

# The Russian Language Today

Larissa Ryazanova-Clarke and Terence Wade

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# The Russian Language Today

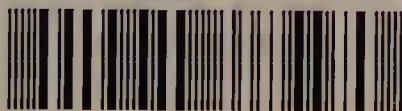
Since glasnost, almost every aspect of the Russian language has been affected by social change, from grammar to vocabulary and word formation. This book is the first major analysis in English of these dramatic developments and provides the most up-to-date guide to the contemporary Russian language.

The authors focus on radical changes in Russian vocabulary. The language has become inundated by new words, mainly from American English – especially in the field of business and economics, but also in technology, the mass media, fashion, sport and life-style. There are also substantial chapters on developments in grammar, word-formation procedures, name changes and the present state of the language.

Supported throughout by extracts from contemporary press and literary sources, this is a comprehensive overview of present-day Russian and an essential text for all students and teachers of the Russian language.

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# **The Russian Language Today**

**Larissa Ryazanova-Clarke and  
Terence Wade**



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# Preface

## Aims and method

The principal aim of *The Russian Language Today* is to portray the Russian language at the end of the twentieth century, following the decade and a half of social, political and linguistic change that began with perestroika in 1985.

However, a description of linguistic change is more meaningful within the broader context of language development in general. Most sections of the book therefore proceed from a review of pre-1985 developments in particular areas.

The book is divided into two parts. The first part (Chapters 1 and 2) is devoted exclusively to vocabulary, since this is the area in which the principal changes have occurred. Since lexical change is often occasioned by developments in society, lexical description is set in the context of the events of the time.

Chapter 1 covers lexical development during the Soviet period, and deals extensively with loan words, semantic change, socio-stylistic aspects of lexical change, neologisms, phraseological innovations and other features of language development in the period from 1917 to 1985. This period is subdivided into six sections, beginning with 1917 to the 1920s and concluding with 1970 to 1985.

Chapter 2 adopts a similar approach to the vocabulary of the post-1985 period, with special reference to the vocabulary of perestroika, the rehabilitation of religious and other terminology and the re-activation of pre-Soviet economic lexis. There are sections on changes in administrative and institutional names, the ideological reorientation of certain areas of vocabulary, changes in non-standard lexis (including slang), as well as an extensive section on lexical borrowing. There are also sections devoted to developments in vocabulary which have occurred within the language's own linguistic resources.

The second part of the book (Chapters 3 to 6) deals with other aspects of change. Chapter 3 considers word-formatory procedures from the early Soviet period up to the present day, and describes in particular the linguistic

factors involved in affixation and the formation of abbreviations. Where appropriate, new formations are related to their social background.

Though grammatical change is a notoriously slow procedure, there have been developments in recent years, notably, but by no means exclusively, in the use of the plural number. Some changes reflect continuing processes, such as the development of the accusative of nouns in partitive meaning. Others involve relatively recent phenomena, such as the growth in noun co-ordinates in which the qualifier precedes the item qualified. These and other matters are dealt with in Chapter 4.

Chapter 5 deals with the sociolinguistic and often highly emotive phenomenon of name change, from changes in the names of streets and towns to those of republics and newly independent states. Since the name changes that have taken place since the late 1980s have little meaning unless set against what went before, post-Revolutionary changes are also taken into account.

The final chapter (Chapter 6) broaches a question which lies at the heart of much linguistic discussion in present-day Russia – the state of the Russian language, with special reference to the role of the media in the ‘liberalisation’ of the language and the level of speech culture of some Russian speakers. Topics such as Newspeak and the standard of parliamentary debate are covered. The chapter ends with a consideration of the role of the Russian Language Council established by a Presidential decree of late 1995.

## Sources

The authors have drawn on a wide range of specialist publications in the field, mainly books and articles from learned journals, and some literary works, including titles from popular fiction. Most sources relate to the 1980s and 1990s, up to and including July 1998. One feature of the book is the large number of examples of current usage taken from media sources, especially newspapers and journals.

## Acknowledgements

While researching and writing the book the authors have made a number of visits to Russia, especially Moscow and St Petersburg. They wish to express their thanks to the Universities of Edinburgh and Strathclyde, and to the Carnegie Trust, for helping to make these visits possible. They also wish to thank staff at the Pushkin Institute in Moscow – especially Professor V.G. Kostomarov and Professor N.I. Formanovskaia – and staff at the Herzen State Pedagogical University in St Petersburg, as well as to colleagues in other academic institutions, such as the Faculty of Journalism at Moscow State University (Professor G.Ia. Solganik) and the Arts Faculty at the State University of St Petersburg, for their assistance and advice. The authors are grateful to Professor Ian Press and Dr Martin Mellor for reading the manuscript and making valuable comments. They also wish to thank Mr Mike

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LR-C

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Edinburgh and Glasgow

August 1998



# Abbreviations of newspapers and journals

*АиФ* – Аргументы и факты  
*АиФ П.* – Аргументы и факты, Петербург  
*Веч. Л.* – Вечерний Ленинград  
*Веч. М.* – Вечерняя Москва  
*Веч. П.* – Вечерний Петербург  
*Вопр. философии* – Вопросы философии  
*Ж.* – Журналист  
*З.* – Завтра  
*За руб.* – За рубежом  
*Зн.* – Знамя  
*Зн.-с.* – Знание – сила  
*Изв.* – Известия  
*Ком.* – Коммунист  
*КП* – Комсомольская правда  
*Кр. зв.* – Красная звезда  
*Крымская пр.* – Крымская правда  
*ЛГ* – Литературная газета  
*Лен. пр.* – Ленинградская правда  
*Лит. Рос.* Литературная Россия  
*МК* – Московский комсомолец  
*МК в П.* – Московский комсомолец в Питере  
*МН* – Московские новости  
*Н. вр.* – Новое время  
*НГ* – Независимая газета  
*Нед.* – Неделя  
*Ог.* – Огонёк  
*Полит. образование* – Политическое образование  
*Пр.* – Правда  
*Пр.-5* – Правда-5  
*Сег.* – Сегодня  
*7Д* – Семь дней  
*См.* – Смена  
*Сов. культура* – Советская культура



*Сов. Рос.* – Советская Россия  
*Сов. спорт* – Советский спорт  
*Сов. торг.* – Советская торговля  
*Сп.* – Спутник  
*Спб. вед.* – Санкт-петербургские ведомости  
*Строит. раб.* – Строительный рабочий  
*Тр.* – Труд  
*Тр.-7* – Труд-7  
*Фин. изв.* – Финансовые известия  
*ЧП* – Час пик  
*ъ* – Коммерсант(ъ)  
*ЭБ* – Экстра Балт  
*ЭК* – Эхо Каунаса  
*Юн.* – Юность

Note: The names of some periodicals appear in full in the text (*Итоги*, *Новая жизнь*, *ТВ Парк*, etc.).



**Part 1**



# 1 Lexical development in the Soviet period

## 1.1 1917–1920s

Although 1917 has traditionally been regarded as a major watershed in the development of the Russian vocabulary, the language had in fact been evolving continuously since the end of the nineteenth century and into the early years of the twentieth, but had not undergone a thorough-going revolution. The previous period had been a time of intensive economic and technological progress, unremitting political movements, including the Revolution of 1905 and the First World War (1914–18), all of which stimulated lexical activity. The October Revolution of 1917 intensified certain processes in the Russian vocabulary: the removal of words from active use, the addition of new words to the vocabulary, semantic transformations and stylistic shifts.

One of the characteristics of the post-Revolutionary language was an extension in the use of certain words from narrow social circles to the language of the masses. A large number of these lexemes are words of foreign origin, introduced into Russian at the turn of the century. Nevertheless, before 1917 these lexical items, which constituted in the main political, social, military and economic terminology, had enjoyed a fairly limited circulation, being predominantly confined to groups of educated people. Particularly conducive to the further proliferation of specialist vocabulary were political and economic theories, imported from the West and disseminated by Marxist circles and other revolutionary groupings. The October Revolution, the Civil War (1917–22) and the political struggle accompanying and following these events drew large numbers of uneducated or poorly educated people – workers, soldiers and peasants – into political discourse. Words of foreign origin, which had previously enjoyed limited circulation, flooded into mass usage via the press, political leaflets and oral propaganda. Among the most widespread political terminology adopted by the popular language at this time are:

автоно́мия ‘autonomy’  
агита́ция ‘agitation’  
агра́рный ‘agrarian’  
акти́вный ‘active’

ана́рхизм ‘anarchism’  
ана́рхист ‘anarchist’  
анне́ксия ‘annexation’  
бойко́т ‘boycott’

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буржуазія 'bourgeoisie'	конференція 'conference'
дезерти́р 'deserter'	ло́зунг 'slogan'
делега́т 'delegate'	манифеста́ция 'demonstration'
демонстра́ция 'demonstration'	милитарі́зм 'militarism'
демокра́тия 'democracy'	милиционе́р 'policeman'
депута́т 'deputy'	ми́тинг 'mass-meeting, rally'
дефе́кт 'defect'	о́рдер 'warrant'
директи́вы 'directives'	проклама́ция 'proclamation, leaflet'
диску́ссия 'discussion'	пролетари́ат 'proletariat'
империали́зм 'imperialism'	революционе́р 'revolutionary'
интернациона́л 'international'	револю́ция 'revolution'
интернационали́зм 'internationalism'	резолю́ция 'resolution'
коали́ция 'coalition'	республи́ка 'republic'
контрибу́ция 'contribution, indemnity'	сепара́тный 'separate'
контрреволюционе́р 'counter- revolutionary'	социали́зм 'socialism'
	тало́н 'coupon'
	федерация 'federation' and others.

They include words borrowed from French and associated with the French Revolution and the days of the Paris Commune, such as декре́т 'decree', комисса́р 'commissar', манда́т 'mandate', терро́р 'terror', трибуна́л 'tribunal' (Selishchev, 1928: 21, 157).

##### 1.1.1 Loan words

The lexical borrowings from foreign sources which were attested in the post-Revolutionary decade were few and far between. They number some industrial and military terms:

блѐминг (English *blooming*)  
конце́рн (German *Konzern* 'concern')  
оккупа́нт (German *Okkupant* 'member of occupying force')  
фаши́зм and фаши́ст (Italian *fascista* 'fascist', *fascismo* 'fascism')

but, perhaps surprisingly, the list of borrowings also contained words connected with culture, entertainment and everyday life:

конферансье́ (French *conférencier* 'master of ceremonies, compère')  
сви́тер (English *sweater*)  
такси́ (French *taxi*)  
фокстрóт (English *fox-trot*)  
шезлóнг (French *chaise longue* 'deck-chair').

Also recorded at this time are the words кино 'cinema', радио 'radio', фíльма 'film', later adapted to become masculine фильм.

After the formation of the Soviet Union (in 1922), words were also borrowed from the languages of the Union Republics, albeit on a minor scale. Thus, words of Turkic origin, such as арык 'irrigation canal' and басмáч 'basmach' became part of the Russian language; previously ethnographic exoticisms such as чадра́ 'yashmak' and кишлáк 'village' lost their exotic flavour in combinations such as:

революциóнный кишлáк 'revolutionary village'  
сбросить чадру́ 'to throw off the yashmak'.

It is somewhat paradoxical that at the very time when the old way of life had disintegrated, to be replaced by a totally new social structure with its own concepts and relationships, the need for new lexical means to name them did not involve borrowing. There is more than one explanation for the patchiness of new loan words at the beginning of the 1920s. For one thing, the country had isolated itself from the outside 'bourgeois world', and economic and cultural links with it had all but ceased. Another reason is that, at that time, the intra-language mechanisms of building new vocabulary from native resources, that is to say, word-formatory and semantic changes in existing words, were particularly active.

Some of the foreign borrowings occurred in variant forms, a fact characteristic of the early stages of word assimilation. Thus, a number of words had variant gender (фíльма — фильм 'film', шлáнга — шланг 'hose', while радио 'radio' was used with either masculine or neuter gender), or variant number (кадр — кáдры 'staff'). Several borrowed words were phonetically unstable: лонгше́з — шезлóнг 'deck-chair', фаши́зм — фачи́зм 'fascism'. Other loan words were used in tandem with already existing lexical items, thus:

аэроплáн — самолёт 'aeroplane'	таксомотóр, такси́ — 'taxi'
авиáтор — лётчик 'pilot'	экспорт — вы́воз 'export'.
кинематóграф, кино — 'cinema'	

### 1.1.2 Obsolescence of concepts and words

While few new loans entered Russian at this time, a much larger lexical group was removed from active use, having, virtually overnight, become historicisms. Most of the words which were swept out of the contemporary language referred to pre-Revolutionary institutions, positions, privileges, titles, etc. After 1917 some of these lexical items were used only to describe specific aspects of life before the Revolution; for instance:



- names of police ranks: городской 'policeman', жандарм 'gendarme', исправник 'police chief', полицмейстер 'chief of police', пристав 'police officer', урядник 'village constable';
- legal terms and professions: мировой судья 'Justice of the Peace', подать 'tax', присяжный 'juror', стряпчий 'solicitor';
- administrative terms: во́лость 'volost' (and adjective волостной), департа́мент 'department', губе́рния 'province', губе́рский 'provincial', зе́мство 'zemstvo' (elective district council; adjective зе́мский), столона́чальник 'civil servant (in charge of a desk)', уе́зд 'uezd' (adjective уе́здный), экзеку́тор 'administrator';
- army, court and civil ranks: ка́мер-ю́нкер 'gentleman of the bed-chamber', ста́тский сове́тник 'State Counsellor', фре́йлина 'lady in waiting';
- addresses and titles: ба́рин 'barin', 'lord', ба́рыня 'barin's wife, lady', баро́н 'baron', госуда́рь 'sovereign', госуда́рыня 'sovereign' (feminine), граф 'count', князь 'prince';
- everyday objects: ко́нка 'horse-drawn tram', тракти́р 'inn', соха́ 'plough'.

