis of large amounts of text. While methods in quantitative content analysis result in quantitative statistical data, qualitative content analysis focuses more on intentionality and its implications. For effective content analysis it is important for the textual information to be coded within a consistent framework.

The uses of content analysis fall into three basic categories:

- make inferences about the antecedents of a communication
- describe and make inferences about the characteristics of a communication
- make inferences about the effects of a communication

I will use content analysis to describe characteristics of a communication as contained in the Russian National Corpus. I will examine the loanwords within the corpus and make inferences about trends in loanword use and loanword nativization in the Russian language.

Resources

The main source of data used in this thesis is the Russian National Corpus or Ruscorpora. A language corpus is a collection of texts that represent a language at a specific time or times. Ruscorpora contains texts of many genres, styles, and territorial and social variants, dating from the early 19th century to early 21st century. The genres represented include literary works, journalistic and educational writing, correspondence, memoirs and diaries. Ruscorpora also includes texts of various literary styles and many spoken, colloquial and regional dialects. There are several advantages to using a language corpus as opposed to other sources of language content, such as spoken language or Internet content. The corpus material has been produced by native speakers, it has been checked for errors and does not contain any duplicates.

The Russian National Corpus was created by linguists specifically for the purpose of language research. It is modeled after the British National Corpus (British National Corpus 2007) and the Czech National Corpus (Czech National Corpus 2007). Ruscorpora gives a good representation of the Russian language because it contains a balanced selection of a variety of types of written and spoken texts: literary, artistic, journalistic, educational, scientific, business, spoken and dialectal. These styles are all contained in the corpus in approximate proportion to their prevalence in the language in a specific period. Ruscorpora texts contain around 200 million words, enough to give an accurate sample of the language.

Each text contained in the corpus has been grammatically marked, processed and categorized for morphology. Some texts even have prosodic stress markings. The availability of this information makes Ruscorpora very useful for the study of language

and separates it from other available collections of texts, whose main goal is the representation of the texts' content. The compilers of the corpus did consider each text's entertainment, artistic or educational properties, but these were not the important reasons for incorporating a text into the corpus. The main goal was to facilitate the study of the language, lexicon and language change as it takes place over one or two centuries.

Computer technology allows for the high speed and efficiency of large-volume searches and statistical analysis of electronic texts within Ruscorpora. Although Ruscorpora is most often used by researchers and linguists, even non-professionals can use it to retrieve statistical data about a particular time period, author, grammatical construction or lexical item. The corpus is also useful for educational purposes, because it allows students to find examples of functional, everyday uses of any word (Natsional'nyj Korpus Russkogo Iazyka).

In order to reduce the complexity of analysis, I focused on loanword nouns from English that entered the Russian language within approximately the last 50 years. To maximize the data available for analysis, I chose loanwords that occur most frequently in the Russian National Corpus. Some of these loanwords have been used in the Russian language with increasing frequency for longer periods of time (бизнесмен 'businessman', амбиция 'ambition'), and others have become very popular very recently (менеджер 'manager', рейтинг 'rating'). I also chose words that represent people and concepts that are not neutral, where there is a chance the word is used either in a positive or negative connotation. This motivated the selection of words like киллер 'killer' and avoidance of words like принтер 'printer'. In my analysis I hope to show that English loanwords and Russian counterparts often differ in meaning, and that sometimes we can

make assumptions about their connotations and chances of survival based on the analysis of their contexts.

Protocol

- use Russian dictionaries to find recent English loanword nouns
- determine the Russian counterpart or counterparts
- use the Russian National Corpus to determine the context of the loanwords:
 - find adjectives that most frequently appear with the loanwords
 - find adjectives that most frequently appear with the Russian counterparts
- determine the frequency of each adjective with each loanword and each Russian counterpart
- determine the Relational / Qualitative properties of the adjectives
- organize the adjectives according to their meaning
- create graphs to visually compare the loanword/counterpart adjective frequencies
- analyze the semantic context of the loanword and the counterpart(s)
- determine the overlap in meaning of the loanword and the counterpart(s)
- determine whether or not semantic narrowing has taken place
- based on the nature of the overlap in meaning and the presence or absence of semantic narrowing, determine whether or not the English loanword has an advantage in lexical competition with its Russian counterpart(s)

Pilot study

Before attempting a full scale data collection and analysis, I conducted a pilot study to test my methodology. As a part of my pilot study, I found the word **киллер** ‘hired professional killer’ in several dictionaries. Then I found the Russian counterpart: **убийца** ‘killer’. I then searched the Russian National Corpus and found that the most common adjectives associated with **киллер** were **наемный** ‘hired’ (4.72%), **предполагаемый** ‘supposed’ (3.15%) and **профессиональный** ‘professional’ (8.66%). I then searched for the frequency of occurrence of each of these adjectives with the Russian counterpart word **убийца**: **наемный** ‘hired’ (17%), **предполагаемый** ‘supposed’ (1.86%) and **профессиональный** ‘professional’ (3.57%). During the data collection I found two additional adjectives that also frequently modify the Russian counterpart word **убийца** ‘killer’: **серийный** ‘serial’ (4.86%) and **хладнокровный** ‘cold-blooded’ (1.57%). I then searched one more time for the occurrences of these two adjectives with the English loanword **киллер**: **серийный** ‘serial’ (0%) and **хладнокровный** ‘cold-blooded’ (0.79%). The result of the data collection is summarized in Table 1 and 2.

Киллер	TOTALS	
All	340	
Adj.	127	
	COUNT	%
Предполагаемый	4	3.15%
Наемный	6	4.72%
Профессиональный	11	8.66%
Хладнокровный	1	0.79%
Серийный	0	0.00%

Table 1 – Sample Loanword

Убийца	TOTALS	
<u>All</u>	3000	
<u>Adj.</u>	700	
	COUNT	%
<u>Предполагаемый</u>	13	1.86%
<u>Наемный</u>	119	17.00%
<u>Профессиональный</u>	25	3.57%
<u>Хладнокровный</u>	11	1.57%
<u>Серийный</u>	34	4.86%

Table 2 – Sample Counterpart

I repeated this process for two more loanwords бизнесмен ‘businessman’ and босс ‘boss’ and their Russian counterparts предприниматель and начальник, respectively.

I then analyzed the data, and came to the conclusion that the loanword киллер, for example, is never found with the adjective серийный ‘serial’. This shows that the loanword and the counterpart are not exactly the same words, because they have different profiles of use, and because their meanings do not completely overlap. In this case, the original loanword meaning ‘killer’ appears to have undergone semantic narrowing to the meaning ‘hired killer’ or ‘assassin’. Because the loanword and the counterpart meanings are different (albeit not significantly), they are not competing for the same lexical slot in the Russian language. Therefore, as the English loanword enters the Russian language, it does so more as a lexical addition, rather than the lexical replacement of the Russian counterpart. And because lexical addition is more likely to succeed than lexical replacement, the loanword киллер has an advantage in lexical competition with the Russian counterpart and is more likely to remain in the language (Thomason 2001:88).

Summary

The pilot study confirmed that the selected method, resources and protocol could successfully accomplish the goals of this thesis. Content analysis is well suited to study English loanwords in the Russian language. It is a proven social science method of studying communication content, and has been successfully used in the past to study similar topics, such as Russian synonyms and Russian and Czech relational and qualitative adjectives (Solovyev and Janda, forthcoming). The data collected using this method in the pilot study revealed the semantic contexts of the loanwords and their counterparts and allowed for easy comparison and analysis of any differences in meaning. One limitation encountered is related to advanced searches for combinations of multiple words within Ruscorpora. To achieve consistent results during analysis, it is preferable to search for the occurrences of single words. Searches for pairs of words or phrases are more complicated, because the system often returns false positives when trying to match all the forms of the words contained in the phrase. For this reason it is preferable to find loanword counterparts that are single words, even if two words or a phrase would sometimes be more descriptive. This is why, for example, I chose the word самолюбие ‘ambition, self-esteem’ as the counterpart for амбиция, and not the more descriptive обостренное самолюбие ‘keen ambition’. The decision to use single word counterparts for loanwords keeps the searches of Ruscorpora consistent and manageable, especially with the added complexity of collocated adjectives.

The method chosen will facilitate the achievement of the goals of this thesis: to determine if the loanwords differ from their counterparts, and if they have an advantage in the lexical competition for the chance to remain in the Russian language.

DATA ANALYSIS

Overview

This chapter presents the data collected and uses graphs to highlight the properties that will be important for the analysis. Each English loanword and its Russian counterpart(s) is analyzed within the context of the adjectives that they most frequently collocate with. The data collected from the Russian National Corpus shows which adjectives appear with each noun, and how many times each adjective-noun combination occurs. The frequencies of the most prevalent adjective-noun combinations, or semantic contexts, are shown for each English loanword and its Russian counterpart. This data is collected in a table and displayed in a graph, so that the semantic contexts of loanwords and counterparts are easy to compare.

Each loanword-counterpart(s) group is analyzed, with attention paid to adjectives that frequently collocate with the loanword but not the counterparts, or the converse. Such adjectives are grouped and analyzed according to their meaning, their qualitative or relational nature, and their emotional connotation. Then, depending on the presence or absence of such adjectives, the degree of overlap in meaning between the loanword and the counterpart is determined. For example, if both the loanword and the counterpart are frequently found in the same semantic context (the same group of adjectives), then their overlap in meaning is nearly complete (Figure 1a). On the contrary, if the loanword is frequently found with adjectives that are not found with the counterparts (Figure 1b), or

the loanword is found only with a subset of the counterpart's adjectives (Figure 1c), then their overlap in meaning is not complete.