Certain words naming units of territorial division were retained for a time, until in 1929 the whole territory of the Soviet Union was divided into new types of administrative area, called райо́н '*raion*', о́бласть '*oblast'*' and край '*krai*' (Protchenko, 1975: 113).

Obsolete words were often replaced, irrespective of whether the referent had changed or stayed more or less the same. This is especially true of words denoting aspects of party, social, administrative and political life. There was a move to distance words referring to political institutions created after the October Revolution from the state and administrative terminology of the earlier period. Thus, the word министр 'minister' was replaced by наро́дный комисса́р 'People's Commissar', министрство 'ministry' by наро́дный комиссари́ат 'People's Commissariat' (abbreviated, respectively, as нарко́м and наркомáт); поли́ция 'police' and полице́йский 'policeman' were succeeded by мили́ция 'militia' (adjective милице́йский) and милиционе́р 'militiaman'; посол 'ambassador' by полномо́чный предста́витель 'plenipotentiary', abbreviated to полпре́д; адвока́т 'barrister' was changed to правозасту́пник. Some new words were short lived, particularly the last-named: in 1922 адвока́т was restored. The words министр and министрство were reintroduced in the Soviet Union at the beginning of the 1940s, and in 1946 полпре́д, полпре́дство gave way to посол, посольство. Lexemes denoting military ranks in the Tsarist Army: лейтена́нт 'lieutenant', майо́р 'major', полко́вник 'colonel', were discarded after the Revolution, but returned in 1935. Other military ranks were reinstated in the army just before and during the Great Patriotic War (1941–45): адмира́л 'admiral', генера́л 'general' (1940), солда́т 'soldier', офице́р 'officer' (1943) and much later, in 1972, the word пра́порщик 'ensign, warrant officer'.



A number of pre-Revolutionary words had been retained to refer to phenomena in foreign countries; for example: *губернатор* 'governor', *сенат* 'senate', *помещик* 'landowner' and *рента* 'rent'. In the post-Soviet period nearly all these words have been restored, to denote the realia of a new era.

Another group of words, denoting concepts swept away by the Revolution, changed their meanings to accommodate new realities. Thus, the word *миллионёр* 'millionaire' developed additional meanings: 'a collective farm with a revenue of one or several million roubles' (Evgen'eva, 1981–84, hereafter MAS), 'someone whose work is reckoned in millions' (Ozhegov, 1987, hereafter OZH-87). Both formed the basis of set compounds: *колхоз-миллионёр*, *лётчик-миллионёр* 'a pilot who has flown a million kilometres'. The previous principal meaning of the word *знатный* 'noble, of the nobility or aristocracy' was moved to the periphery and replaced by a newly developed meaning 'distinguished in his or her work, one who is known to the whole country' (OZH-87), producing typical collocates *знатный тракторист* 'distinguished tractor driver', *знатная доярка* 'distinguished milk maid', *знатная ткачиха* 'distinguished weaver':

Много хороших знакомых, старых и новых друзей встретила на съезде герой Социалистического Труда *знатная* прядильщица Валентина Гаганова. (*Ог.*, №44, 61)

The distinguished spinner Valentina Gaganova, Hero of Socialist Labour, met many close acquaintances and friends old and new at the congress.

Similarly, *династия* 'dynasty' transferred its meaning from 'line of hereditary rulers' to 'working people passing skills and labour traditions from one generation to another' (OZH-87). Compare:

Есть целые *династии* штурманов, судовых механиков. (*Пр.*, 14.8.66)  
There are whole dynasties of navigators and ship's mechanics.

### 1.1.3 Semantic change

Following dramatic transformations in society, more words underwent semantic change to match new referential needs. Among these were words which developed new, politically defined meanings, often to the detriment of the original sense; thus: *бригада*, formerly 'work-team on a train', now 'work-team at a factory or collective farm'; *бригадир*, in the eighteenth century 'military rank in the Russian army', now 'leader of a work-team'. *Комиссар* changed its meaning from 'person who oversees supplies in the army' to 'person with special political or administrative authority, commissar'; *секретарь* 'secretary' (which formerly meant *делопроизводитель* 'clerical worker'; cf. Chernykh, 1994) after the Revolution acquired the meaning 'head of a political organisation or its local branches', e.g.

Генеральный секретарь 'General Secretary' (of the Communist Party)  
секретарь райкома 'Secretary of a District Committee of the Communist Party'.

The influence on the language of the founder of the Soviet state should not be underestimated. Indeed, some changes in the Russian vocabulary are attributed to V.I. Lenin. Thus, the gallicisms *оппортунизм* 'opportunism', *оппортунист* 'opportunist', attested at the end of the nineteenth century, had neither a political meaning, nor a negative overtone. Lenin initiated their use in relation to people and ideas politically disloyal towards communist ideology. Since then the terms have retained their ideological and negative connotations. For example:

Вся борьба нашей партии . . . должна быть направлена против *оппортунизма*. Это не течение, не направление, это теперь стало организованным орудием буржуазии внутри рабочего движения. (Lenin, 1935, Vol. 35: 152)

The entire struggle of our party . . . should be directed against opportunism. This is not a tendency, it is not a trend; it has now become a concerted weapon of the bourgeoisie within the workers' movement.

Similarly, Lenin initiated the political use of the adjective *кустарный*. Earlier it had meant 'handicraft', from which the figurative sense 'amateurish' had developed (Shkliarevskii, 1984: 14):

Главная черта нашего движения это его раздробленность, его *кустарный*, если так можно выразиться, характер: местные кружки возникают и действуют почти совершенно независимо от кружков в других местах . . . (Lenin, cited in BAS).

The main feature of our movement is its fragmentation, its amateurish character, if I may put it that way: local groups appear and work almost completely independently of groups in other places . . .

Semantic change can give rise to the emergence of a new meaning, which coexists with an earlier meaning or earlier meanings, while the centre and the periphery of the semantic structure of the word might shift. An extension of meaning can be observed in the following words from the fields of chemistry, geometry, the technical and production spheres and everyday life:

верхушка 'top', also 'leadership'

линия 'line', партийная линия 'Party line'

места 'places', also 'provinces, regions'

попутчик 'fellow traveller', also 'non-communist who sympathises with the aims and policy of the Party'

прослойка 'layer', социальная прослойка 'social stratum'

смычка 'junction', смычка города и деревни 'junction, union of town and country'

уклон 'slant', правый, левый уклон 'right or left divergence from the Party line'

чистка 'clean-up', партийная чистка 'purge', and so on.

In some cases semantic change was accompanied by analogous changes in derivatives. Among new meanings of derivative forms are:

заострить (вопрос, позицию) 'to sharpen, make more acute (a question, a position)', also 'to concentrate, place in the centre of'

перебросить 'to throw from one place to another', also 'to transfer to another job or task'

переключка 'roll call', also 'exchange of experience or information by enterprise work-teams'

перековаться, 'to reforge', also 'to transform, change to the correct ideology'

перестроиться 'to reconstruct oneself', also 'to change one's activity or world outlook'<sup>1</sup>, etc.

In this word category, the new senses became the central meanings of the word's structure, thus transforming their semantic hierarchy.

The word товарищ is a case in point. Its meaning shifted from the pre-Revolutionary 'friend' to 'colleague', to 'person with the same political convictions' and later still it became a synonym of коммунист 'communist'. Furthermore, from the end of the 1930s товарищ acquired the status of an official form of address, replacing the old terms господин 'gentleman, Mr', госпожа 'lady, Mrs', and the intermediate post-Revolutionary гражданин 'citizen', гражданка 'citizen' (feminine).

Some of the old words acquired new connotations and changed their context, such as the above-mentioned pre-Revolutionary titles господин and госпожа, which became in communist usage emotive and evaluative antonyms of the ubiquitous товарищ. The old titles had been used by the Bolsheviks when referring ironically to their enemies:

Зрелище солидарности Аксельрода с Каутским не столько "страшно", сколько омерзительно. Пусть *господин* Аксельрод и его двое-трое друзей готовятся к дальнейшим изменам. (*Пр.*, №274, 1925, in Selishchev, 1928: 193)

The sight of solidarity between Aksel'rod and Kautsky is not so much 'frightening' as sickening. Let Mr Aksel'rod and his two or three friends prepare for their further betrayals.

Throughout the Soviet period, a pejorative connotation had been attached to господин and госпожа, except for their use in diplomatic language, as a title reserved mainly for representatives of other countries:

Вашингтон. Н.С. Хрущёв и *госпожа* Эйзенхауэр направляются на обед в советском посольстве. (Caption, *Оз.*, №46, 59)

Washington. N.S. Khrushchëv and Mrs Eisenhower head for lunch at the Soviet embassy.

A growing number of words which had been obsolete since the Revolution are now making a spectacular comeback in everyday usage (cf. Section 2.2.4).

### 1.1.4 Word formation

As has already been mentioned, the majority of innovations in post-Revolutionary vocabulary have taken the form of neologisms created by word-formatory devices, using the language's own resources.

#### 1.1.4.1 Affixes

See also Sections 3.3–3.5.

A prominent group of such neologisms consists of lexical items formed with the help of affixation, by adding a prefix and/or a suffix to the existing root or stem, which may be parts of original Russian words, parts of words of foreign origin, parts of abbreviations, or proper names. Examples of derivatives with some productive suffixes are:

- words formed with the suffixes -ец, -овец, -евец:
  - беспартіец 'non-Party man'
  - будёновец 'supporter of Budënniy'
  - выдви́женец 'person from working-class or peasant background selected for an administrative job'
  - красноармеец 'Red Army man'
  - кружко́вец 'member of political or other circle'
  - ле́нинец 'Leninist'
  - назначе́нец 'placeman'
  - пролетку́льтовец 'Proletkult activist'
  - управле́нец 'manager';
- words formed with the suffix -ик:
  - боеви́к 'revolutionary fighter'
  - броневи́к 'armoured car'
  - массови́к 'mass propagandist'
  - передови́к 'leading worker'
  - фронтowíк 'front line soldier';
- words formed with the suffix -ник:
  - беспризо́рник 'waif, street kid'
  - воскрёсник 'voluntary Sunday work'
  - допризýбник 'youth undergoing pre-conscription military training'
  - дошко́льник 'child of pre-school age'
  - мешо́чник 'speculator in food' (during the Civil War)



суббо́тник 'voluntary Saturday work'

физкульту́рник 'athlete';

- words formed with the suffix -чик, -щик:

аппара́тчик 'apparatchik'

губотде́льщик 'person who works in a *gubotdel*' (local administrative department)

трибуна́льщик 'person who works on a tribunal';

- words formed with the suffix -к- (see also Section 3.5.9):

аги́тка 'item of propaganda'

будёновка 'pointed helmet worn by Red Army men' (named after Marshal S.M. Budënniy)

многотира́жка 'factory news sheet'

пятиле́тка 'five-year planning cycle'.

Some of the words with this suffix contained a new overtone of informality, and a familiar attitude to the object named by the word:

столо́вка (столо́вая) 'canteen'

чита́лка (чита́льня) 'reading room'

экономичка (the newspaper *Экономическая жизнь* 'Economic Life').

Even serious items did not escape this overtone:

предваря́лка (Дом предвари́тельного заклю́чения) 'lock-up'

скоростре́лка (скоростре́льная автома́тическая пу́шка) 'rapid-firing gun'.

- words formed with the suffix -ство:

ликвидато́рство 'liquidation and limitation of party political opposition'

паникёрство 'alarmism'

прими́ренчество 'spirit of compromise'

соглаша́тельство 'appeasement'.

Apart from native Russian affixes, some loan affixes were also widely used. For instance:

- -изм:

большеви́зм 'Bolshevism'

троцки́зм 'Trotskyism'

ленини́зм 'Leninism'

цари́зм 'tsarism';

- -изация:

кулакиза́ция 'kulakisation' (spread of kulaks)

машиниза́ция 'mechanisation'.

Among new words formed with the help of prefixes, one could cite *изжы́ть* 'to remove' (*изжы́ть недоста́тки*, *волоки́ту* 'to remove shortcomings, red tape'); *прорабо́тать* 'to criticise severely'; the international prefix *анти-* (*антинаро́дный* 'anti-national', *антиреволюцио́нный* 'anti-revolutionary'), and also Lenin's favourite prefix, *архи-* (*архива́жный* 'supremely important' and *архитя́жкий* 'eminently serious') were extremely popular at the time.

**1.1.4.2 Abbreviation**

See also Sections 3.1 and 3.2.

The formation of new words from initial letters and from stumps (truncated words) was particularly common. Abbreviation was extremely characteristic of the post-Revolutionary period, reflecting the speed of change and muscular, metallic lexical forms which embraced the new and far from subtle concepts. Kartsevskii associated the introduction of abbreviations with the succinct telegraphic style of war reports and commands (see also Section 3.1), and the shortening of the names of army ranks (Kartsevskii, 1923: 39). Soon, however, abbreviations became a favourite resource of the emerging Soviet bureaucracy. Referring to the state of the Russian language in the first years of the Soviet era, Andrei and Tat'iana Fesenko devised the formula: Soviet language = politicisation + abbreviation (acronyms) (Fesenko and Fesenko, 1955: 25). Some of the abbreviated words were so closely associated with historical events that they became their symbolic representatives.

There were three main groups of abbreviations: (1) those formed from initials; (2) those comprising stumps; and (3) a group comprising a mix of both these types. The initial-abbreviation model was used in forming the following words:

ВСНХ (ВЫСШИЙ СОВЕТ НАРОДНОГО ХОЗЯЙСТВА) 'Supreme Council of the National Economy'

ЦИК (ЦЕНТРАЛЬНЫЙ ИСПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫЙ КОМИТЕТ) 'Central Executive Committee'

ВЧК (ВСЕРОССИЙСКАЯ ЧРЕЗВЫЧАЙНАЯ КОМИССИЯ (ПО БОРЬБЕ С КОНТРЕВОЛЮЦИЕЙ И САБОТАЖЕМ)) 'The Cheka' or 'Extraordinary Commission for Struggle with Counter-revolution and Sabotage', created in 1917 and later, in 1922, reorganised into the ГПУ (ГЛАВНОЕ ПОЛИТИЧЕСКОЕ УПРАВЛЕНИЕ) 'Central Political Administration'.