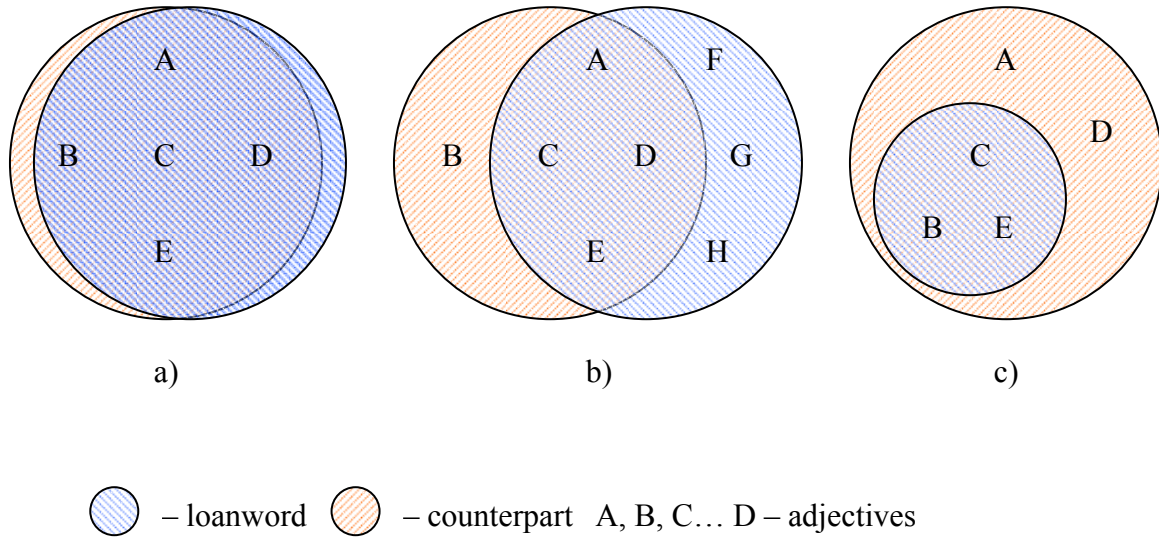


Figure 1 – Meaning overlap of Loanwords and Counterparts

If we further analyze any outlying adjectives (B, F, G and H in Figure 1b, and A and D in Figure 1c) and we find that they all have related meanings (political for example) then we can say that the loanword in question has acquired a niche meaning. If this niche meaning is a part of the original loanword meaning, then this is evidence that semantic concretization or semantic narrowing has taken place. This process is completed for each loanword-counterpart(s) group, and based on the analysis of their semantic context and the degree of overlap in meaning a prediction is made whether or not the loanword has an increased chance of survival in the lexical competition with its counterpart. Usually, if the loanword does not fully overlap in meaning with its counterpart or has undergone semantic concretization, then its chances in lexical

competition are much better, because it is not competing for the exactly same lexical slot as its counterpart (Thomason 2001:88-89).

Data

There is no simple and objective way to determine synonyms in a language, even when there are no loanwords involved. Looking in dictionaries for synonyms sometimes leads to inconsistent results, as each dictionary can list a slightly different definition. I have therefore used a collection of both printed and online dictionaries to select the best Russian counterparts for the loanwords to use in my analysis (Ozhegov 2005), (Romanov 2000), (Semeneva 2003), (Val'ter 2004) and (Free Russian - English Dictionary and English to Russian Online Translation). The English loanwords and their Russian counterparts that were selected from the Russian National Corpus for the purpose of this analysis are located in Table 3. Detailed statistical data for each of these words as can be found in Table 5 of the Appendix.

Loanword	Equivalent
Киллер <i>killer</i>	Убийца <i>killer; murderer; assassin</i>
Босс <i>boss; master</i>	Начальник <i>boss; chief; commander; director</i>
Менеджер <i>manager</i>	Директор <i>manager; director</i> Управленец <i>manager; senior manager; executive</i>
Бизнесмен <i>businessman</i>	Предприниматель <i>businessman; entrepreneur</i>
Бизнес <i>business</i>	Предпринимательство <i>business; enterprise</i>
Консенсус <i>consensus</i>	Согласие <i>consensus; consent; agreement</i>
Конфронтация <i>confrontation</i>	Противостояние <i>confrontation; opposition; resistance</i> Столкновение <i>confrontation; conflict; encounter</i>
Амбиция <i>ambition</i>	Самолюбие <i>ambition; self-esteem</i> Стремление <i>ambition; aspiration</i>
Спикер <i>speaker, chairman</i>	Председатель <i>speaker; chairman</i> Представитель <i>speaker; spokesman; representative</i>
Рейтинг <i>rating</i>	Оценка <i>rating; estimate; evaluation</i>
Преференция <i>preference</i>	Предпочтение <i>preference</i> Преимущество <i>preference; privilege; advantage</i>

Table 3 – Selected Loanwords and Counterparts

Assumptions

English loanwords are continuing to enter the Russian language at an increasing rate. Sometimes Soviet-era words are replaced, even when the objects or concepts they refer to remain essentially the same. In other cases new cultural concepts are introduced into society along with new loanwords to describe them. Sometimes new English loanwords that are introduced into the Russian language have to compete with already existing Russian counterparts. If semantic concretization or semantic narrowing of the original loanword meaning occurs, then there is a greater chance that the loanword will be assimilated and be used concurrently with its counterpart, usually in a niche meaning.

Analysis

Killer: (Киллер, Убийца)

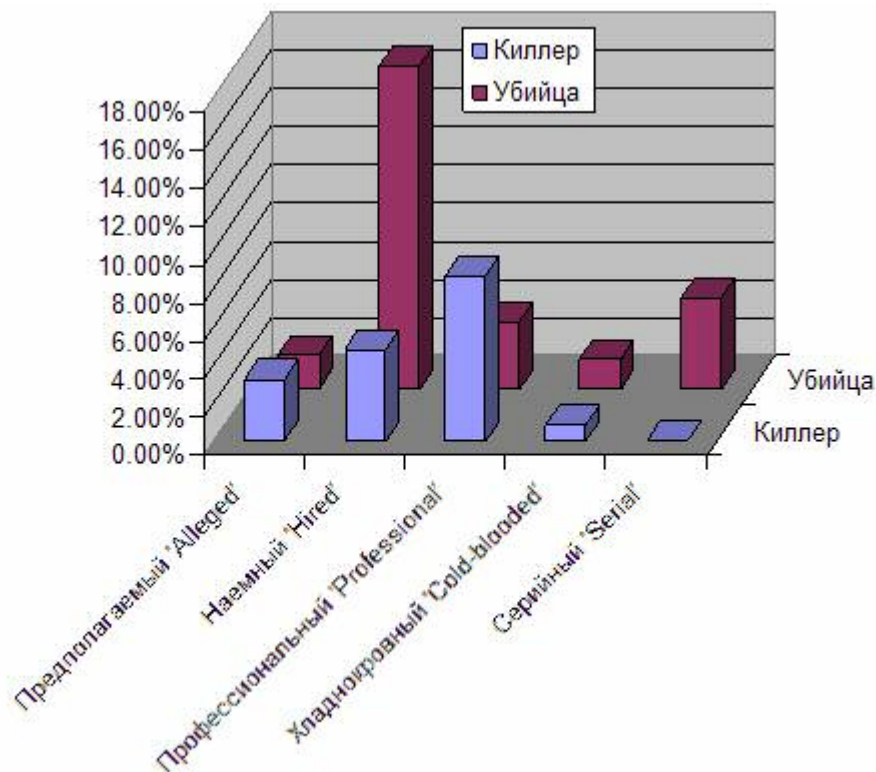


Figure 2 – Killer

According to the data collected, the most frequent adjectives occurring with the loanword киллер include the relational adjectives наемный ‘hired’, предполагаемый ‘alleged’ and профессиональный ‘professional’. The Russian counterpart of убийца is also found with additional relational adjectives including серийный ‘serial’ and хладнокровный ‘cold-blooded’. Because the English loanword does not appear with the adjective серийный, it has narrower uses than the Russian counterpart. It is apparent from the data that the loanword киллер is usually used when referring to hired,

professional killers, such as hitmen and assassins. In contrast, other types of killers and murderers, such as serial killers, are not described by the English loanword. The Russian counterpart is used instead. It can therefore be assumed that the adopted meaning of *киллер* is the result of semantic narrowing of the original meaning of English loanword. The new meaning could be related to historically recent concepts from the world of organized crime, such as murderers-for-hire and professional killers, for which there were no established Russian counterparts. It is therefore possible that this English loanword took on a meaning that would otherwise have to be communicated by a phrase. Because of these circumstances, *киллер* has an increased possibility of remaining within the Russian language, albeit in its narrowed meaning.

Boss: (Босс, Начальник)

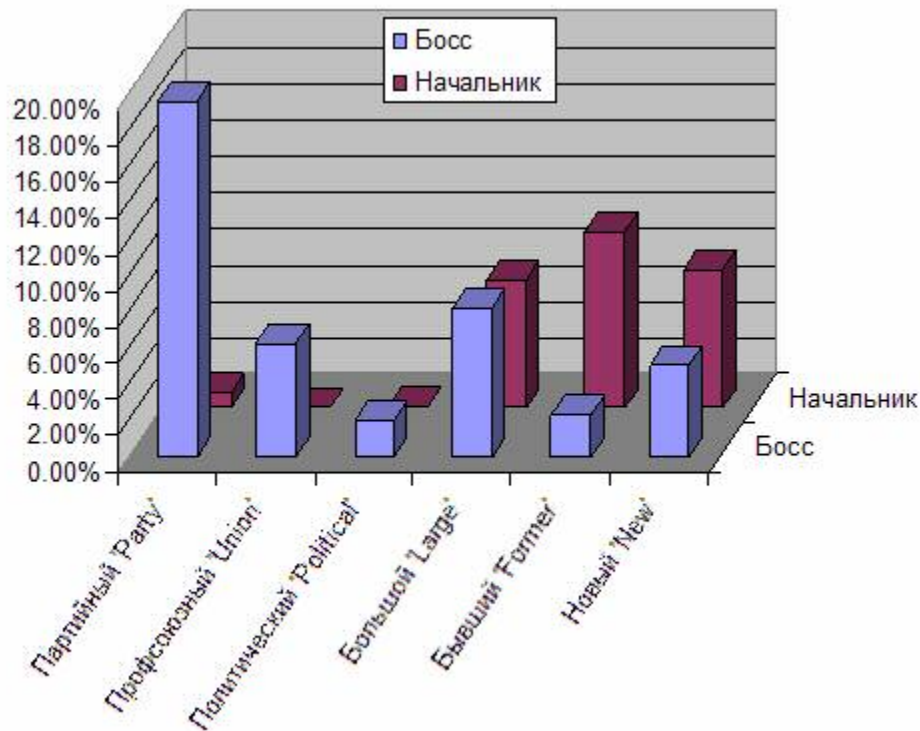


Figure 3 – Boss

The most relevant relational adjectives associated with the English loanword *босс* are: *партийный* ‘(political) party’ *профсоюзный* ‘(trade) union’ and *политический* ‘political’. Of these adjectives the only one found with the Russian counterpart *начальник* with significant frequency is *партийный*. The qualitative adjective *большой* ‘large’ and relational adjective *новый* ‘new’ are present with both the Russian loanword and the English counterpart. By looking at adjectives that appear with the English loanword and the Russian counterpart, we can conclude that these words have a significant overlap in meaning, but nevertheless there are areas where the loanword is much more likely to be used. Like *киллер*, the loanword *босс* has undergone semantic concretization and is much more likely to be used when referring to a leader in the field

of politics or political parties and other representative institutions. In these same areas, the Russian counterpart is used with significantly less frequency, perhaps as a result of an intentional break with Soviet-era political vocabulary. This apparent ideological advantage gives the English loanword a good chance to successfully compete and survive in the Russian language.

Manager: (Менеджер, Директор, Управленец)

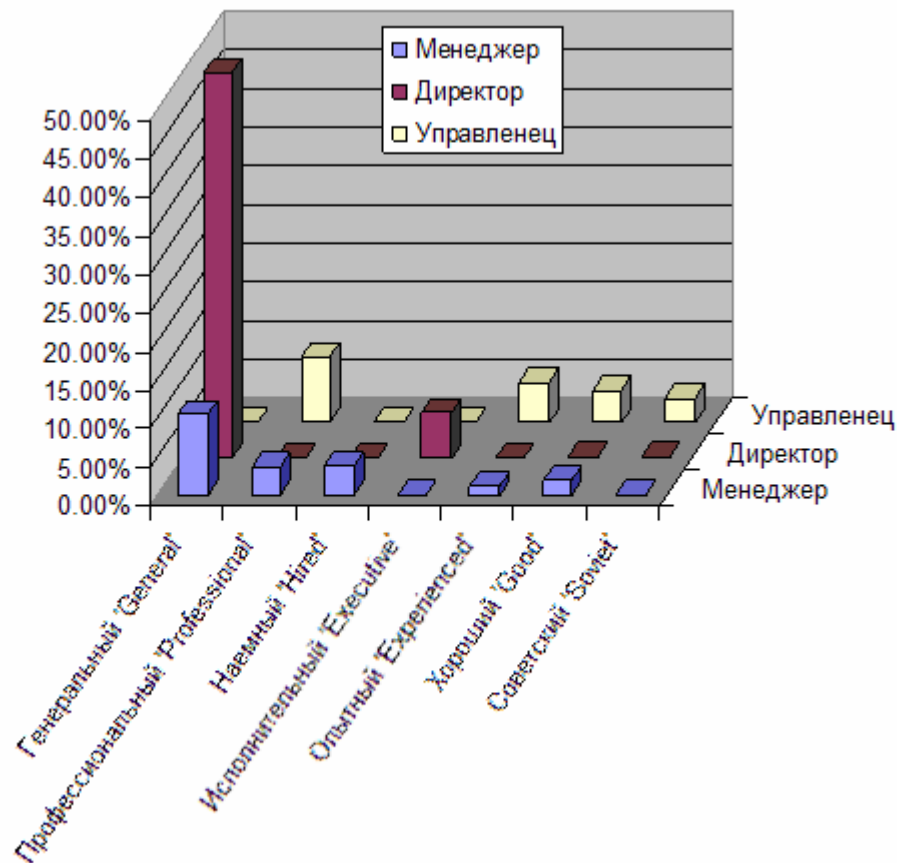


Figure 4 – Manager

The usage of менеджер ‘manager’ and its Russian counterparts is similar in concept to the usage of босс above. Much like босс, менеджер is a post-Soviet loanword that is attempting to replace its Soviet-era Russian counterpart директор ‘director, manager’. After examining the adjectives associated with the loanword, we see that генеральный ‘general’ appears by far the most frequently. Given such high frequency, we can conclude that генеральный менеджер ‘general manager’ is a fixed expression that represents the title of a position. This is further supported by the fact that the most frequent adjective associated with директор is also генеральный. There is some evidence that these words are perhaps not the best synonyms, for example the absence of the relative adjective исполнительный ‘executive’ with менеджер. But then perhaps исполнительный директор is a fixed phrase that is not formed with менеджер.

Even in post-Soviet data the relational adjective советский ‘Soviet’ appears with both директор and управленец, but not with the loanword менеджер. This suggests that even the present-day usage of директор could describe an executive or managerial position in an organization that has not changed much from Soviet times. In contrast, советский is not used with менеджер, and so it is more likely that this word describes a position that is progressive and does not reflect the Soviet past. Nevertheless, the overlap in meanings is significant and there appears to be little semantic concretization, as there are only minor differences in the collocation of adjectives between the loanword and its counterparts. The only distinction of менеджер seems to be that it has no apparent Soviet associations.

Businessman: (Бизнесмен, Предприниматель)

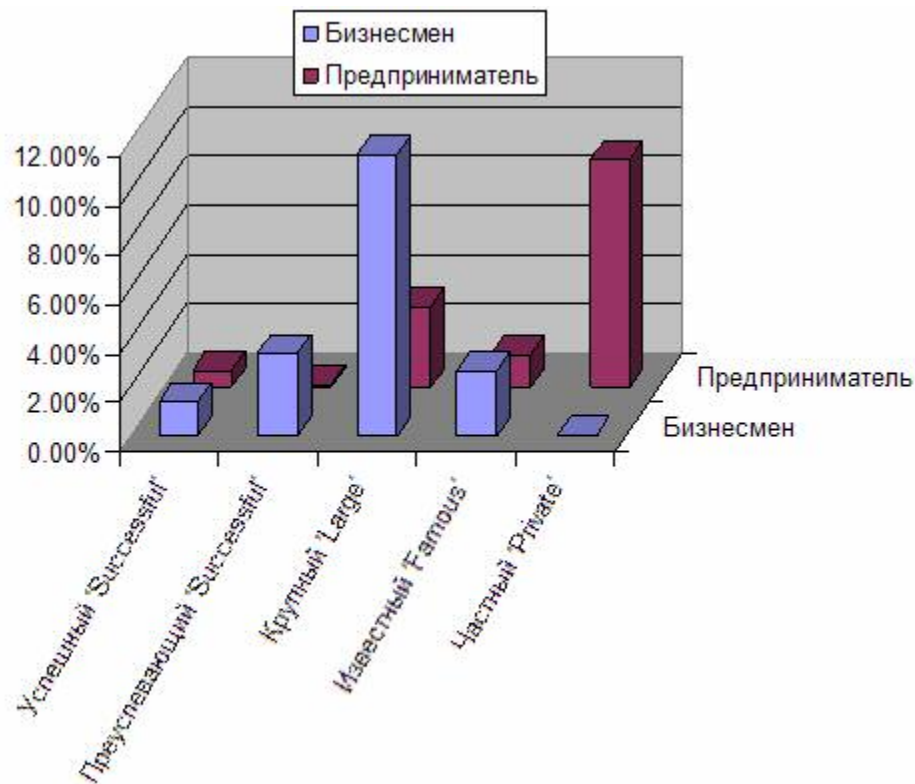


Figure 5 – Businessman

The word бизнесмен ‘businessman’, much like босс, was used even during the Soviet times, though usually only with the negative ideological connotation of the capitalist world. The Russian counterpart предприниматель ‘entrepreneur’ entered mainstream use around the time of perestroika and began fully competing with бизнесмен after the fall of the Soviet Union. The distribution of adjectives collocated with предприниматель is partially similar to that of бизнесмен, with the most significant exceptions being the qualitative adjective крупный ‘large’ and relational adjective частный ‘private’.

The adjective *крупный* is much more common with *бизнесмен* than with *предприниматель*, signaling that the loanword is more likely to describe large-scale or successful entrepreneurs. The qualitative adjective *преуспевающий* ‘successful’ follows a similar trend supporting this inference. The adjective *частный* ‘private’ is the adjective most frequently collocated with *предприниматель*, but it never appears with *бизнесмен*. One possible explanation for this is that the phrase *частный предприниматель* is related to a *частное предпринимательство* ‘private enterprise’ which is an alternative to *государственное предпринимательство* ‘government enterprise’. And *бизнесмен* is related to *бизнес* ‘business’, which is by definition private or *частный*, because it has no established government counterpart.