The last acronym in the list stood for the notoriously punitive secret police which throughout the Soviet period changed its abbreviated names several times (ОГПУ, НКВД, НКГБ, and finally КГБ<sup>2</sup>), any one of which still makes the blood of many Russians run cold. Among the representative abbreviations are the name of the country – СССР 'USSR' (Союз Советских Социалистических Республик 'Union of Soviet Socialist Republics') – the name of its constituent republics – УССР (Украинская Советская Социалистическая Республика 'Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic') – and names of political organisations, such as: ВКП(б) (Всесоюзная Коммунистическая партия (большевиков) 'All-Union Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)' and ВЛКСМ (Всесоюзный Ленинский Коммунистический союз молодежи) 'All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Union'.

Words of the second group of abbreviations were formed from stumps:

агитпроп (агитацио́нная пропага́нда) 'political propaganda and agitation'  
военко́р (вое́нный корреспонде́нт) 'war correspondent'  
исполко́м (исполни́тельный комите́т) 'executive committee'  
совде́п (сове́т депута́тов) 'Council of Deputies'.

Some stumps became thematic, appearing in a large number of combinations; for example:

сов- (for сове́тский 'Soviet')	полит- (for полити́ческий
парт- (for партийный 'Party')	'political').

Words with the stump полит- included:

политбо́й 'political quiz'  
политгра́мота 'basic political education course'  
политми́нимум 'basic political loyalty test'  
политпросвеще́ние 'political education'  
политрабо́тник 'political worker'

Examples of the third group of mixed abbreviations which combined stumps and letters or sounds that represented separate words are:

Викже́ль (Всеросси́йский исполни́тельный комите́т  
железнодоро́жников) 'All-Russia Executive Committee of Railway  
Workers'  
Губоно́ (губе́рский отде́л наро́дного образо́вания) 'Local Education  
Authority'  
Роста́ (Росси́йское телегра́фное аге́нтство) 'Russian Telegraph Agency'.

The unprecedentedly fast spread of abbreviations was reflected in post-Revolutionary literature; even poetry, normally alien to the stylistic features of bureaucratic language, succumbed to acronyms (sometimes not without a hint of irony):

Его щедрость достойна удивления,  
Подсчитайте его отчисления.  
"Емельян, два процента в союз."  
"Даю-с!"  
"Емельян, отчисления в МОПР [Международная организация  
помощи борцам революции]!"  
"Отчисляю, я добр!"  
"Емельян, дай на Воздухофлот [Общество содействия воздушному  
флоту]."

“Вот!”

“Емельян, *Доброхим* [Добровольное общество содействия строительству химической промышленности].”

“Дадим!” (Dem’ian Bednyi, *Тяга*, 1924, in Bednyi, 1963: 254)

His generosity is something to marvel at,

Count up his deductions.

‘Emel’ian, give two per cent to the union.’

‘Yes, sir!’

‘Emel’ian, subscription to MOPR [International Organisation for Support for the Revolutionary Fighters]!’

‘Emel’ian, give some for Vozdukhoflot [Aviation].’

‘Here you go!’

‘I do subscribe, I am a good guy!’

‘Emel’ian, *Dobrokhim* [Voluntary Association for Support for Chemical Industry].’

‘Let’s do it!’

Some new abbreviations produced cacophonous combinations of sounds, and were long and difficult to pronounce; for example: наштавёрх (начальник штаба верховного главнокомандующего ‘Chief of the Headquarters of the Supreme Commander’) or наркомпочтэль (Народный комиссариат почт и телеграфов ‘People’s Commissariat of Post Offices and Telegraphs’). Abbreviated words were so prolific that often it was not clear what some of them stood for. Maiakovskii wittily recorded this feature of the rising Soviet bureaucratic language in his poem *Прозаседавшиеся* (1922):

Снова взбираюсь, глядя на ночь,

на верхний этаж семиэтажного дома.

“Пришёл товарищ Иван Ваныч?”

“На заседании *А-бе-ве-ге-де-е-же-зе-кома.*”

(Maiakovskii, 1957: 8)

Night is falling. I again climb up

to the top floor of my seven-storey block.

‘Has Comrade Ivan Ivanitch come in?’

‘Still in conference

with A-B-C-D-E-F-G-Com.’<sup>3</sup>

Luckily, the most odious of such innovations did not survive for long; this did not, however, prevent abbreviations from becoming characteristic of twentieth-century Russian language, and particularly of its official style.



### 1.1.5 Socio-stylistic aspect of post-Revolutionary language

Major upheavals in the social structure of Russian society, which brought onto the political scene the lower social orders, inevitably affected language usage and sometimes caused a mixing of styles. Paradoxically, the ideological language of the proletarian Revolution was often too sophisticated for the proletariat. Workers and peasants who, in a very short time, had become politically and socially active, had only recent experience of reading newspapers or taking part in meetings and political briefings. In Russia at the beginning of the twentieth century the reading population was in the minority. The number of literate people at the time of the Revolution was extremely low: only 24 per cent according to the census conducted in 1897 (MSE). It is not surprising, therefore, that the lower social strata in whose name the Revolution had been carried through found the foreign loans, bookish words or complex abbreviations that were typical of revolutionary language too outlandish and too difficult to grasp. The level of comprehension was demonstrated by tests conducted in the 1920s by Gus, Zagorianskii and Koganovich, from which they concluded that 25 per cent of newspaper texts were not understood by the reading public (Gus *et al.*, cited in Fesenko and Fesenko, 1955: 31).

Regardless of this, the extensive, albeit often inappropriate, use of 'educated words' became fashionable among Bolshevik activists at different levels. The newspaper *Rabochaia Moskva* even formulated this as a syndrome: 'if your speech is obscure, it means you are a Bolshevik' (Selishchev, 1928: 54). This situation caused concern among the ruling élite. Lenin wrote an article entitled 'On the cleansing of the Russian language', published in 1924, which was followed by a wide-ranging debate in the newspapers. He stated: 'We are spoiling the Russian language. We use foreign words without need. And use them incorrectly. Why say дефёкты "defects", when one could say недочёты or недостатки or пробёлы.' Analysing the wrong use of foreign words, Lenin concluded in his usual uncompromising style: 'Is it not time to declare war on the corruption of the Russian language?' (Lenin, 1935: 662).

The frustration of ordinary people at the lack of clarity in the speeches addressed to them is expressed by a proletarian poet, A. Bezymenskii:

Докладчики бывают тоже!  
Эх, ты губкомовец в пенснах!  
Как будто лезет он из кожи,  
Чтоб "измами" стереть нас в прах.  
Слова, что не взбредут на ум нам,  
Он так и жарит, так и прёт . . .  
(Пока он быть стремится умным,  
позёвки раздерут нам рот) . . .

(in Selishchev, 1928: 54)

Oh, these speakers can be such a pain!  
 Look, you member of the *gubkom* in pince-nezes!  
 He is really busting a gut  
 Wearing us down with his 'isms'.  
 He muscles in and forges ahead with  
 Words we couldn't even dream of.  
 (While he tries to be clever,  
 We'll yawn our heads off) . . .

In this verse, while criticising 'educated speech', Bezymenskii assumes the speech mask of 'a person from the masses' with a fairly limited command of standard Russian. The verse contains low colloquial elements (*лезть из ко́жи, разодрáть рот, докладчи́ки то́же!*, *Эх, ты!*), demotic elements (*позёвки*), and vulgar words (*жа́рить, перётъ*). The text also contains grammatical infelicities: the word *пенсје́* should be indeclinable and has no plural form; yet here it is used in the prepositional plural. This flaunting of uneducated forms demonstrates a post-Revolutionary stylistic movement quite opposite to the imposition of sophisticated norms by the 'speakers in pince-nez', namely the mass infiltration of standard usage by non-standard elements. The standard language was inundated with demotic, dialectal and jargon forms, since the social awakening of the masses involved dredging up from the lower depths of society language features associated with these social classes.

The process of such stylistic borrowing had several sources. Non-standard elements were emerging from the social dialects of factory workers and peasants, from the language of sailors, and from criminal argot (Polivanov, 1968: 187–206). The spread and mix of these elements occurred not only 'vertically', through social groups, but also 'horizontally', across the country. To the latter process, the *besprizorniki*, neglected homeless children, made a substantial contribution. The Revolution and the Civil War had left immense numbers of orphans living nomadic lives, travelling on the backs of trains from one town to another and controlled by criminals. These children were a decisive factor in the argotisation of the language of the streets.

Among the non-standard words which came into widespread use after the Revolution are:

барахлó 'junk, stuff'	мали́на 'den of thieves'
братва́ 'brotherhood'	паца́н 'lad'
блатно́й 'criminal'	спекульну́ть 'to speculate'
бузи́ть 'to kick up a row'	шкет 'kid, youth'
деря́бнуть 'to booze'	шпанá 'hooligan, thief's apprentice'
засы́паться 'to fail'	фартóвый 'cool'
коса́я 'a grand, a thousand roubles'	халту́ра 'shoddy job, funeral,
лимóн 'a million roubles'	burglary', and others.
ли́па 'fake' (adjective липовый)	

This stylistically unbalanced use of language caused concern among linguists and certain figures in politics and culture, who called for a greater degree of regulation. Maksim Gor'kii in his article 'About the language' complained of the influence of non-standard forms: 'It has to be pointed out with the greatest regret that in a country which so successfully – on balance – is ascending towards the highest level of culture, the spoken language has been extended to embrace such stupid little words and phrases as

мурá 'drivel, coke'	дай пять 'give me five'
бузá 'row, lies'	на большо́й па́лец с присы́пкой
волю́нить 'to take someone in, to prevaricate'	'brilliant'
ша́мать 'to eat'	на ять 'great, excellent',

and so on, and so forth' (Gor'kii, 1941: 160).

Nonetheless, the attitude of the Soviet establishment to this question was hardly unambiguous. It would be wrong to conclude that Bolshevik ideology was broadly unsympathetic towards the infiltration of the language by non-standard elements. On the contrary, this was largely perceived as a sign of linguistic 'democratisation'. In the early post-Revolutionary period, an extreme position was adopted by *Proletkul't*,<sup>4</sup> with its theory of proletarian culture. *Proletkul't* claimed the exclusive right to develop the perfect language for the proletariat. It proposed, among other revolutionary changes to the language, to do away with the systems of declension and conjugation and to abolish capital letters 'as the privileged group in the alphabet'. As for lexis, the influx of jargon, crude demotic forms, slang and dialectisms were accepted as components of a new, pure language, whose mission was to replace the old, corrupt 'bourgeois' language of the nineteenth century (Shkliarevskii, 1984: 36).

In the 1920s, non-standard elements were particularly fashionable among factory youth, and this was later exploited in films and literature as part of a populist policy (Comrie, Stone and Polinsky, 1996: 227). Works of the 1920s by writers such as F. Gladkov, L. Seifullina, A. Karavaeva, A. Dorogoichenko and F. Panfërov abounded in such markers of 'political correctness', as in the following excerpt from a dialogue in Gladkov's novel *Цемент* 'Cement':

- Брось *дискустировать* [for correct *дискутировать*], Митрей! Это довольно совестно с твоей стороны и позорно, и так дале . . .
- Ах, товарищ завком, *извините-с, простите-с, захлестните-с нервы в узелочек и приколите-с к пупочку булавочкой* . . . [a mocking retort, most likely originating in criminal slang] во всём *параде* [for correct *параде*] выеду на демонстрацию . . .

(Gladkov, 1958: 21–2).

'Stop *discusting* it, Mirtei! That is pretty bad of you and shameful and so on . . .'



‘Oh, comrade chairman, I am really sorry, I do apologise. Bundle up your nerves and pin them to your belly-button . . . I’ll go to the demonstration with my best gear on . . .’

## 1.2 1928–1940

From the end of the 1920s the Russian language entered a period of relative stability and standardisation. By 1930, the revolutionary ambition to change the whole world had given way to the idea of ‘building socialism in one country’, isolated from the outside world. The polyphony of the debates of the age of revolution, in which standard Russian mingled with the voice of the populace, yielded to the monolithic normativity of the Soviet state under Stalin’s regime. The first generation of new intelligentsia, people educated in a Soviet environment, had emerged, and they fomented and propagated standard norms (Ozhegov, 1974: 59). Characteristic of the linguistic development of the 1930s were puristic tendencies. In literature, dialectisms, professionalisms and other colourful experimental irregularities were outlawed by the censorship, embodied in such institutions as Glavlit, the Literature Institute and The Union of Soviet Writers. In that decade, the first Soviet dictionary, under the editorship of D.N. Ushakov, was published, claiming to set guidelines for normative usage. In the dictionary, low colloquialisms, dialect and vulgar words were carefully omitted. On the other hand, the lexical model of a totalitarian world was officially installed (cf. Kupina, 1995). In linguistic scholarship, a pseudo-academic theory known as *Marrism* (after its founder, N.Ia Marr) was declared to be the only true Marxist linguistics.

One sign of the stabilisation of vocabulary was the elimination of variants among loan words, and the selection of one particular form as normative. Thus, of the synonymous pair *аэроплáн/самолёт* ‘aeroplane’, *самолёт* became the norm, while *аэроплáн* shifted to the periphery of the lexical system. The words *экспорт* ‘export’ and *импорт* ‘import’ began to be used as economic terms, replacing the Russian-based words *ввоз* and *вывоз*, which had previously been used as their synonyms. Some other borrowed words stabilised their gender or number: *ка́дры* ‘staff’, for example, became established as a plural form, and *фильм* ‘film’ as a masculine noun.

Another sign of stabilisation was stylistic redistribution. The flood of post-Revolutionary non-standard elements receded, and the language rejected some items and absorbed others. The most popular non-standard terms were now perceived by speakers to be standard, rather than dialectisms or demotic forms. Among them are:

бро́вка ‘edge’  
до́ярка ‘milkmaid’  
за́темно ‘before daybreak’  
и́зморозь ‘hoarfrost’  
ко́ржик ‘scone’

ново́сёл ‘new settler’  
поло́вник ‘ladle’  
расче́ска ‘comb’  
уша́нка ‘cap with ear-flaps’.