Business: (Бизнес, Предпринимательство)

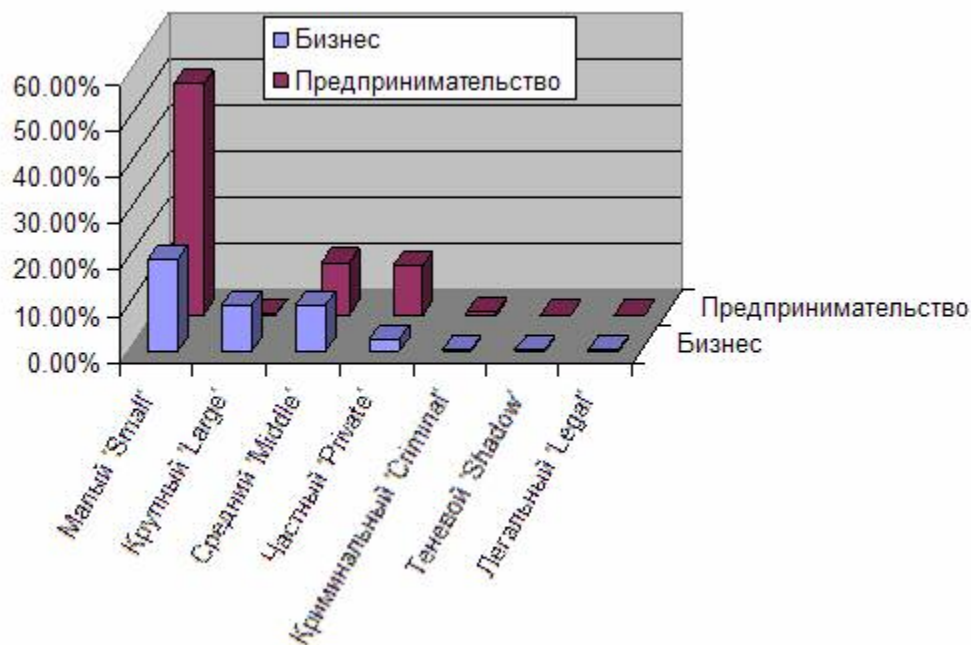


Figure 6 – Business

The бизнес / предпринимательство pair has similar characteristics to the бизнесмен / предприниматель pair above. The qualitative adjectives such as малый ‘small’ and средний ‘medium’ are used with both предпринимательство ‘enterprise’ and бизнес ‘business, enterprise’. There is almost no use of qualitative крупный ‘large’ with предпринимательство, presumably because all of the private enterprises during the Soviet times were either of small or medium sizes.

One notable collocation is the use of the relational adjective частный with both предпринимательство and бизнес. In the бизнес / предприниматель pair discussed previously, this adjective was only associated only with предприниматель. Although частный бизнес ‘private business’ does occur, the overall frequency is still quite low, suggesting that much like частный бизнесмен, the частный ‘private’ property of бизнес would usually be implied. More interesting is the prevalence of the relational adjectives криминальный ‘criminal’, теневой ‘shady’, легальный ‘legal’ with бизнес and their nearly complete absence with предпринимательство. From the data it is apparent that бизнес is quite a popular loanword, whose meaning not only overlaps with the ‘legal’ meanings of the Russian counterpart, but it is also used in ‘less than legal’ contexts such as криминальный and теневой.

Consensus: (Консенсус, Согласие)

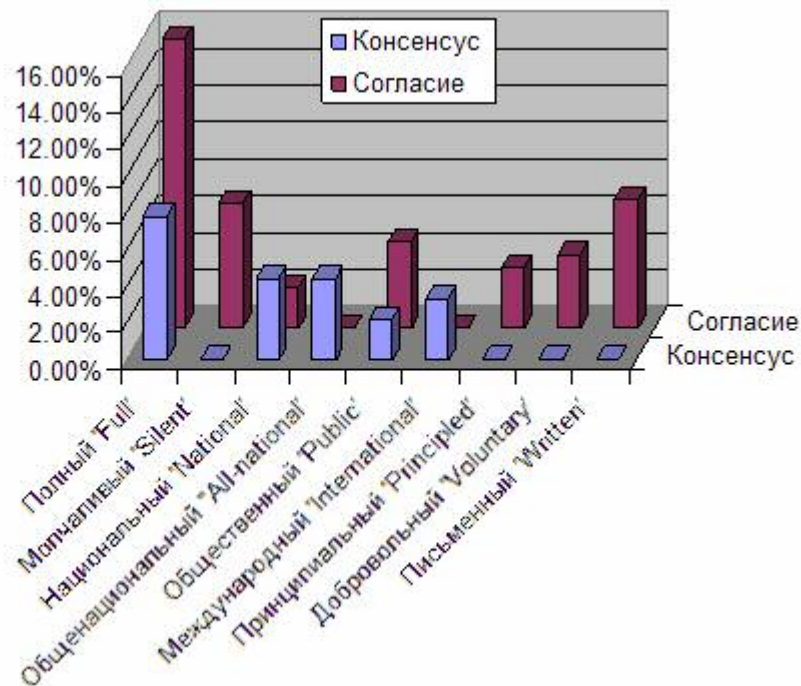


Figure 7 – Consensus

This loanword entered mainstream use in Russian language during perestroika, when it was used by Mikhail Gorbachev. The Russian counterpart, whose meaning overlaps a little with that of консенсус, is согласие ‘consent, consensus’. The English loanword, although it has the same general meaning of ‘understanding, agreement’, is used in official and bureaucratic styles, with relational adjectives that describe society (общенациональный, общественный), national politics (национальный) and international relations (международный). The Russian counterpart word is generally absent in this area of meanings, and has the more basic, everyday collocations with: молчаливый ‘silent’, письменный ‘written’, принципиальный ‘principal’, and добровольный ‘voluntary’. Because консенсус has secured a niche in the meaning areas

where the Russian counterparts are rarely used, it is safe to assume that it will continue to compete successfully with these counterparts, and remain in mainstream use.

Confrontation: (Конфронтация, Противостояние, Столкновение)

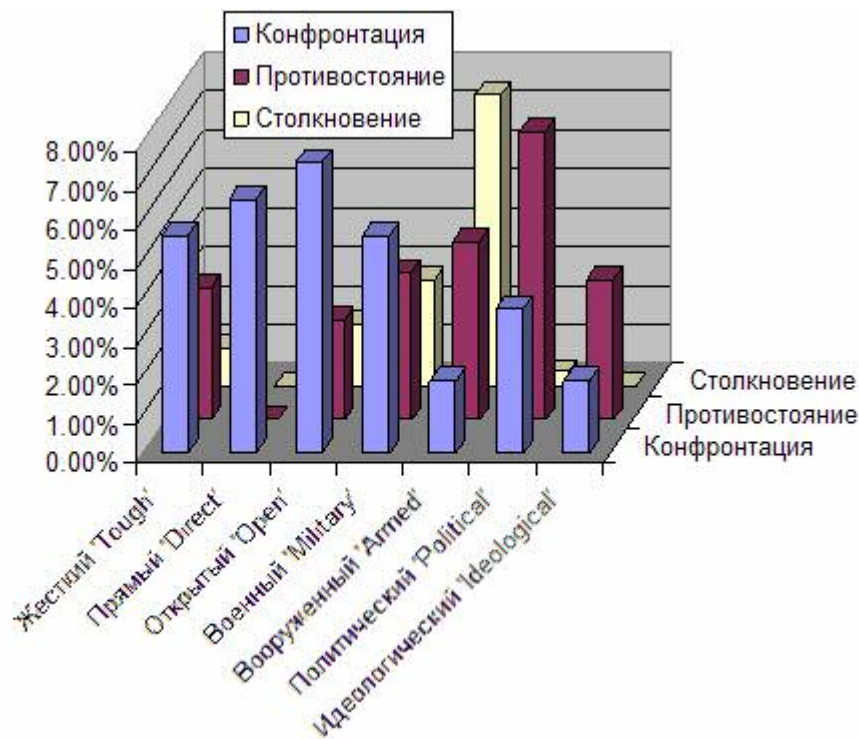


Figure 8 – Confrontation

This word group has a relationship similar to that of консенсус, except that the overlap in meaning is much greater, as the Russian counterparts have collocation distributions similar to the English loanword. The only obvious difference is the presence of the qualitative adjective прямой 'direct' which appears to reinforce the meaning of the loanword, and the absence of this adjective with the counterparts, which suggests that it is already a part of their meaning. This is further supported by the fact that the adjectives that describe stronger, more physical and direct confrontations

(военный ‘military’, открытый ‘open’ and вооруженный ‘armed’) appear more frequently with the Russian counterparts. But this fact is not enough for the English loanword to secure a clear niche in competition with the Russian counterparts, and the loanword adoption into the language is less certain.