The late 1920s and 1930s saw the emergence of the first five-year plans, an attempt at building a highly industrialised economy in an unprecedentedly short time. Heavy industry was at the centre of this modernising activity, a fact which led to a large increase in the size of the working class, which almost trebled between 1928 and 1940 (Hosking, 1992: 154). This was reflected in vocabulary changes: if the post-Revolutionary years were marked by the assimilation of political vocabulary, then the next period was characterised by the influx of technical and industrial terminology.

### 1.2.1 Loan words

Among the loan words attested at that time, two groups can be singled out: lexemes connected with the advent of new concepts or, more often, objects; and loan words which, for one reason or another, replaced already extant Russian forms.

#### 1.2.1.1 Words naming new concepts and objects

This group comprises three subgroupings: (1) words naming machines, mechanisms and technical processes; (2) words denoting concepts in everyday life; and (3) words denoting sporting terms.

A majority of the loan words fall into the first subgrouping:

автостра́да 'highway', from Italian *autostrada*

детекто́р — a radio part, from English *detector*

комба́йн 'multi-purpose machine', from English *combine*; in the late 1920s and 1930s mainly used in the meaning 'combine harvester', later broadening its meaning (e.g. ку́хонный комба́йн 'food processor', радиокомба́йн 'integrated wireless and record playing system')

конве́йер 'conveyor belt', from English *conveyer/conveyor*. This word quite quickly abandoned its narrow terminological domain, came into widespread use and was used as the basis for many derivatives:

конве́йериза́ция 'introduction of a conveyor system'

конве́йерный 'conveyor' (adjective)

конве́йерщик 'assembly line worker' and others

контéйнер 'cargo crate', from English *container*

метрó, метрополитén 'underground railway'. These words were borrowed from French (*métro*, shortened from *métropolitain*) before 1917 (Granovskaia, 1983: 54), but came into active usage during the construction of the first line of the Moscow Underground in 1932–4. The words have diverged stylistically: метрополитén is now marked as 'official', as opposed to the neutral метрó. Interestingly, before the appearance of these loans, the word подзе́мка, a calque of German *Untergrundbahn*, had been used when describing foreign underground railways, mainly in London or Berlin; also, the semi-transliterated form унде́ргру́нд was sometimes used (Krysin, 1968: 99).

Among other technical and industrial words which came into Russian from other languages in this period are:

нейтрон 'neutron'	телетайп 'teletype'
пикап 'pick-up' (a small truck or lorry)	траулер 'trawler'
танкер 'tanker'	троллейбус 'trolley-bus'
	телевизор 'television'.

Among the borrowings of the late 1920s and 1930s there were, however, also words denoting concepts in everyday life (the second subgrouping). For example, джаз 'jazz' and джаз-бэнд 'jazz band', first perceived as foreign exoticisms, representing Western decadence. Later, джаз was completely assimilated, producing several derivatives: джазовый 'jazz' (adjective), джазист 'jazz musician', джазировать 'to play jazz' were attested in the 1960s. The component -бэнд had been used more commonly in the form джаз-банда as the result of a false etymology based on банда 'band, gang' (Krysin, 1968: 94). Another exoticism was the word ковбой 'cowboy', which had been used only in an American context, but formed the basis of the widely used derivative ковбойка 'cowboy shirt'. Other loan words denoted clothes: джемпер 'jumper', комбинезон 'overalls', from French *combinaison*, and пуловер 'pullover'. Terms of 'grooming' also became familiar and were mainly borrowed from French: маникюр 'manicure', педикюр 'pedicure', перманент 'perm'. An example of a new name for a food is эскимó 'choc-ice', from French *esquimaux*.

Sporting terms borrowed in the 1930s form a third subgrouping, and these include: пинг-пóнг 'table tennis'; рéгби 'rugby', a word perceived as an exoticism until the 1950s, when the game started to be played in the Soviet Union; слáлом 'slalom', from Norwegian, a word which, although attested as early as 1933, was actively used only from the late 1940s, when downhill ski sports became more popular; спринт 'sprint' and спринтер 'sprinter'.

One group of loans have undergone a change in their morphological structure. These include the lexemes авиётка 'small plane' and танкётка 'small tank', both borrowed from French (*aviette* and *tankette*) and reflecting the feminine gender of the source language in the Russian ending -a. In the word бóтсы, from English *boots*, the English plural flexion -s was kept as part of its stem, to which the Russian plural ending -ы was added (see also Section 4.3.4). Телевídение, a hybrid form comprising Greek and Latin roots, was a Russified version of English *television*. Originally, the borrowed form was closer to the source language – телев́изия – but later the second part of the word was replaced by the more familiar native Russian stem в́идение. Initially, in the mid-1920s, дальнов́идение, a calque of German *Fernsehen*, was used, and the television receiver was called дальнóзор, but these nouns did not survive for long.



### 1.2.1.2 Words borrowed to name concepts and objects existing in Soviet reality

The second group of loan words did not accompany new concepts and objects from outside — they were already in existence in the Soviet Union, the loans replacing extant native roots. The replacement of a native by a loan word often causes semantic redistribution in a word's lexical structure. For example, the loan *приоритёт* (from German *Priorität*), replaced the Russian *пёрвенство* in the meaning 'priority'. The new word, however, differed from its native Russian counterpart by acquiring an ideological overtone: 'priority in a discovery, invention', cf. *Приоритёт Росси́и в откры́тии Анта́рктики* 'Russia's priority is the exploration of the Antarctic' (OZH-87). Similar specialisation in political lexis occurred in *гарáнт* 'guarantor' (from French *garant*) which, unlike its synonym *попечитель*, acquired an analogous political connotation (cf. typical collocations *гарáнт ми́ра* 'guarantor of peace' and *гарáнт прогрéсса* 'guarantor of progress').

The loan word *сёрвис* (from English *service*) did not retain all the meanings of its source-language counterpart, since a large part of the word's semantics was covered by native Russian *обслуживание*. The borrowing led to the specialisation of *сёрвис* in the meaning 'system of service sector institutions and activities'. This loan word was attested in 1933, and was used as an exoticism until the 1960s, when the concept of *совётский сёрвис* 'Soviet service' began to develop, causing the widespread use of the word and the swift emergence of derivatives such as *сёрвис-бюро́* 'service bureau' and *сёрвисный* 'service' (adjective) (Kotelova, 1995, abbreviated to KOT hereafter).

A compact loan replacing a descriptive phrase has a stronger case for adoption. For instance:

*сейф* (from English *safe*) replaced *несгораемый шкаф* 'fire-proof cupboard'  
*сна́йпер* (from English *sniper*) replaced *мёткий стрелок* 'a marksman'.

A number of foreign words came into Russian with a changed connotation, or evaluative marker, by comparison with the source language. This applies particularly to lexemes naming concepts considered by Soviet ideology to be 'capitalist', 'alien' and 'hostile'. For example, words like *б́изнес* 'business', *бизнесме́н* 'businessman', *пациф́изм* 'pacifism', *пациф́ист* 'pacifist', which were borrowed at this time, were consistently used with strong negative overtones until the late 1980s (cf. Section 2.2.6). Ushakov's definition of the word *пациф́изм* is typical:

*пацифизм* (полит.) — пропаганда мира в эпоху империалистических войн, не сопровождающаяся призывом к активной революционной борьбе с империалистическими правительствами и к свержению буржуазного строя

the promotion of peace at the time of imperialist wars, unaccompanied by a call for active revolutionary struggle with imperial governments and for the overthrow of the bourgeois system.

This definition is followed by an example from Lenin, accentuating the negative content of the word:

Одной из форм одурачения рабочего класса является *пацифизм* и абстрактная проповедь мира.

Pacifism and the abstract propagation of peace are one of the many methods of fooling the working class.

Other words which were adopted at that time include:

агрéссор ‘aggressor’, from German *Aggressor*

джем ‘jam’, from English

детектíв ‘detective’ from English (used mainly in relation to foreign countries)

призёр ‘prize-winner’, from French *priseur*

рекордсмён ‘record holder’ (the word is in fact a Russian neologism composed of English elements)

репортáж ‘reporting’, from French *reportage*.

### 1.2.2 Words created within Russian’s own linguistic resources

In the 1930s, the industrialisation of the country led to an increase in the number of technical terms and professionalisms in widespread use. The following professional words became part of everyday speech:

барахлíть ‘to pink’ (of an engine)

бомбíть ‘to bomb’, from military terminology

загру́зка ‘loading’

заземлíть ‘to earth’

запра́вка ‘refuelling’

затовáрить(ся) ‘to overstock’

на-гора́ ‘to the surface’ (from miners’ professional dialect)

наéздить ‘to clock up’ (driving)

налетáть ‘to clock up’ (flying)

отгру́зка ‘dispatching’

потолóк ‘ceiling’ (from pilots’ professional dialect)

сортиро́вка ‘sorting’

слёт (пионéров, удáрников) ‘gathering’ (of pioneers, shock-workers).

Examples of затовáрить(ся) and потолóк are:

На базах лежит на 2 млн. рублей *затоваренной* одежды для школьников. (*Тр.*, 11.9.31)

At the depots there are two million roubles’ worth of accumulated children’s clothing.



У молодого мастера В. Фролова невысокий *потолок* скорости. Думается, что ему было бы целесообразней переключиться на более длинную дистанцию, скажем, на 800 м. (*Сов. спорт*, 13.6.64)  
The young runner, V. Frolov, has a low speed threshold. It seems that it would be more expedient for him to switch to a longer distance, to 800 metres, say.

Вертолёт 'helicopter' is a compound of native origin created in this period, with its transparent inner form deriving from the stems of вертеть 'to turn, rotate' and лететь 'to fly'.

Industrial advance also caused an increase in the number of words naming specialised occupations. These nouns are normally formed from verbs denoting particular industrial processes, with the help of the suffixes -льщик, -щик and -чик:

отжигальщик 'annealer' (from отжигать)  
перелицовщик 'turner' (from перелицовывать)  
закантовщик 'edger, mounter' (from закантовывать)  
промáзчик 'lubricator' (from промáзывать)  
подрéзчик 'clipper' (from подрéзывать).

Among other occupations are

комбайнер 'combine operator'	свинарка 'pig-girl'
механизатор 'machine operator'	дояр 'milker' (male) and
полевод 'field-crop worker'	дойрка 'milkmaid';
тракторист 'tractor driver'	

and the generic names of related professions:

обувщики 'shoe makers'	речники 'river-transport workers'
пищевики 'food industry workers'	текстильщики 'textile workers'.

Other additions to the vocabulary include words which were largely born of the events of the period, such as the first five-year plans, collectivisation, the reconstruction of the economy and other realities of Stalinist society. Examples are: авоська 'string shopping bag', from авось 'on the off-chance', прописка 'registration, residence permit', стахановец 'Stakhanovite', ударный труд 'shock work' and ударник 'shock-worker'. Стахановец comes from the name of a Donbass coalminer, Aleksei Stakhanov, who purportedly hewed 102 tonnes of coal in a single shift, a feat glorified as an example for others to follow. Those who, like Stakhanov, managed to 'over-fulfil' the prescribed norm, were termed стахановцы 'Stakhanovites'. Ударник, like many other secondary meanings in Soviet Russian, came from

the military sphere: участник ударной войсковой группы 'member of a strike force'.

The number of abbreviated words and compounds in use was smaller than in the 1920s, though some new lexical items were formed in accordance with word-formatory patterns:

вуз (высшее учебное заведение) 'higher education establishment', and its derivative вузовец 'student in higher education'

зернопоставка (поставка зерна) 'grain supply'

колхоз (коллективное хозяйство) 'collective farm'

МТС (машинно-тракторная станция) 'machinery and tractor station'

ВОХР (вооружённая охрана) 'armed guard'

совхоз (советское хозяйство) 'state farm'

ТОЗ (товарищество по обработке земли) 'land cultivation co-operative'

универмаг (универсальный магазин) 'department store'

физкультурный 'physical education' (adjective).

### 1.3 1940s

#### 1.3.1 *Loan words*

The most significant event of the 1940s for the Soviet Union was the Soviet–German war of 1941–5, which was inevitably reflected in the dynamics of vocabulary. The war and the post-war period were characterised by a surge of patriotic and nationalistic propaganda, and, hence, a negative attitude towards everything foreign, in particular foreign words. This was accompanied by a sharp decrease in the number of new borrowings and an overall reduction in the use of words of foreign origin. Some loans, however, entered the Russian language during this period, and these were mainly from German. The majority of these were short lived, though several stayed on.

Блицкриг 'blitzkrieg' was one of the first war-time borrowings. Together with its Russian calque молниеносная война, the word filled the pages of the newspapers in the early part of the war:

Гитлер и его приспешники ещё до начала войны с нами кричали о *блицкриге*, о молниеносной войне, но их расчёты и планы с треском провалились . . . (Веч. М., 13.12.41)

Even before the outbreak of war with us Hitler and his henchmen were shouting about the blitzkrieg, about the lightning war, however their calculations and plans came a cropper.

Although блицкриг has not become part of everyday language, the component блиц- has had a longer and more productive life. During the war it was used to form compounds, often with ironic overtones: блиц-дроп 'a runner' (as in 'to do a runner'), блиц-стратегия 'lightning strategy'. Later, in

modern forms, the irony was dispensed with: блицтурнир 'short tournament', блицпоход 'whirlwind tour'. In the 1970s and 1980s two more new meanings of блиц as a free-standing word were recorded: (1) a short chess game and (2) a camera flash, as well as more attributive compounds: блицвизит 'flying visit' and блицопрос 'snap poll' (Kotelova, 1995, hereafter abbreviated to КОТ):

Используя слова популярной эстрадной песенки, можно сказать, что "шпаги звон и звон бокала" сопровождали семичасовой *блицвизит* госпожи Тэтчер в Западный Берлин. (КП, 1982)

In the words of the popular song, you may say that 'the sound of the sword and the sound of the goblet' accompanied Mrs Thatcher's seven-hour whirlwind visit to West Berlin.

The loan ac 'ace' was originally used in relation to highly skilled German fighter pilots, but soon extended its meaning – with some elevated overtones – to include Soviet pilots:

Когда лётчика-истребителя называют *асом*, это значит, что он достиг зрелости, завоевал почётное право быть в авангарде воздушных бойцов. (Кр. Зв., 1.7.43)

When a fighter pilot is called an ace, that means he has reached maturity and has gained the honoured right to be in the vanguard of the soldiers of the air.

In the 1950s, the word expanded to denote an expert in any activity:

Решается судьба первого места среди лыжебежцев и двоеборцев, которые стартовали первыми ... Но вот все оставили свои блокноты — стартовали *асы*. (Сов. Рос., 30.1.57)

First place for the ski and biathlon competitors, who started first, is still being decided ... But everyone put their notebooks aside as the top stars started the race.

The adjective тотальный 'total', although borrowed in the 1930s, became widely used in the press at the start of the Great Patriotic War (1941–45), particularly in the collocations тотальная война 'total war' and тотальная мобилизация 'general mobilisation':

Готовясь к *тотальной войне* против Советского Союза, Гитлер ещё 30 марта 1941 года на совещании в Берлине предупредил своих фельдмаршалов и генералов, что они обязаны быть беспощадными. (Ог., №42, 63)

As early as 30 March 1941, when preparing for total war against the Soviet Union, Hitler warned his field marshals and generals at a meeting in Berlin that they should be merciless.

Later, the meaning of the adjective broadened to mean 'universal', 'general', 'all-embracing', 'comprehensive': *тотальная разрушительная сила атомной бóмбы* 'the total destructive force of the atom bomb', *тотальный успех* 'overall success' (Chernyshëv, 1950–65).

The lexeme *эрза́ц* (from German *Ersatz* 'replacement'), although occasionally used in the 1930s, became widely associated with the language of the war. It occurred in compounds and as a free-standing word (sometimes governing the genitive): *эрза́ц-молоко́* 'milk substitute', *эрза́ц-масло́* 'butter substitute', *эрза́ц-мука́* 'flour substitute', *эрза́ц культу́ры* 'ersatz culture', *эрза́ц ко́фе* 'coffee substitute'.

English was the source of a very limited number of loans. *Бульдóзер* 'bulldozer' and *грéйдер* 'grader' are two examples which arrived at the beginning of the 1940s together with the machines they named.

A feature of the language of the war period was that a number of German words were in active circulation due to the hostilities. However, they can hardly be considered as loans, falling rather into the category of short-lived exoticisms. After the war, a good many of these words found a home in historical scholarship and fiction. This lexical group constitutes armaments, technical items, military terms, as well as:

- types of plane: *мессершмíтт* 'Messerschmitt', *ю́нкерс* 'Junkers'
- ranks: *фю́рер* 'Führer', *группенфю́рер* 'Gruppenführer'
- names of organisations: *геста́по* 'Gestapo', *а́бвер* 'Abwehr' (Defence).

The term *полицáй* was used to refer to a Russian who co-operated with the German authorities in the occupied zones (from German *Polizei* 'police'):

Придя в себя, она рассказала, что узнала в директоре дачного хозяйства *полицая* из гестапо, где она находилась во время фашистской оккупации. (*АиФ*, №21, 97)

After she recovered she told how she had recognised the manager of the dacha management section as a German collaborator from the Gestapo, where she had been held during the fascist occupation.

In a Russian context the word acquired an extremely strong negative colouring.

The example of *полицáй* demonstrates a tendency to use German words not only for reference but also for expressive stylistic purposes, to convey a vehemently negative attitude. Similarly, the most popular German proper names were used as common nouns to refer derogatorily to a soldier of the enemy army: *ганс* 'Hans', *фриц* 'Fritz':



Вы знаете, он уже с *фрицем* подрался, — видите, какая у него щека красная! — с удовольствием сказал Стёпа Сафонов (А. Fadeev, *Молодая гвардия* (1943–51), in Fadeev, 1963: 208).

You know, he's already fought Jerry. See how red his cheek is! said Stëpa Safonov with relish.

### *1.3.2 Developments within Russian's own linguistic resources*

#### *1.3.2.1 Lexical developments*

If inter-language development in this period was somewhat subdued, the influence of the war was more apparent at the intra-language level. This is especially evident in the expansion of military vocabulary into wider circles of usage. It was also reflected in the emergence of new terms and words based on native resources.

The militarisation of the language was initiated by the Revolution and the Civil War. Expressions coined during that time were used metaphorically in relation to other spheres of life, particularly economic and ideological. Phrases like:

воённый коммунизм 'war communism'

командные высоты 'command heights'

мобилизация внутренних ресурсов 'mobilisation of internal resources'

огонь по отстающим 'firing at the laggards'

партия — авангард рабочего класса 'the Party is the vanguard of the working class'

СССР — авангард мирового пролетариата 'the USSR is the vanguard of the world's proletariat'

трудовой фронт 'the labour front'

фронт уборки урожая 'the harvest front'

хозяйственный фронт 'the economic front'

штаб мировой революции 'headquarters of world revolution' etc.

were perpetuated by official ideological discourse. Military metaphors were intended to inspire the population to treat labour at the construction sites of the first five-year plans as a battle, and the whole of the Soviet Union as a beleaguered military camp. Military words were also used to form idioms:

лететь пулей 'to fly like a bullet'

взять на мушку 'to take aim at'

стоять как штык 'to stand as still as a bayonet'

строчить как пулемёт 'to hammer away like a machine gun'.

The war with Germany acted as a catalyst for the further dissemination of military vocabulary. Most of the words developed figurative meanings as

they were picked up by Soviet officialese and widely used for propaganda purposes. Such lexis was acceptable to the generation that had fought in the war, since for them professional military jargon was all too familiar. The adjective *правофланго́вый* 'right flank, right wing', as in the military expression *равняться на правофланго́вых* 'to dress from the right', acquired the meaning 'somebody who is an example to others':

Среди *правофланговых* нашего трудового марша — коллективы, отмеченные по итогам 1976 года переходящими Красными знамёнами ЦК КПСС, Совета Министров СССР. (*Пр.*, 29.3.77)

Among the leaders of our labour march are organisations awarded Peripatetic Red Banners of the Central Committee of the CPSU and the Council of Ministers of the USSR, in recognition of the 1976 results.

Figurative meanings also developed in:

ата́ка 'attack'	тыл 'rear'
деса́нт 'landing'	уда́р 'strike'
насту́пление 'offensive'	фланг 'flank'
передова́я 'front line'	штурм 'storm'
рядо́вой 'private'	

and in the set phrases *перёдний край* 'main line', *равне́ние на . . .* 'dressing to the . . .':

Меня, *рядового армии советских учёных*, очень тронули слова благодарности, сказанные Никитой Сергеевичем [Хрущёвым] в адрес нашей науки и её людей. (*Ог.*, №43, 61)

I, a private in the army of Soviet scientists, was very touched by the vote of thanks expressed by Nikita Sergeevich [Khrushchëv] to our scientific establishment and its people.

Десять лет назад на тюменской земле был высажен первый *журналистский десант* "Юности". (*Юн.*, №7, 79)

Ten years ago the first Iunost' journalists landed on Tiumen' soil.

Several new native words appeared during the war. The word *автомáт* 'submachine-gun' was created as a truncated form of the adjective *автоматический* 'automatic'. This was followed by the derivative *автомáтчик* 'submachine-gunner':

С неразлучным своим *автоматом* Не в одной побывал я стране.  
(from a war-time song)

In many a country have I been, with my trusty submachine-gun.

В прорыв устремляются танки, уходят *автоматчики*, пулемётчики, миномётчики. (КП, 20.12.42)

Tanks charge into the breach, while gunners, machine gunners and mortar men go out to break through.

The clipped compound *зажигалка* 'incendiary bomb' was formed by truncation of the adjective *зажигательный*.

Some words denoting everyday objects assumed a new function as military terms and were drawn into the sphere of professional usage. Tactics at the front gave rise to a communicative demand to name different troop positions; thus, for instance, the group of words with the generic meaning 'encirclement', 'to be encircled'. The figurative transformation of their meanings added extra expressiveness: *клéщи* 'pincers', *клин* 'wedge', *тискý* 'vice', *мешóк* 'sack', *котёл* 'cauldron' (a calque from German *Kessel*), *кольцó* 'ring':

Попытка немецкого командования прорвать наши фланги в районе Ханино, взять в *клéщи* подвижную группу кончилась полным провалом. (Пр., 1.1.42)

The German Command's attempt to break through our flanks in the Khanino area and to take our mobile units in a pincer movement ended in utter failure.

Ordinary soldiers at the front displayed remarkable linguistic creativity. Many witty and precise references were coined at that time, though very few of them continued to be used after the war. Those that persisted included the colloquial name *катýша* '*Katiusha*', an affectionate diminutive of the name Katia, given to the lorry-mounted multiple rocket launcher (see Section 3.1.6), or *кукурúзник* '*kukuruznik*', from *кукурúза* 'maize', the name attached in popular military speech to a small plane of the U-2 type.

The war added more abbreviations to the language, among them:

- acronyms:

АХЧ (административно-хозяйственная часть) 'supplies and maintenance unit'

КП (командный пункт) 'command centre'

ПВО (противовоздушная оборона) 'anti-aircraft defence(s)'

ДЗОТ (деревянно-земляная огневая точка) 'earth and timber emplacement'

ДОТ (долговременная огневая точка) 'pill-box'.

Among the new acronyms was a group of words signifying types of military equipment, some of them formed from the first letters of the names of their inventors:

Як-3, Як-17, fighter planes designed by Iakovlev

МиГ-3, a fighter plane designed by Mikoian and Gurevich



Тy-2, a dive-bomber designed by Tupolev

ТТ, a self-loading pistol designed by Tokarev;

- syllabic abbreviations:

замполит (заместитель командира по политической части)  
'political officer'

комбат (командир батальона) 'battalion commander'

начхоз (начальник хозяйственной части) 'chief maintenance officer'

медсанбат (медико-санитарный батальон) 'medical battalion';

- abbreviations formed as a combination of a stump and a whole word:

авиадесант (авиационный десант) 'airborne landing (force)'

мотострелок (стрелок моторизированной пехоты) 'motorised infantry rifleman'

сандружинница (женщина-член санитарной дружины) 'female medical orderly', etc.

### 1.3.2.2 Stylistic development

The war triggered a stylistic change in official discourse. The call to perform one's sacred duty and defend the homeland, the depiction of the immense sacrifices and heroic efforts made by the Russian people during the war called for new heights of expressiveness – and, not surprisingly, this was achieved. Foreign influence being exceedingly unpopular, these expressive elements derived from the language's own past. In a way, it was Stalin himself who set the ball rolling: on 3 July 1941, in the early days of the war, in his first radio broadcast appeal to the Soviet people, he diverted from the traditional style of Party propaganda of the time. In the opening words of his speech, together with the usual terms товарищи, граждане 'comrades, citizens', Stalin addressed the nation as братья и сестры 'brothers and sisters'. This was an unusual and powerful way of resurrecting old traditional forms of human solidarity.

Stylistic elements, the use of which had been unthinkable in the 1930s, became popular and even officially approved of in the 1940s; archaic words of Church Slavonic and Old Russian origin made a comeback:

алтарь (отечества) 'altar (of the fatherland)'

бессмертие 'immortality'

битва 'battle'

блюсти 'to watch over'

ввергнуть 'to plunge into'

витель 'knight'

во всеоружии 'fully armed'

воинство 'army, host'

грядущий 'future'

дерзновение 'audacity'

деяние 'act'

множить 'to augment, multiply'

на страже 'on guard'

нетленный 'imperishable'

неувядаемый 'unfading'

неугасимый 'inextinguishable'

свершение 'feat'

священный 'sacred'

явить 'to display' and so on.

Compare the word-groups:

бессмертная сла́ва 'immortal glory'  
 на стра́же ро́дины 'on guard over the motherland'  
 неруши́мая дру́жба наро́дов 'the inviolable friendship of nations'  
 Сталингра́дская битва 'the Battle of Stalingrad'  
 сове́тские ви́тязи 'Soviet knights'  
 свяще́нная обяза́нность 'sacred duty'.

Rediscovered archaisms were used in the patriotic discourse of the time: songs, poems and media propaganda. In the song *Встава́й, страна́ о́гро́мная!* 'Arise, Vast Nation!' by V.I. Lebedev-Kumach, which became a hymn of resistance to the German invasion, the words о́рда 'horde', благо́родная 'noble', свяще́нная 'sacred' are markers of solemn style:

Вставай, страна огромная,  
 Вставай на смертный бой,  
 С фашистской силой тёмною  
 С проклятою ордой.  
 Пусть ярость благородная  
 Вскипает как волна —  
 Идёт война народная,  
 Священная война.

(Lebedev-Kumach, 1987:12)

Arise, vast nation!  
 For a fight to the death,  
 With the dark forces of the fascist,  
 And that accursed horde.  
 May your noble fury rise up like a wave,  
 As the nation's war, its holy war,  
 Advances.

The hitherto forbidden pre-Revolutionary past was revisited: books, previously banned, on the lives and exploits of Russian military commanders appeared on bookshelves again. New military decorations were named after great army leaders of the past: the Orders of Alexander Nevsky, Kutuzov and Suvorov. The nationally flavoured toponyms Росси́я 'Russia' and even archaic Русь 'Rus', became acceptable as names of the country alongside and even more frequently than Со́ветский Сою́з 'Soviet Union' (Fesenko and Fesenko, 1955: 118).