Ambition (Амбиция, Самолюбие, Стремление)

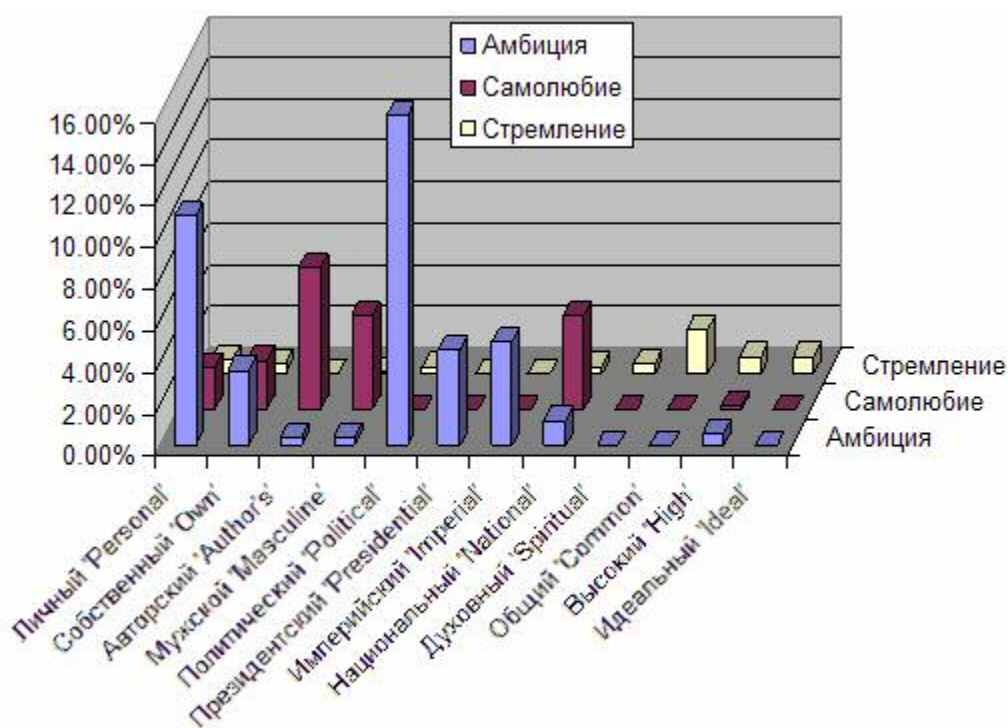


Figure 9 – Ambition

The relationship between амбиция ‘ambition’ and its Russian counterparts is similar to that of консенсус. That is, the contexts in which the two counterparts find themselves do not exactly overlap with that of the loanword. Although the loanword and its counterparts all occur with relational adjectives like личный ‘personal, individual’ and

собственный ‘own’, амбиция seems to be used most frequently in a political contexts just like консенсус discussed earlier. The relational adjectives that collocate most frequently with амбиция include: политический ‘political’, президентский ‘presidential’, империйский ‘imperial’ and национальный ‘national’. The Russian counterpart стремление ‘aspiration, ambition’ has some overlap with the use of национальный, but other, more personal relational adjectives occur with more frequency: мужской ‘masculine’ and авторский ‘author’. The other Russian counterpart, стремление, rarely occurs in political contexts, instead it is used more frequently with the less neutral, qualitative высокий ‘high, lofty’, and the relational adjectives идеальный ‘ideal’ and духовный ‘spiritual’. Much like in the case of консенсус, this English loanword does not closely overlap in meaning with the Russian counterparts it is competing with, thus giving it an advantage and a good possibility of being retained in the Russian language. This is because the meaning of амбиция appears to have been semantically concretized into usage within political contexts and with negative connotations like империйский ‘imperial’ (or at least with the absence of positive connotations like высокий, or духовный). This negative connotation may be a carryover from the Soviet past, as some dictionaries from this time gloss амбиция as ambition, but also include the overtones of pride or arrogance.

Speaker: (Спикер, Председатель, Представитель)

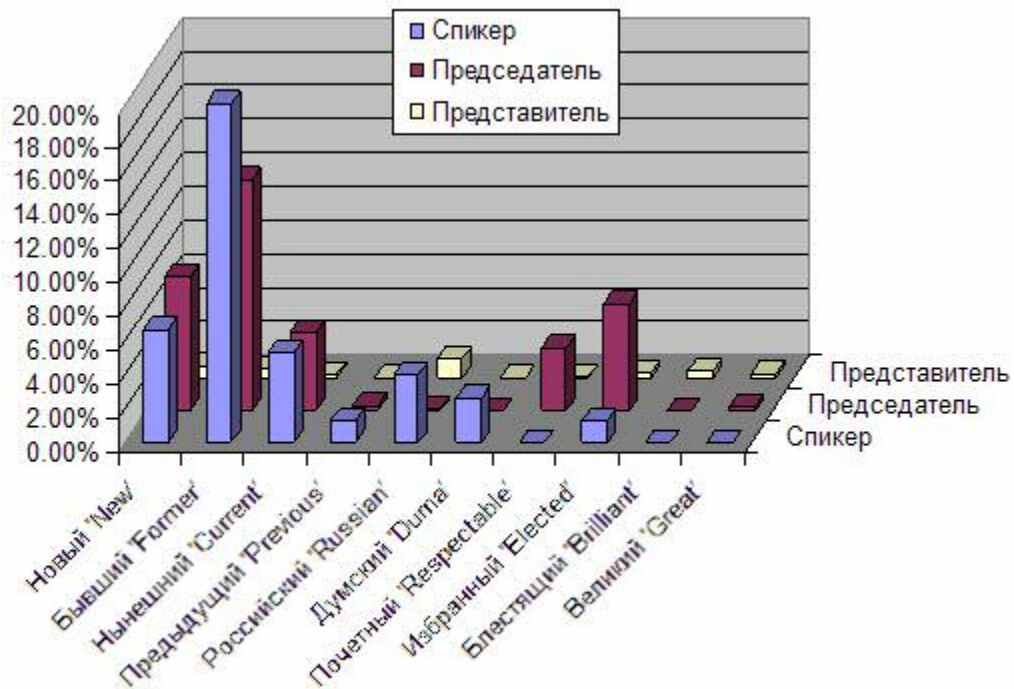


Figure 10 – Speaker

The relationship between this loanword and its Russian counterparts is similar to that of *конфронтация* and *консенсус*, with similar overlap in meaning and niche political usage. *Спикер* seems to be exclusively used with relational adjectives, usually from the political sphere, and does not seem to possess either positive or negative connotation. The loanword is frequently collocated with temporal relational adjectives like *новый* 'new', *бывший* 'former', *нынешний* 'current', *предыдущий* 'previous'. The adjective *бывший* alone accounts for nearly 20% of the collocations, which leaves less space for significant variance in the remainder of the collocation distribution. The meaning of the counterpart *председатель* better overlaps the meaning of the loanword than the counterpart *представитель*.

By the much more varied contexts in which the two Russian counterparts appear, we can conclude that semantic concretization occurred once again, and the original meaning of the English loanword *спикер*, has been reduced from ‘speaker, orator, representative’ to a ‘political representative’, as shown by its use with adjectives like *российский* and *думский*. This conclusion is further supported by the absence of qualitative adjectives such as *блестящий* ‘brilliant’, *великий* ‘great’ and *почетный* ‘respectable’ with this loan word and their presence with the two Russian counterparts. The contexts in which *спикер* appears are a subset of the contexts of the Russian counterparts, but the counterpart *председатель* has a good overlap in meaning with the loanword. This intensifies the lexical competition and could lead to the loanword remaining in the language only in a limited meaning or not at all.

Rating: (Рейтинг, Оценка)

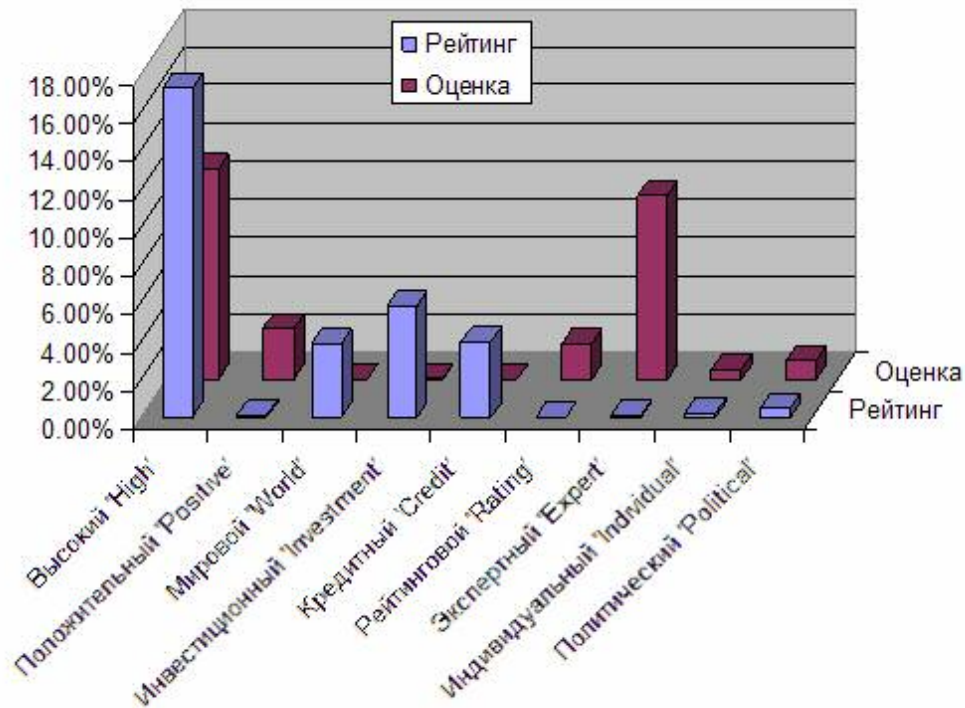


Figure 11 – Rating

The English loanword рейтинг ‘rating’ is another example of semantic concretization of a word with widespread everyday and specialized uses into a loanword with a limited meaning, in this case a business and finance niche, not fully serviced by the Russian counterpart. The adjectives that most frequent collocate with рейтинг are the relational мировой ‘world’, инвестиционный ‘investment’ and кредитный ‘credit’ as well as the qualitative высокий ‘high’. The Russian counterpart word оценка ‘estimate, evaluation’ has wider, more generic uses, most notably with the relational adjectives экспертный ‘expert’ and политический ‘political’. In addition it is also frequently found with the qualitative adjective положительная ‘positive’. Much like босс and

консенсус, рейтинг is another good example of semantic concretization of an English loanword into a meaning that has little competition from the existing Russian counterpart.

Preference (Преференция, Предпочтение, Преимущество)

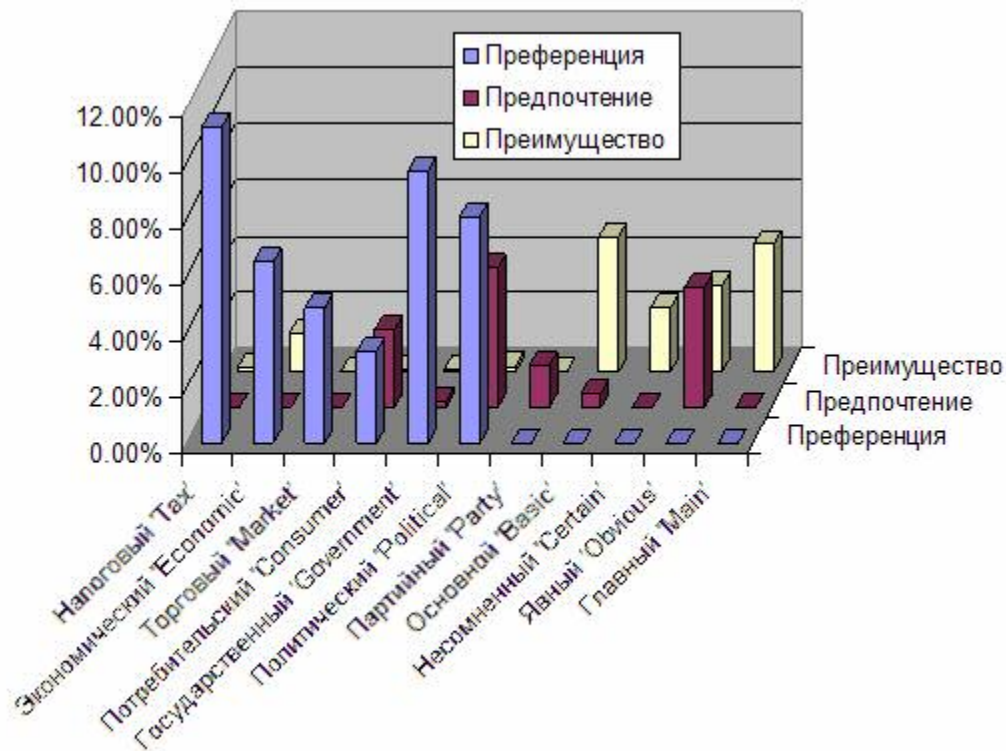


Figure 12 – Preference

The relationship between преференция ‘preference’ and its Russian counterpart is similar to that of конфронтация, in that the meaning overlap between the loanword and its Russian counterparts is significant, and there is little in the way of a distinctive niche in which the loanword has prevalence of use in comparison with its Russian counterparts. Although in the overall collocation distribution the loanword has higher frequencies for adjectives related to economic, governmental and political spheres, the

meaning overlap is still significant, since relational adjectives like *экономический* ‘economic’, *потребительский* ‘consumer’ and *политический* ‘political’ also have collocations with either Russian counterpart.

For example, the adjectives that most frequently collocate with *преференция* are *экономический*, *политический*, *налоговый* ‘tax’ and *государственный* ‘government’, but the loanword does not hold a monopoly in political and economic uses, as *политический* also appears frequently with *предпочтение* ‘preference’ and *экономический* appears with *преимущество* ‘advantage, preference’. The only two adjectives that appear almost exclusively with *преференция* are the relational *налоговый* ‘tax’ and *торговой* ‘market’, but these meanings hardly constitute a niche context, because they are closely related to *экономический*. With such a wide overlap in meaning and a lack of usage in a distinct context, *преференция* faces stronger competition from its Russian counterparts and does not have the advantage of being a lexical addition to the Russian language.

Summary

I chose loanwords that were most prevalent in the Russian National Corpus and analyzed them in their context. I also looked for loanwords that had some type of emotional or qualitative connotation. I found that the Russian counterparts of these loanwords came from various language styles, semantic areas and social spheres. From the analysis of the loanwords’ contexts, it is clear that several of these words have undergone semantic concretization of the original loanword meaning into a partial, or niche meaning. By analyzing the adjectives that are collocated with the loanwords, I

found that the majority of these niche meanings (with perhaps the exception of *киллер*) are related to the areas of the economy, business or politics. In retrospect, this is not surprising, since most of the changes in the former Soviet Union occurred in exactly these areas, and it is only reasonable that changes in the language reflect this fact.

Relational adjectives most often defined the loanwords' niche meanings. The adjectives that were more frequently collocated with the loanword and less frequently with the counterpart word were almost without exception relational adjectives. Qualitative adjectives also played a role, but it was usually their absence rather than presence that was important. Qualitative adjectives were more frequently collocated with the native counterparts, and their absence with the loanwords contributed to the creation of a niche meaning. This is because qualitative adjectives are usually less descriptive than their relational counterparts, and their absence with the loanwords contributed to the effect of semantic concretization, as the loanwords were instead collocated with more descriptive relational adjectives.

The data also showed that some of the loanwords were more likely collocated with adjectives that have negative connotation, such as *криминальный бизнес* 'criminal business', *теневого бизнес* 'shady business', and *империйская амбиция* 'imperial ambition', and less likely with positive adjectives like *высокий* 'high', *идеальный* 'ideal' and *духовный* 'spiritual'. If we were to speculate, we could assume that this negative connotation was a remnant of negative Soviet ideological attitudes towards anything western, including loanwords. Or perhaps the higher frequency of collocation with negative adjectives is simply a reflection of the new Russia, where it is becoming more acceptable to discuss both the positive and the negative aspects of society.

Unfortunately, the data collected in this thesis does not allow us to conclusively prove that English loanwords automatically get a negative connotation. This is mainly because there are also frequent examples to the contrary, including, *хороший менеджер* and *преуспевающий бизнесмен*, where loanwords are more likely to collocate with adjectives that have a clearly positive meaning.

One phenomenon that requires notice is the distinction between adjectives that are redundant to the meaning of a noun such as *unpaid slave* and adjectives that are completely excluded, such as *paid slave*. Using my method and analysis, the adjective count for both of these examples would be 0. Therefore subjective judgment has to be used in order to determine that, for example, *серийный киллер* has an adjective count of 0 because the semantic concretization of the original meaning of killer to hired killer and professional killer excludes serial killer. Subjective judgment is also necessary to explain why, for example, the absence of *частный бизнесмен* or *советский менеджер* is a matter of culture and history, and not semantics.

To make further conclusions about lexical competition and replacement between English loanwords and Russian counterparts, it would be necessary to have more chronologically organized data. Unfortunately the Russian National Corpus does not provide enough statistically significant data to make conclusions about word frequency use over time. Furthermore, the number and nature of documents that are available in the Russian National Corpus are not consistent across time; therefore it is difficult to make conclusions about the process of assimilation of English loanwords into the Russian language based on their frequency alone.

But we can still make assumptions about the chances a loanword has to successfully enter and remain in the Russian language. Firstly, when a loanword and its Russian counterpart do not completely overlap in meaning, its assimilation into the Russian language is more like a lexical addition, rather than a lexical replacement. A lexical addition is more likely to succeed than a lexical replacement. When lexical competition and replacement takes place, chances are that either the loanword or the counterpart will still remain in the language, albeit in a restricted meaning (Thomason 2001:88).

By analyzing the semantic contexts in which loanwords and their counterparts appear, we can show the current state of lexical competition and the degree to which the loanword and the counterpart compete for the same lexical slot. For example, words such as *преференция* and *конфронтация*, which have little apparent semantic concretization to a meaning that is not already represented by their Russian counterparts, have to compete with these counterparts for the entire lexical slot. Loanwords such as *киллер*, *босс*, *консенсус* and *амбиция* have undergone semantic concretization from their original wider meanings, into narrower niche meanings which are not represented or are underrepresented by their Russian counterparts. We can therefore assume that in competition for their lexical slots, or sections thereof, these loanwords will have a better chance of remaining in the Russian language, even if it is alongside their Russian counterparts.

By analyzing the contexts of the new loanwords, it is theoretically possible to discover the underrepresented contexts of their Russian counterparts and predict whether or not the loanwords will be able to undergo semantic concretization into a niche

meaning. For example, the loanword бойфренд ‘boyfriend’ is just entering the Russian language, and faces competition from the Russian counterparts: любовник ‘lover’, мальчик ‘boy’, парень ‘boy, guy’, and молодой человек ‘young man’. By analyzing the contexts of the loanword and the counterparts, we may find that Russian lacks a word or a phrase for young male partner of an older rich woman, or a so-called *kept man*. If the loanword бойфренд is beginning to move into this semantic space, we can try to predict if it will undergo semantic concretization from its wider original meaning. We can then use context analysis to try and determine whether or not this new loanword occupies a lexical slot that is underrepresented by its Russian counterparts, and if this niche use can help it survive the competition.