The reactivation of obsolete vocabulary affected the army itself. From 1943, the military ranks солда́т 'soldier' and офице́р 'officer', which had lost currency after the Revolution because of their association with the Tsarist

Army, were now reintroduced, replacing the former with красноармеец 'Red Army soldier', боец 'soldier', and the latter with командир 'commander':

Боевые успехи наших войск на других фронтах воодушевляют бойцов и офицеров. (*Веч. М.*, 25.8.43)

Our forces' military successes on other fronts are inspiring soldiers and officers.

Other words associated with the Tsarist Army had ceased to exist but were resurrected during the war. One of them is кавалёр (ордена) 'holder (of an order)'. Another was погоны 'shoulder-boards'. In January 1943, new badges of rank were established, which gave the word wide currency:

Погоны являлись знаком воинского достоинства и воинской чести; именно их и взяла Красная Армия из арсенала наших отцов и предков как законная наследница всего лучшего, что было в старой армии. (*КП*, 8.1.43)

Shoulder-boards were a sign of military merit and honour, and it is they that the Red Army took from the arsenal of our fathers and ancestors as the rightful heir of all that was best in the old army.

The history of the word гвардия 'guard' and its derivatives is rather interesting. Before the Revolution, this term was used to denote especially privileged army units. Since early 1917 the word had been applied to workers' detachments under arms and, after the formation of the Red Army in February 1918, красная гвардия 'Red Guard' was coined to refer to its regular units. The socio-political antonym to красная гвардия was белая гвардия 'White Guard'. Both formed derivatives:

красногвардейский 'red guard' (adjective)

белогвардейский 'white guard' (adjective),

красногвардеец 'soldier in the red guard'

белогвардеец 'soldier in the white guard'

белогвардейщина 'white guard troops' (pejorative).

From November 1941 the adjective гвардейский 'guard' became an honoured title: by order of the People's Commissar of Defence it was given to army units which had displayed exceptional courage and military skill. This entailed a shift of the evaluative component of the words гвардия, гвардейский and their derivatives to the semantic centre, as the words became typical of emotive rhetorical contexts:

*Гвардейцы* — это воины, которые без страха пойдут туда, где всего тяжелее. (*Кр. зв.*, 12.11.41)

Guards are soldiers who will go fearlessly to where the fighting is at its fiercest.

In May 1941, гв́ардия or гварде́йский was added to the names of ranks as a mark of distinction:

гв́ардии мла́дший сержа́нт 'junior sergeant of the Guard'  
гв́ардии генера́л-лейтена́нт 'lieutenant-general of the Guard'  
гварде́йского экипа́жа капита́н тре́тьего ра́нга 'captain third class of the crew of the Guard' etc.

The word гварде́йцы was used evaluatively in compounds, often in pre-positive position:

гварде́йцы-ле́тчики 'pilot guards'  
гварде́йцы-танки́сты 'tank guards'  
гварде́йцы-пехоти́нцы 'infantry guardsmen'.

After the war, the words гв́ардия, гварде́йцы, гварде́йский, as well as many other military terms, were used metaphorically:

гварде́йцы жа́твы 'harvest guards'  
гварде́йцы пятиле́тки 'guards of the five-year plan'  
гварде́йцы убо́рки урожа́я 'harvest guards'  
рабо́чая гв́ардия 'workers' guard'  
цели́нная гв́ардия 'Virgin Lands guard'.

#### 1.4 1946–1953

The Soviet victory in the Great Patriotic War brought no respite to Stalin's Russia. With the start of the Cold War and the resumption of the purges, a campaign was launched against 'rootless cosmopolitanism', a phrase used to condemn any foreign influence, be it in science, culture or language. Naturally enough, in this xenophobic environment vocabulary borrowing was hardly a feasible measure of language development. The few foreign words which were assimilated at that time have predominantly negative connotations: дикта́т 'diktat', га́нгстер 'gangster' and гангсте́ризм 'banditry'. A number of words in this group are now stylistically neutral, but at the time of their borrowing they carried negative overtones.

For example, ро́бот 'robot', a word which was first used in Karel Čapek's play *R.U.R.* and later borrowed from Czech, originally denoted the sinister side of a humanoid machine:

Они [злодеи] совершают свои грабежи при помощи металлических *роботов*, управляемых приборами новой конструкции (ЛГ, 22.9.48).



They [the scoundrels] carry out their robberies with the help of metal robots controlled by devices of a new design.

Negative overtones were associated with words of English origin attested between 1948 and 1950: бестселлер 'best-seller', комикс 'comic (book)', лобби 'lobby', офис 'office', супермэн 'superman':

На каждой улице, на каждом углу, у каждого газетчика, ребёнку ежедневно навязываются эти кровавые книжки, которые по какой-то зловещей игре языка носят в Америке название *комикс* (К. Чуковский. *Растление детских душ*, ЛГ, 22.9.48)

Every day, on every street, at every newspaper seller's pitch, those gory books, known in America through some kind of sinister word play as *comics*, are thrust upon children.

Among the few loan words which did not have negative associations with capitalist reality were:

плексиглас (from German *Plexiglas*) 'laminated glass'

аллергия (from English *allergy*)

сальто (1952, from Italian *salto*) 'somersault'

таблo (1949, from French *tableau*) 'information board'.

Apart from the low number of borrowings, another effect of nationalistic language policy was an attack on existing loan words, often recently acquired technical terminology. 'Debates' were instigated in the journals and newspapers which advanced only one side of the argument: the reinstatement of native terminology was advocated in the struggle for the purity of the Russian language and the fight against низкопоклонство перед западом 'servility towards the West'. 'The Russian language is so rich in its vocabulary' – claimed one of the articles in the newspaper *Culture and Life* – 'so flexible and so picturesque that those skilled in it should be able to expound the most complex issues from the worlds of science, engineering, literature and the arts without using foreign words.' (Иванов, 1948). Attempts were made to use тракторный отвал 'tractor mould-board' for бульдозер 'bulldozer' and экскаватор со створчатым ковшом 'excavator with a folding bucket' for грэйфер 'grab', while other technical engineering terms were changed likewise. However, it is notable that although recently borrowed words were replaced, the older foreign words like трактор 'tractor' and экскаватор 'excavator' remained unchanged.

Similar changes affected other areas, especially in cooking and sport. Цукаты 'candied peels' were renamed киевская смесь 'Kievan mix', французская булка 'French stick' became городская булка 'city loaf', the words наполеон 'mille-feuille', эклер 'éclair', лангет (from French *langnette*) 'breaded cutlet', эскалоп (from French *escalope*) 'cutlet', антрекот

'entrecôte', etc. came under attack. In sport, many terms of English origin, particularly those relating to football, were abandoned in favour of Russian native terms:

голкипер 'goalkeeper' – вратарь  
 ко́рнер 'corner' – углово́й уда́р  
 офса́йд 'off-side' – вне игры́  
 пенальти 'penalty' –  
 одиннадцатиметровый уда́р

тайм 'half' – (пе́рвая, второ́я)  
 полови́на игры́  
 фо́рвард 'striker' – напада́ющий  
 хавбе́к 'half-back' – полузащитник  
 хендс 'hands' – игра́ рука́ми.

For a time even the phrase *спортивный репортаж* 'sports reporting' was replaced with the vague but native *рассказ* 'account'. Later, a number of English sports terms returned and were often used alongside the native replacements:

Особенно бурно развивались события во втором *тайме*, когда в течение четырёх минут мяч трижды побывал в сетке *ворот*: два раза его вынимал *голкипер* "Динамо" . . . (*Лен. пр.*, 3.4.65)

Things hotted up in the second half, when the ball hit the back of the net three times in four minutes and the Dynamo keeper picked it out twice.

Some words, such as:

гол (in the meaning *ворота* 'goal')  
 пендель (slang for 'penalty')

хавбе́к 'half-back' and  
 хендс 'hands'

have never re-emerged, the last two possibly because they also stopped being used in English.

Amongst internal developments, some professional words lost their terminological status: *объект* in the collocation *строительный объект* 'building site'; *площадь* 'area, space', mainly in the stump-compound form *жилплощадь* 'living space' became widespread:

Бригадир Зеки Карасанов и монтажник Валентин Анохин могут быть довольны проделанной работой: завершён досрочно ещё один *объект ударной стройки* — Ферганского азотнотукового завода. (*Ог.*, №3, 64)

Foreman Zeki Karasanov and fitter Valentin Anokhin can be pleased with the work they have done: yet another shock building site – the Fergana nitrogen fertilizer plant – has been completed ahead of schedule.

## 1.5 1953–1960s

Stalin's death in 1953 marked the end of an epoch of unprecedented oppression. Soviet society carried on, but henceforth it was to be a different type of

society. As the terror of Stalin's mass murders made way for a more liberal type of Soviet regime, ominous words connected with the purges – such as враг народа 'enemy of the people', вредитель 'saboteur', спецпереселёнец 'permanent exile', трóйка 'three-man commission', чёрный вóрон 'Black Maria', чйстка 'purge' – receded into history.

However, the Iron Curtain was still tightly shut, and any influence by 'capitalist countries' was rebuffed by the propaganda machine. Khrushchëv's 'thaw', however, made it possible to re-establish some overseas contacts. From the middle of the 1950s several agreements were signed with Western countries on trade and economic co-operation, and cultural contacts resumed. In 1957, a major international event – the Festival of Youth – was held in Moscow, and from that time on foreign tourism began to develop.

### 1.5.1 *Foreign borrowings*

Vocabulary continued to reflect changes in society. First, there was more tolerance of the use of foreign words, and discarded loan words were allowed back into the language. Second, from the end of the 1950s new loans began to infiltrate the language, and in the 1960s the rate of borrowing increased dramatically. Not only were a greater number of lexical items coming into Russian, but their semantic and thematic range had changed. If in the previous period the borrowing of technical terminology had prevailed, and even then was rather sporadic, then from the late 1950s borrowing was wide ranging and included words relating to social, political and cultural issues and to everyday life. More Western literature was available in translation. Newspapers and magazines like *За рубежом* 'Abroad', television programmes like *Мир сегодня* 'The World Today' and *Клуб кинопутешествий* 'Travellers' Club', which concentrated on the depiction, albeit biased, of life in foreign countries, assisted the swift assimilation of new loan words. In the media, travel sketches became popular, with carefully selected authors who had been permitted to go abroad giving an ideologically correct description of their experiences in foreign climes.

The majority of the new loan words denoted new concepts and objects. Among them were names of new technical devices, used not only in industry but also at home:

аквалáнг (from English <i>aqualung</i> )	лáзер (English <i>laser</i> )
бóйлер (English <i>boiler</i> )	моторóллер (German <i>Motorroller</i> )
гологрáмма (English <i>hologram</i> )	'scooter'
кондиционёр (English <i>air conditioner</i> )	транзй́стор (English <i>transistor</i> ).

Initially, транзй́стор meant 'amplifier of an electric signal', but, as the production of transistor radios increased, the word-group транзй́сторный приёмник 'transistor radio' was coined, which, by process of contraction,



induced, in its turn, the form транзистор with the metonymous meaning 'portable radio'. The development of new materials gave rise to words such as:

болонья (from the Italian town of Bologna) 'waterproof material'

джерсóвый (from the English adjective *jersey*)

мохép (English *mohair*)

нейлón (English *nylon*);

the increase in tourism gave rise to the words кэ́мпинг ‘campsite’, мото́ль ‘motel’; and the need to name new kinds of clothes and other everyday objects saw the introduction of the words:

джинсы (English *jeans*)

колготки (from Czech *kalhóty*) 'tights'

шо́рты (English *shorts*)

кЛІПСЫ (English *clip-on earrings*)

хула-хúp (English *hula hoop*)

чѣпсы (American English *chips*) 'crisps', etc:

А ведь этот монастырь после реставрации тоже можно бы приспособить под библиотеку, под ресторан, под кемпинг, мечтательно сказал мне Семён. (Зн.-с., №10, 66)

'But after all, it might be possible after refurbishment to adapt this monastery as a library, restaurant, campsite,' Semën said to me dreamily.

Бутылки из-под сидра,

## гитары и транзисторы

## притопы и прихлопы

составили оркестр . . .

(Evtushenko, E. *Братская ГЭС*, 1963–65, in Evtushenko, 1967: 222–3)

Cider bottles,

guitars and transistor radios,

## Stomping and clapping

formed the orchestra . . .

A number of words borrowed in plural form have preserved in Russian the English plural marker *-s* as part of their stem, while the Russian plural ending *-ы* functions as a number indicator. This is a typical feature of nouns used only in the plural form which are borrowed into Russian (cf. earlier бѹтсы ‘boots’, рѣльсы ‘rails’ and the newcomers of the 1990s, such as пѣмперсы ‘pampers’ and слѣксы ‘slacks’; see Section 4.3.4).

A closer look at life abroad in media articles and programmes in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in an increase in the number of exoticisms, not

surprisingly with negative overtones when they related to Western lifestyles. Among these were the Americanisms:

бармен 'barman' (which formed the basis for the feminine derivative барменша 'barmaid')	мюзикл 'musical'
бестселлер 'best-seller'	поп-арт 'pop art'
бикини 'bikini'	рок-н-ролл 'rock'n'roll'
вэстерн 'western'	стриптиз 'striptease'
гэмблинг 'gambling'	супермаркет 'supermarket'
джип 'jeep'	супермэн 'superman'
киднэппинг 'kidnapping'	твист 'the twist' (dance)
	хэппенинг 'happening'
	шейк 'shake' (dance)

The words лóбби 'lobby' and смог 'smog' were often used in descriptions of Britain. Interestingly, although бѣтник 'beatnik' was borrowed as an Americanism, the suffix *-nik* is of Russian origin, and had come into English via the Russian word спѣтник 'sputnik'. The typical negative connotations of some exoticisms may be demonstrated by the following examples:

Только в числе бестселлеров этой весной в Англии числилось тридцать девять новых книг о шпионах и шестнадцать детективных поделок. (*Лит. Рос.*, 17.6.96, cited in Kotelova and Sorokin, 1971, hereafter abbreviated to NSZ-60)

This spring in Britain, best-sellers alone included thirty-nine new books about spies and sixteen second-rate crime novels.