The analysis of data collected on English loanwords and their Russian counterparts showed that often they are not synonyms. This was shown by the fact that sometimes the loanwords and counterparts collocate with different adjectives. By comparing their collocation distributions, it is possible to determine the degree of overlap in their meanings and whether or not semantic narrowing of the loanword has taken place. A greater semantic narrowing of the loanword meaning means a smaller meaning overlap with its counterpart. If this is the case, then the nature of the loanword’s assimilation into the Russian language is more similar to a lexical addition than to a lexical replacement. Previous works tell us that loanwords which are entering a language through lexical addition are much more likely to be assimilated and survive than loanwords which enter the language through lexical replacement. My analysis revealed frequent and significant differences in usage of the loanwords from their counterparts,

proving that they are often not synonyms. This explains why the loanwords are often adopted and used alongside of their apparent Russian counterparts.

CONCLUSION

This thesis has addressed the following questions: Why are there so many English loanwords in the modern Russian language? Why do Russian speakers choose to use the English loanwords, when there are perfectly good native counterparts already present in the Russian language? What affects the process of lexical borrowing and why do some loanwords survive and others fade into obscurity?

For nearly a century the English language has been the most popular source of lexical borrowings for Russian. Countless words describing everything imaginable have been borrowed during this time. The intensity of borrowing varied over time, most recently increasing after the fall of communism in 1991, when many new loanwords, usually related to business, politics and popular culture entered the language. Some of these terms were adopted as new words for new concepts, but many others already had at least one Russian counterpart in widespread use.

There are several reasons why Russian speakers would choose to use a foreign loanword instead of its native counterpart. It could be because of the novelty and positive connotation of the new word, or because of the dated nature or negative connotation of the old word. A more quantifiable reason for using a loanword would be its meaning, if it is more suitable for the desired expression. By studying loanwords and their counterparts in the context of their collocated adjectives, it is possible to reveal the entire scope of their meaning. By analyzing the differences in these meanings, it often becomes

apparent that a loanword and its counterparts are not perfect synonyms. This is one possible reason why Russian speakers sometimes find that a loanword, and not its native counterpart, is more suitable to express a specific meaning.

The fact that a loanword and its counterpart often only partially share one meaning is also evident in my analysis. This same fact is what helps a loanword to remain in the Russian language. One frequent phenomenon observed during loanword acquisition is that of semantic concretization, where a loanword possesses only a subset of its original meanings. In such cases, the lexical competition between the loanword and its counterpart can often be characterized more as a lexical addition rather than a lexical replacement. The more specialized the meaning acquired by a loanword, the easier it is for the Russian speaker population to adopt it, and the higher are the chances of it surviving in the Russian language in the long term.

APPENDIX

Table 4 – Solovyev’s Synonyms with Collocated Adjectives

Sadness	грусть		печаль		тоска	
Occurrences (all)	<u>2000</u>		<u>3000</u>		<u>7000</u>	
Occurrences (with adjectives)	<u>800</u>		<u>800</u>		<u>1000</u>	
	COUNT	%	COUNT	%	COUNT	%
глубокий 'deep'	<u>37</u>	4.63%	<u>67</u>	8.38%	<u>50</u>	5.00%
черный 'black'	0	0.00%	<u>1</u>	0.13%	<u>14</u>	1.40%
мрачный 'dark'	<u>2</u>	0.25%	0	0.00%	<u>7</u>	0.70%
горький 'bitter'	<u>2</u>	0.25%	<u>15</u>	1.88%	<u>9</u>	0.90%
легкий 'light'	<u>28</u>	3.50%	<u>11</u>	1.38%	<u>4</u>	0.40%
тихий 'quiet'	<u>45</u>	5.63%	<u>10</u>	1.25%	<u>5</u>	0.50%
скрытый 'hidden'	0	0.00%	<u>8</u>	1.00%	<u>1</u>	0.10%
светлый 'light'	<u>22</u>	2.75%	<u>15</u>	1.88%	<u>2</u>	0.20%
сердечный 'warm-hearted'	<u>5</u>	0.63%	<u>4</u>	0.50%	<u>13</u>	1.30%
душевный 'spiritual'	<u>1</u>	0.13%	<u>5</u>	0.63%	<u>10</u>	1.00%
искренний 'sincere'	<u>4</u>	0.50%	<u>10</u>	1.25%	<u>5</u>	0.50%
общий 'common'	<u>1</u>	0.13%	<u>6</u>	0.75%	<u>3</u>	0.30%
русский 'russian'	<u>4</u>	0.50%	<u>5</u>	0.63%	<u>15</u>	1.50%
осенний 'autumn'	<u>6</u>	0.75%	<u>1</u>	0.13%	<u>3</u>	0.30%
невыносимый 'unbearable'	<u>3</u>	0.38%	<u>2</u>	0.25%	<u>31</u>	3.10%
смертный 'deadly'	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	<u>63</u>	6.30%
смертельный 'fatal'	<u>1</u>	0.13%	<u>2</u>	0.25%	<u>51</u>	5.10%
мучительный 'agonizing'	<u>2</u>	0.25%	0	0.00%	<u>32</u>	3.20%

Sadness	уныние		меланхолия		хандра	
Occurrences (all)	<u>1000</u>		<u>350</u>		<u>239</u>	
Occurrences (with adjectives)	<u>250</u>		<u>102</u>		<u>54</u>	
	COUNT	%	COUNT	%	COUNT	%
глубокий 'deep'	<u>33</u>	13.20%	<u>11</u>	10.78%	<u>1</u>	1.85%
черный 'black'	<u>1</u>	0.40%	<u>17</u>	16.67%	<u>2</u>	3.70%
мрачный 'dark'	<u>11</u>	4.40%	<u>5</u>	4.90%	<u>1</u>	1.85%
горький 'bitter'	<u>1</u>	0.40%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
легкий 'light'	0	0.00%	<u>3</u>	2.94%	0	0.00%
тихий 'quiet'	<u>2</u>	0.80%	<u>1</u>	0.98%	0	0.00%
скрытый 'hidden'	0	0.00%	<u>1</u>	0.98%	0	0.00%
светлый 'light'	0	0.00%	<u>1</u>	0.98%	0	0.00%
сердечный 'warm-hearted'	<u>1</u>	0.40%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
душевный 'spiritual'	<u>2</u>	0.80%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
искренний 'sincere'	<u>1</u>	0.40%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
общий 'common'	<u>10</u>	4.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
русский 'russian'	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	<u>2</u>	3.70%
осенний 'autumn'	1	0.40%	0	0.00%	<u>2</u>	3.70%
невыносимый 'unbearable'	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	<u>1</u>	1.85%
смертный 'deadly'	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
смертельный 'fatal'	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
мучительный 'agonizing'	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%

Figure 13 – Graphical analysis of Solov'yev's synonyms with collocated adjectives