Американцы захвачены новой лихорадкой, коллективным психозом, новым танцем под названием *твист* (примечание редакции: Twist (англ.) 'извиваться, изворачиваться, искривление, вывих'). (*За руб.*, №48, 61)

Americans have been gripped by a new fever, a collective psychosis, a new dance called the twist (editor's note: Twist (Eng.): 'to wind, dodge, bend, dislocation').

Characteristically, a majority of these words were retained in Russian and subsequently lost their exotic colouring, while some also shed their negative connotations. Exotic words of the 1950s and 1960s which did not have negative overtones mainly referred to countries which were considered allies of the Soviet Union, i.e. some Third World countries or those of the Communist bloc:

Там, где единоборствует сухой буш — африканская степь — и вода, стоит Могадишо — столица нового государства Сомали. (*Ог.*, №5, 62)

And in a place where the dry bush – the African steppe – fights one-on-one with water stands Mogadishu, the capital of the new state of Somalia.

A smaller number of loan words referred not to new concepts and objects, but to existing items of reality; for instance:

апарте́йд ‘apartheid’	уик-э́нд ‘week-end’
круи́з ‘cruise’	хо́бби ‘hobby’
модер́н ‘modern style’	шо́у ‘show’
секс ‘sex’	шля́гер ‘hit, a song’ (from German <i>Schlager</i> )
сексапи́льность ‘sex appeal’	эскала́ция ‘escalation’.
стресс ‘stress’	
стюарде́сса ‘stewardess’	

As usual in such circumstances, two words or expressions, the native and the loan, do not constitute a doublet, since they diverge in either register or meaning. For example, with the advent of the word апарте́йд ‘apartheid’ the extant Russian expression ра́совая дискримина́ция ‘racial discrimination’ came to be used in a more general sense, while the new loan referred specifically to the South African regime. Similarly, the new loan word эскала́ция ‘escalation’ was used specifically in military contexts, whereas the existent интенсифика́ция ‘intensification’ and уси́ление ‘reinforcement’ had a more general meaning. Typical collocations were coined:

эскала́ция агресси́и ‘escalation of aggression’  
 эскала́ция во́енных де́йствий ‘escalation of military operations’  
 эскала́ция вой́ны ‘escalation of war’  
 эскала́ция нап́ряжения ‘increase in tension’.

Круи́з ‘cruise’ and уик-э́нд (also spelled уикэ́нд) ‘weekend’ functioned as more compact variants, competing with морско́е путеше́ствие ‘sea trip’ and нерабо́чая часть суббо́ты и воскресе́нье ‘non-working part of Saturday and Sunday’, respectively. As far as уик-э́нд is concerned, a much more idiomatic word in the shape of the plural substantivised adjective – выходны́е – came into use when a five-day working week was introduced in the Soviet Union. Perhaps because of the availability of this compact one-word form, уик-э́нд remained a rare exoticism, unlike круи́з, which has become fully integrated into the language. The word уик-э́нд came back in the post-Soviet period, accepted yet again as a new loan and bearing, like many loan words of the time, connotations of a glamorous lifestyle:

Красавица [Наоми Кэмпбел] и её поклонник — танцор Хоакин Кортес отправились проводить уик-энд на Канарские острова. (7Д, №27, 97)

The beautiful woman [Naomi Campbell] and her admirer Joaquín Cortés, the dancer, have left for a weekend in the Canary Isles.

Шлягер, секс and стресс filled semantic gaps, since no relevant words were used in Russian to name their respective referents: people simply did not talk about these things in direct terms. The loan-word хобби supplemented the semantic series: страсть, увлечение, конёк, while стюардесса was a new synonym to бортпроводница. At present, the word стюардесса enjoys wider use, and бортпроводница has a more technical, professional colouring. Хобби became the most specific word within its group of synonyms in denoting 'favourite leisure activity'.

Amongst other borrowings was a large group of sporting terms:

аутсáйдер 'outsider'	прéссинг (from English <i>pressing</i> )
бадминтóн 'badminton'	'pressure'
биатлóн 'biathlon'	рáлли 'rally'
дрíблинг 'dribbling'	тайм-áут 'time out'
дзю-дó 'judo'	юниóр (from French <i>junior</i> ) 'junior'.
кáртинг 'go-carting'	

The feminine юниóрка has been derived from the last word in the list. Some nouns produced adjectival derivatives: регбíйный and регбíстский from регби 'rugby'; and бадминтóнный 'badminton' from бадминтóн.

The active use of new loans, particularly exotic Americanisms, was a distinctive feature of the poetry of the generation of the шестидеся́тники ('people of the 1960s'). The use of foreign words for them had overtones of Westernised intellectualism and signalled a divergence from the Soviet xenophobic tradition:

... А в глазах тоска такая, как у птиц.

Этот танец называется *стриптиз*.

(Andrei Voznesenskii, *Стриптиз*, in Voznesenskii, 1983: 330)

... And in her eyes such a longing, like a bird's.

This dance is called 'striptease'.

*Рок-н-ролл* откалывает.

*Рок-н-ролл!*

*Рок-н-ролл!*

Боцман роста бешеного  
опрокинул в глотку ром,  
приглашает *бармену*.

(Evgenii Evtushenko, *Атлантик-бар*, 1961, in Evtushenko, 1987: 315)



He's churning out rock-n-roll!

Rock-n-roll!

Rock-n-roll!

A boatswain of enormous size

Gulps down a rum in a oner

and asks the barmaid for a dance.

Conversely, in the mouths of the authorities, the use of new Americanisms could imply a dangerous political indictment. Andrei Voznesenskii, in his essay *Ах, шестидесятые* 'Oh, the Sixties' recalls N.S. Khrushchëv's meeting with the Soviet intelligentsia in 1963. At the meeting, Voznesenskii was asked up onto the platform, only to be mobbed by a crowd of ignorant apparatchiks, with Khrushchëv himself setting the agenda:

Из зала, теперь уже из-за моей спины, доносился скандёрж: "Долой! Позор!" Из первого ряда подскочило брезгливо красивое лицо: "В Кремль — без белой рубашки, без галстука?! Битник!" Позже я узнал, что это был Шелепин. Мало, кто знал тогда слово "битник", но вопили "Позор!". (Voznesenskii, 1987:211)

The shouts of 'Away with you!', 'What a disgrace!' were now being chanted from the hall behind me. A fastidiously handsome individual leapt up from the front row and said: 'You have come to the Kremlin without a white shirt and without a tie?! Beatnik!' Later I found out that it was Shelepin [head of the KGB]. Only a few people knew the word 'beatnik', but they still shouted 'Shame!'.

### 1.5.2 The development of indigenous vocabulary

It has been observed that the rate of borrowing during the Soviet period had two peaks: the first at the end of the 1920s and the beginning of the 1930s, and the second in the 1960s. In the 1960s, however, borrowing from foreign languages constituted only 7.5 per cent of new lexical developments. During that decade, about 3,000–3,500 new words and meanings appeared in the Russian language, and 92.5 per cent of them were based on native resources (Shkliarevskii, 1984:51). There were several leading themes in lexical development, of which the growth of the importance of science, the beginning of the space age and the emergence of television sets in people's homes were among the most notable.

#### 1.5.2.1 Areas of lexical development

The new words could be grouped thematically, as follows.

- 1 Words reflecting new areas of human knowledge:  
косметоло́гия 'beauty therapy'  
космохи́мия 'astro-chemistry'

наукое́дение 'the study of science'  
плазмохи́мия 'plasma chemistry'  
реанима́ция 'resuscitation', 'intensive care (unit)'  
роботиза́ция 'robotisation'.

У нас на глазах ещё не родилась даже, рождается совершенно новая область исследований — наука о науке, *наукоедение*. (Зн.-с., №10, 1967)

Before our eyes a completely new field of research has not yet been, but is being, born. This is the science of science, study of the scientific.

2 Words naming objects of new scientific activity:

биото́ки 'biocurrents'  
видео́сигна́л 'video signal'  
ДНК 'DNA'  
светово́д 'optical fibre cable'.

Сигналы телекамеры спутника поступают в блок — формирователь *видеосигналов*, которые усиливаются там и через антенну передаются на наземные приёмные пункты. (Пр., 22.5.66)

Satellite camera signals go into a power unit which forms video signals, which are then amplified and broadcast through an antenna to terrestrial reception points.

3 Words describing newly discovered qualities in various objects:

безразме́рные (носки́) 'single-size (socks)'  
водоотта́лкивающая (ткань) 'water-resistant (fabric)'  
всепого́дный 'all-weather'  
нетка́ный (материа́л) 'unwoven material'  
остросюже́тный 'gripping (of a play, etc.)'  
самообуча́ющийся 'self-instructional (of a device; system)'  
широкофо́рматный 'panoramic (of a film)'.

Основным видом оружия стратегических бомбардировщиков и *всепогодных* истребителей-перехватчиков стали ракеты. (Ог., № 25, 1965)

Missiles have become the main weapons of strategic bombers and all-weather interceptor fighters.

4 Words referring to new machines and mechanisms:

аэро́бус 'airbus'  
бензопи́ла 'chain saw'  
боеголо́вка 'warhead'  
видеомагнитофо́н 'videotape recorder'  
видеотелефо́н 'video phone'



микроавтобус 'minibus'  
 молоковоз 'milk tanker'  
 монеторазмѣнник 'change machine (for coins)'  
 фоторужьѣ 'long-range lens'.

Московские метростроевцы . . . облицовывают мрамором стены, устанавливают *монеторазменники* и турникеты. (*Строит. раб.*, 7.10.67)

Moscow underground builders . . . face the walls with marble and install coin-change machines and turnstiles.

5 Words naming new professions:

кардиохиру́рг 'heart surgeon'  
 космона́вт 'cosmonaut'  
 космона́втика 'space technology and exploration'  
 нефтедобы́тчик 'oil-rig worker'  
 радио́журналист 'radio journalist'  
 раке́тчик 'missile expert'  
 реанима́тор 'resuscitator'  
 самолётостро́итель 'aircraft builder'  
 сексопато́лог 'sexopathologist'  
 я́дерщик 'nuclear physicist'.

Я сижу в домике *нефтеразведчиков* и слушаю их рассказ о томской нефти. (*Сов. Рос.*, 17.3.66)

I sit in the oil geologists' hut and listen to their account of Tomsk oil.

6 Words relating to aspects of everyday life:

the substantivised adjective бли́нная 'pancake café'  
 nouns дива́н-кровать 'sofa bed'  
 кофевáрка 'percolator'  
 кофемо́лка 'coffee grinder'  
 магнито́ла (магнитофо́н и радиоприѣмник) 'combined radio and reel-to-reel tape recorder'  
 мини-ю́бка 'miniskirt'  
 мотолюби́тель 'amateur motorcyclist'  
 соковыжимáлка 'juice extractor'  
 тройча́тка 'headache tablets consisting of three components'  
 хек 'whiting'.

Что касается шашлычных, блинных, пирожковых, то о них и говорить не приходится — их нет. (*Сов. торг.*, 6.4.64)

As far as kebab shops, pancake houses and cake shops are concerned, then there is no need to talk about them, as there aren't any.

7 Perhaps the most striking group of new words of the period reflected aspects of social and economic life:

- general words, such as:  
 внутриотраслевой 'intra-branch'  
 гидрометеослужба 'weather service'  
 мать-одиночка 'single mother'  
 машиновладелец 'car owner'  
 медвытрезвитель 'sobering-up station'  
 недиссертáбельный 'unsuitable for a dissertation'  
 очередник 'person on a waiting list'  
 универсиáда 'university students' sports competition'  
 фарцóвка/фарцóвщик 'illegal trade/trader in foreign goods  
 obtained from foreign visitors'
- words which have become widespread since the height of the 'virgin soil campaign' of 1954–56: целина́ 'virgin lands', цели́нник 'worker in the virgin lands'
- words reflecting a new outreach in international relations:  
 внешнеэкономический 'foreign trade' (adjective)  
 некапиталистический 'non-capitalist'  
 неприсоединившиеся страны́ 'non-aligned countries'  
 нераспространение (ядерного ору́жия) 'non-proliferation' (of nuclear weapons).

Нарушителей дисциплины надо исключать из списков *очередников* на получение квартир. (*Пр.*, 5.7.65)

Those who break the rules must be struck off the housing list.

### 1.5.2.2 *Language and society*

A large group of the lexical innovations of the period were ideologically charged. Words with a positive ideological colouring were:

боев́итость 'fighting spirit'

боев́итый 'possessing a fighting spirit'

звезд́ины (a new Soviet ritual which was supposed to replace the ceremony of christening)

комсомо́льско-молоде́жный 'young Komsomol' (adjective)

краснога́лстучный 'red tie' (adjective)

ленини́ана '*Leniniana*' (art, literature and films about or dedicated to Lenin)

ленино́вед 'student of Lenin studies'

мая́к (произво́дства) 'leading light (in production)'

первостро́итель 'pioneer builder'.

А здесь, знакомясь с новыми товарищами, слушая их речи на съезде, я не раз убеждался в том, какую огромную роль в жизни страны играют наши “маяки”. (Ог., №44, 61)

And here, in getting to know new comrades, in listening to their speeches at the congress, I became convinced more than once of the huge role played in the life of our country by our leading lights.

Поделилась однажды сомнениями со своей старой учительницей. — Ты же на Всесоюзной ударной комсомольско-молодёжной стройке работаешь! — горячо сказала она. (Юн., №8, 79)

I once shared doubts with my old school teacher. ‘But you work at the All-Union Komsomol Shock-Work Site’, she said heatedly.

Among emerging words with ideological components were nouns with negative connotations: антикоммунист ‘anticommunist’, антисовётчик ‘anti-Soviet’, and the related adjectives антикоммунистический ‘anti-communist’, антисовётский ‘anti-Soviet’:

Видите ли, покупателю предлагают кассету из двух фильмов, например: стриптиз плюс *антисоветский* ролик. (Ог., №24, 63)

You see, [in West Germany] they offer the customer a tape with two films. For example, a stripper movie plus an anti-Soviet trailer.