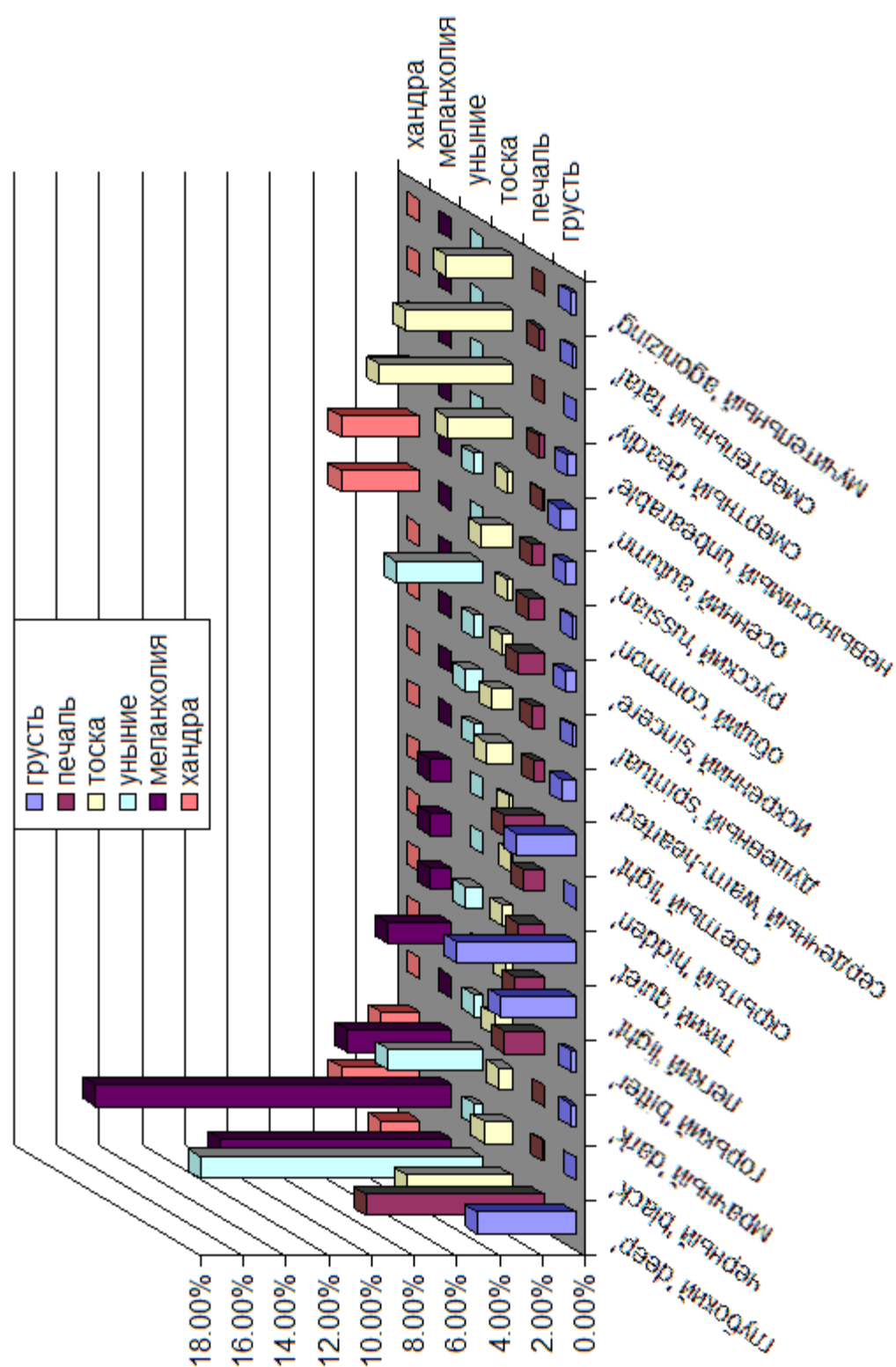


Table 5 – Loanword and Counterpart Data

OCCURENCES	LOANWORD			EQUIV. #1		EQUIV. #2	
Killer	Киллер			Убийца			
Occurrences (all)		340			3000		
Occurrences (with adjectives)		127			700		
	R/Q	#	%		#		%
Предполагаемый 'Alleged'	-	4	3.15%		13		1.86%
Наемный 'Hired'	R	6	4.72%		119		17.00%
Профессиональный 'Professional'	R/Q	11	8.66%		25		3.57%
Хладнокровный 'Cold-blooded'	R	1	0.79%		11		1.57%
Серийный 'Serial'	R	0	0.00%		34		4.86%
Boss	Босс			Начальник			
Occurrences (all)		1000			12000		
Occurrences (with adjectives)		255			3000		
	R/Q	#	%		#		%
Партийный 'Party'	R	50	19.61%		25		0.83%
Профсоюзный 'Union'	R	16	6.27%		0		0.00%
Политический 'Political'	R	5	1.96%		3		0.10%
Большой 'Large'	Q	21	8.24%		212		7.07%
Бывший 'Former'	-	6	2.35%		293		9.77%
Новый 'New'	R	13	5.10%		230		7.67%
Manager	Менеджер			Директор		Управленец	
Occurrences (all)		3000			15000		291
Occurrences (with adjectives)		800			6000		94
	R/Q	#	%		#		%
Генеральный 'General'	R/Q	84	10.50%		3000	50.00%	0 0.00%
Профессиональный 'Professional'	R/Q	29	3.63%		1	0.02%	8 8.51%
Наемный 'Hired'	R	30	3.75%		3	0.05%	0 0.00%
Исполнительный 'Executive'	R	0	0.00%		355	5.92%	0 0.00%
Опытный 'Experienced'	R/Q	10	1.25%		4	0.07%	5 5.32%
Хороший 'Good'	Q	16	2.00%		10	0.17%	4 4.26%
Советский 'Soviet'	R	0	0.00%		10	0.17%	3 3.19%
Businessman	Бизнесмен			Предприниматель			
Occurrences (all)		3000			5000		
Occurrences (with adjectives)		1000			2000		
	R/Q	#	%		#		%
Успешный 'Successful'	Q	14	1.40%		14		0.70%
Преуспевающий 'Successful'	Q	34	3.40%		3		0.15%
Крупный 'Large'	Q	115	11.50%		66		3.30%
Известный 'Famous'	Q	27	2.70%		27		1.35%
Частный 'Private'	R	0	0.00%		185		9.25%

Business	Бизнес			Предпринимательство		
Occurrences (all)		15000			1000	
Occurrences (with adjectives)		5000			532	
	R/Q	#	%	#	%	
Малый 'Small'	Q	1000	20.00%	267	50.19%	
Крупный 'Large'	Q	500	10.00%	1	0.19%	
Средний 'Middle'	Q	500	10.00%	60	11.28%	
Частный 'Private'	R	126	2.52%	56	10.53%	
Криминальный 'Criminal'	R/Q	26	0.52%	3	0.56%	
Теневой 'Shadow'	R	27	0.54%	0	0.00%	
Легальный 'Legal'	R	27	0.54%	0	0.00%	
Consensus	Консенсус			Согласие		
Occurrences (all)		280			5000	
Occurrences (with adjectives)		89			1000	
	R/Q	#	%	#	%	
Полный 'Full'	Q	7	7.87%	157	15.70%	
Молчаливый 'Silent'	Q	0	0.00%	68	6.80%	
Национальный 'National'	R	4	4.49%	22	2.20%	
Общенациональный 'All-national'	R	4	4.49%	0	0.00%	
Общественный 'Public'	R	2	2.25%	47	4.70%	
Международный 'International'	R	3	3.37%	0	0.00%	
Принципиальный 'Principled'	R	0	0.00%	33	3.30%	
Добровольный 'Voluntary'	R	0	0.00%	40	4.00%	
Письменный 'Written'	R	0	0.00%	70	7.00%	
Confrontation	Конфронтация			Противостояние		Столкновение
Occurrences (all)		326			1000	2000
Occurrences (with adjectives)		107			500	800
	R/Q	#	%	#	%	#
Жесткий 'Tough'	Q	6	5.61%	17	3.40%	8
Прямой 'Direct'	Q	7	6.54%	0	0.00%	0
Открытый 'Open'	Q	8	7.48%	13	2.60%	13
Военный 'Military'	R	6	5.61%	19	3.80%	22
Вооруженный 'Armed'	R	2	1.87%	23	4.60%	60
Политический 'Political'	R	4	3.74%	37	7.40%	3
Идеологический 'Ideological'	R	2	1.87%	18	3.60%	0
Ambition	Амбиция			Самолюбие		Стремление
Occurrences (all)		1000			2000	5000
Occurrences (with adjectives)		500			600	2000
	R/Q	#	%	#	%	#
Личный 'Personal'	R	55	11.00%	12	2.00%	13
Собственный 'Own'	R	18	3.60%	14	2.33%	9
Авторский 'Author's'	R	2	0.40%	41	6.83%	0
Мужской 'Masculine'	R	2	0.40%	27	4.50%	1
Политический 'Political'	R	79	15.80%	0	0.00%	6
Президентский 'Presidential'	R	23	4.60%	0	0.00%	0
Империйский 'Imperial'	R	25	5.00%	0	0.00%	0
Национальный 'National'	R	6	1.20%	27	4.50%	6

Духовный 'Spiritual'	R	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	9	0.45%
Общий 'Common'	R/Q	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	41	2.05%
Высокий 'High'	Q	3	0.60%	1	0.17%	16	0.80%
Идеальный 'Ideal'	R/Q	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	16	0.80%

Speaker	Спикер			Председатель		Представитель	
Occurrences (all)		800			8000		12000
Occurrences (with adjectives)		75			1000		3000
	R/Q	#	%		#	#	%
Новый 'New'	R	5	6.67%		79	7.90%	22 0.73%
Бывший 'Former'	R	15	20.00%		136	13.60%	16 0.53%
Нынешний 'Current'	R	4	5.33%		46	4.60%	6 0.20%
Предыдущий 'Previous'	R	1	1.33%		3	0.30%	0 0.00%
Российский 'Russian'	R	3	4.00%		1	0.10%	34 1.13%
Думский 'Duma'	R	2	2.67%		0	0.00%	1 0.03%
Почетный 'Respectable'	R	0	0.00%		37	3.70%	2 0.07%
Избранный 'Elected'	R	1	1.33%		63	6.30%	9 0.30%
Блестящий 'Brilliant'	Q/R	0	0.00%		0	0.00%	12 0.40%
Великий 'Great'	Q	0	0.00%		2	0.20%	7 0.23%

Rating	Рейтинг			Оценка	
Occurrences (all)		3000			10000
Occurrences (with adjectives)		800			3000
	R/Q	#	%	#	%
Высокий 'High'	Q	138	17.25%	330	11.00%
Положительный 'Positive'	Q	1	0.13%	79	2.63%
Мировой 'World'	R	31	3.88%	0	0.00%
Инвестиционный 'Investment'	R	47	5.88%	1	0.03%
Кредитный 'Credit'	R	32	4.00%	0	0.00%
Рейтинговой 'Rating'	R	0	0.00%	55	1.83%
Экспертный 'Expert'	R	1	0.13%	288	9.60%
Индивидуальный 'Individual'	R	2	0.25%	14	0.47%
Политический 'Political'	R	4	0.50%	29	0.97%

Preference	Преференция			Предпочтение		Преимущество	
Occurrences (all)		163			1000		4000
Occurrences (with adjectives)		62			400		2000
	R/Q	#	%	#	%	#	%
Налоговый 'Tax'	R	7	11.29%	0	0.00%	3	0.15%
Экономический 'Economic'	R	4	6.45%	0	0.00%	28	1.40%
Торговый 'Market'	R	3	4.84%	0	0.00%	0	0.00%
Потребительский 'Consumer'	R	2	3.23%	11	2.75%	2	0.10%
Государственный 'Government'	R	6	9.68%	1	0.25%	2	0.10%
Политический 'Political'	R	5	8.06%	20	5.00%	4	0.20%
Партийный 'Party'	R	0	0.00%	6	1.50%	0	0.00%
Основной 'Basic'	R	0	0.00%	2	0.50%	97	4.85%
Несомненный 'Certain'	Q	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	46	2.30%
Явный 'Obvious'	Q	0	0.00%	17	4.25%	62	3.10%
Главный 'Main'	Q	0	0.00%	0	0.00%	91	4.55%

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