The first manned space flights were significant events of the time, heralding the launching of the space age and the technological advance of the Soviet Union. These produced an array of ‘space’ words. Thus, спутник ‘sputnik’, which appeared in the late 1950s as a secondary meaning of a word which meant ‘travelling companion’, was the first of a number of words on the same theme. It was followed by:

космический корабль ‘spaceship’	окололунное пространство ‘lunar
космоцентр ‘space centre’	space’
лунник ‘lunik’	орбита ‘orbit’
	орбитальный ‘orbital’.

The existing words аэродром ‘aerodrome’ and аэропорт ‘airport’ served as word-building models for the formation of космодром and космопорт ‘space-vehicle launching pad’, and землепроходец ‘explorer’ served as a model for космопроходец ‘space explorer’. Приземлиться ‘to land’ and приземление ‘landing’ were models for the neologisms прилуниться ‘to land on the moon’, прилунение ‘lunar landing’. After the first space docking took place, the word стыковка ‘docking’ gained currency and formed the basis for extremely active derivation, both in semantic and in word-formatory terms:

стыкóвочный 'docking' (adjective)  
состыковáться 'to dock'

пристыкóвка 'docking'  
расстыкóвка 'undocking':

Впервые в истории космонавтики без участия человека была осуществлена *стыковка* автоматических искусственных спутников Земли "Космос-186" и "Космос-188" на орбите. (*Пр.*, 1.11.67)

For the first time in unmanned space flight two automatic artificial Earth satellites, Kosmos-186 and Kosmos-188, have docked in orbit.

Аппараты должны подойти друг к другу в строго определённом положении, а именно *стыковочными* элементами. (*Сов. Рос.*, 2.11.67)

Craft should approach one another in a strictly defined position, that is to say, with docking elements ready to engage.

The sphere of usage of стыкóвка widened as it developed figurative meanings, rubbing off on them the glamour of the popular 'space' theme:

В воскресенье произведут *стыковку* большого коллектора подземных коммуникаций. (*Веч. М.*, 23.10.71)

On Sunday the merging of a large commutator of underground communication lines will be carried out.

The 1960s marked the age of mass television in the Soviet Union. The new medium prompted the wide circulation of words connected with the television theme, a large group of them beginning with the stump теле- 'tele-'. Among these words were lexical items naming:

- television equipment and technical objects: телеателье 'TV repair shop', телебáшня and телев́ышка 'television tower', телекáмера 'television camera';
- people working in television: тележурналист 'TV journalist', телекомментáтор 'TV commentator', телерепортёр 'TV reporter';
- types of TV programme: тележурна́л 'newsreel', телеинтерв́ью 'television interview', телемо́ст<sup>5</sup> 'television link-up', телено́вости 'television news', телерепортáж 'TV report'.

Строители Останкинской *телебашни* приступили к монтажу антенны. (*Нед.*, №50, 66)

Builders of the Ostankino television tower have started to assemble the antenna.

### 1.5.2.3 Semantic derivation

It was not only new words that were being created in the 1960s. Semantic derivation was active, too: eight per cent of all lexical innovations of the



1960s comprised new word meanings (Kotelova, 1978:19). Among figurative derivatives are:

гвѳздик 'nail', also 'stiletto heel'

дикáрь 'savage', also 'unofficial holiday-maker'

крѳглый стол 'round table', also 'forum for discussion'

морж 'walrus', also 'winter-time open-air swimmer'

флáгман 'flag ship', also 'leader (in machine building, light industry, youth press, etc.)'.

Не так давно стал *моржом* пенсионер Фѳдор Иванович Терехов. (*Ог.*, №3, 67)

Not that long ago pensioner Fѳdor Ivanovich Terekhov became a winter swimmer.

*Флагманами* полей называют сельские механизаторы тракторы "К-700". (*Пр.*, 21.1.66)

Agricultural machine operators call the K-700 tractors the flagships of the fields.

The media of the 1960s, in their attempt to create new means of expression, coined a group of metaphorical euphemisms which became clichés, for example:

люди в бѳлых халáтах 'people in white coats' (doctors)

бѳлое зѳлото 'white gold' (cotton)

чѳрное зѳлото 'black gold' (oil)

голубѳй экрáн 'blue screen' (television set)

голубѳе тѳпливо 'blue fuel' (gas)

получíть пропíску 'to get a residence permit' (to be established)

крылáтый метáлл 'winged metal' (aluminium):

Предполагается, что к 1970 году *голубые экраны* появятся в каждой второй семье. (*Нед.*, №3, 67)

It is intended that by 1970 every other family will have a television set.

Такая осень нужна особенно у нас, на юге, в стране *белого золота*, где каждый погожий день — это двадцать тысяч нагруженных хлопком грузовиков марки "ЗИЛ" . . . (*Ог.*, №2, 61)

Such an autumn is particularly necessary here, in the South, in the land of cotton, where every fine day means twenty thousand ZIL lorries loaded with cotton.

Metonymous transfers of meaning included use of the name of a science to denote one of its functions; for example:



- based on география ‘geography’:  
география соревнований ‘the venues of the competition’  
география новых предприятий ‘the whereabouts of new enterprises’;
- naming objects by the material they are made of: золото ‘gold’, серебро ‘silver’, бронза ‘bronze’, of gold, silver and bronze medals in sport;
- naming a branch of industry after the science the industry is based on: бытовая химия ‘household chemical goods’.

За послевоенные годы “география” высокомасличных сортов подсолнечника значительно расширилась. (*Пр.*, 14.1.66)

The area of cultivation of high oil-yielding varieties of sunflower significantly expanded during the post-war years.

One of the metonymous transfers of meaning characteristic of the 1960s was the use of previously abstract nouns to denote objects, for example, the nouns ёмкость ‘capacity’, also ‘container’ and мощность ‘power’, also ‘installation’. As the meanings were objectivised, the words adopted the full paradigm of number, as a consequence of which they can now be used in the plural (see also Section 4.3.1):

Необходимо ускорить ввод в действие новых мощностей по переработке химических волокон (from the press of the 1960s, in Panov, 1968, Vol. 1: 108).

It is essential to accelerate the introduction of new installations for the processing of chemical fibres.

#### 1.5.2.4 Word formation

In the 1950s and 1960s new acronyms developed:

ПТУ, also профтехучилище (профессионально-техническое училище) ‘technical college’

ЛЭП (линия электропередач) ‘power line’

НОТ (научная организация труда) ‘scientific work management’

ЭВМ (электронно-вычислительная машина) ‘computer’

КВН (also кавээн), for Клуб Весёлых и Находчивых ‘The Club of the Cheerful and the Quick-Witted’,

the relatively liberal 1960s television game. The show was so popular that the name КВН became generic for similar non-television games:

— Александр Борисович, почему вы Колтаковой и другим поручили проводить в пионерских классах кавээны, а мне нет?  
... (*Нед.*, №6, 66)

‘Aleksandr Borisovich, why did you instruct Koltakova and others, and not me, to hold KVN sessions in Pioneer classes?’

The origin of the word лавсан (the synthetic fibre *lavsan*) is interesting. It derived from the initial letters of the name of the laboratory where the material was created: Лаборатория высокомолекулярных соединений Академии наук СССР ‘Laboratory of Complex Polymerised Compounds of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR’. This word generated a whole series of lexemes naming synthetic materials and containing the suffix ан-: камелан ‘*camelan*’, летилан ‘*lethilane*’, etc. As a result, the suffix acquired the meaning ‘synthetic material produced in the Soviet Union’. This contrasts with the suffix -он, which indicates ‘an international name for a synthetic material’:

дедерон ‘ <i>dederon</i> ’ (from the GDR)	нейлон (English <i>nylon</i> ); see also
крепон (French <i>crépon</i> )	Section 3.5.7:

Честно признаться, лавсан доставил нам немало хлопот: если костюмы из обычных тканей мы изготавливали за семь-девять часов, то на пошив лавсановых потребовалось все шестнадцать. (КП, 26.1.67)

To be honest, *lavsan* caused us no end of trouble: while we used to produce suits made out of conventional fabrics in seven to nine hours, then all of sixteen hours were needed to sew those made of *lavsan* fibres.

From the 1950s, compounding produced words mainly in the spheres of science and technology. Lexical items were formed on the basis of truncated stems (see Section 3.1.1), predominantly of foreign origin, either in initial position: авто-, авиа-, био-, гено-, гидро-, интер-, космо-, кино-, макро-, микро-, мини-, поли-, радио-, ракето-, ультра-, фоно-; or in final position: -визор, -воз, -дром, -провод:

автоклуб ‘autoclub’	ракетовоз ‘missile carrier’
биомасса ‘biomass’	космодром ‘space-vehicle launching
гидротранспорт ‘water transport’	pad’
микроавтобус ‘minibus’	кормопровод ‘animal food distribu-
радиопират ‘pirate radio operator’	tion system’:
стереовизор ‘stereovision’	

Кинолениниана пополнилась ещё одним фильмом, первыми зрителями которого были 13 апреля московские журналисты. Автор сценария и режиссёр картины ‘О самом человечном’ Сергей Юткевич. (Пр., 14.4.67)

The library of films about Lenin has been supplemented by another, first viewed by Moscow journalists on 13 April. The script writer and director of the film *Of the Most Humane Person* is Sergei Iutkevich.

Other compounds, based on indigenous components, include

машбюро (машинопи́сное бюро́) 'typing pool'

морепроду́кт 'sea food'

общепи́т (фо́рма о́бщественного пита́ния) 'public catering'

турпохо́д (тури́стский похо́д) 'hike'

членко́р (also членко́рр, член-ко́рр — член-корреспонде́нт како́й-л. акаде́мии) 'academician':

Тема *общепита* (слово-то какое невкусное!) становится чуть ли не вечной темой . . . Когда же мы дождёмся заметных перемен в общественном питании? (*Нед.*, № 34, 1966)

The subject of public catering (what an unpalatable word!) is well nigh becoming an endless one . . . Oh, how long will we have to wait for appreciable changes in public catering?

Another active word-formatory model involved the derivation of truncated nouns from adjective + noun sequences, following the removal of the adjectival suffix and the core noun (see also Section 3.1.7):

микропо́ра (from микропо́ристая рези́на — подме́тки из микропо́ристой рези́ны) 'crêpe soles'

факультати́в (from факультати́вное за́нятие) 'optional class':

Как лучше распределить часы обязательной программы и *факультатива* — на этот вопрос не ответить без серьёзных методических изысканий. (*Пр.*, 26.10.66)

How can one best allocate the hours for the compulsory and optional classes? This question cannot be answered without serious methodological research.

Also popular were hyphenated noun-coordinates:

выставка-прода́жа 'exhibition and sale'

ка́бель-кран 'umbilical crane'

матч-турни́р 'tournament match'

ма́ть-оди́ночка 'single mother'

телефо́н-автома́т 'pay phone':

В фойе Дворца культуры была организована *выставка-продажа* книг детских писателей. (*Лит. Рос.*, №2, 67)

An exhibition and sale of books by children's authors was organised in the foyer of the Palace of Culture.

A number of compound adjectives were also formed at this time, with or without hyphenation:

водноспортивный 'water sport'  
 горно-металлургический 'mining and metallurgical'  
 кормозаготовительный 'animal food preparation and storage'  
 крупномасштабный 'large-scale'  
 нефтегазодобывающий 'oil and gas producing'  
 партийно-государственный 'party-state'  
 ракетно-космический 'space-missile'  
 ракетно-ядерный 'nuclear missile':

Запуск космической станции "Протон-2" является большим научно-техническим достижением. Созданием уникального научного и *ракетно-космического* комплекса заложены основы для . . . исследования огромного круга физических явлений. (Пр., 16.11.65)

The launch of the *Proton-2* space station is a great scientific and technical achievement. The foundations for . . . research into a huge range of physical phenomena have been laid by the creation of this unique scientific and space-missile complex.

#### 1.5.2.5 Stylistic and phraseological innovations

Soviet society of the 1960s experienced some relief from the perverse morals of Stalinism, and certain humane concepts corrupted by the ideology of previous years were revived in their original sense. Thus, гуманизм 'humanism', доброта 'kindness' and жалость 'compassion', which in earlier political contexts had had negative overtones, as words which described undesirable emotions, now shed their negative connotations. A character in V. Tendriakov's story *За бегущим днём*, a local Party functionary, discovers kindness within himself:

"Я почувствовал, что я честен по своей натуре, что я *добр* . . . Да, и *добр*! . . . *Доброта* . . . Мы как-то забыли это слово в своём первоначальном значении. Оно нам кажется сентиментальным, ограниченным. *Добрый, добренький* — в наших устах стало почти ругательством." (Tendriakov, 1987: 355).

'I began to feel that I was honest by nature, that I was good. Yes – good as well! Goodness . . . we have somehow forgotten the original meaning of this word. To us it seems sentimental and narrowly focused. Good, kind – they have almost become swear-words in our language.'

This tendency should not, however, be exaggerated: всепрощёнчество, a neologism attested in the 1960s and relating to the 'moral' sphere, is recorded in dictionaries as having a pejorative overtone:



Такая доброта несёт в себе *бациллы всепрощенчества*, самоуспокоенности. (КП, 1.12.65)

Such kindness brings with it the bacilli of universal forgiveness and complacency.

Even more ironically, in the same decade the adjective *добрый* regained social currency as a component of the word-group *бюро добрых услуг* (literally 'bureau of good services'), a euphemistic Soviet 'varnishing' of the boorish service sector.

The 1950s and 1960s were characterised by an increased relaxation of stylistic norms. Demotic words were accepted into the media and other normative discourses on a broader basis:

вроде 'sort of'	огрэх 'fault'
голосовать 'to hitch'	перекур 'break for a smoke'
задумка 'plan, idea'	подчас 'at times'
заполучить 'to get hold of'	пособить 'to give a hand'
заправила 'boss'	простыть 'to catch a chill'
заприметить 'to spot'	разбазаривать 'to squander'
махинатор 'schemer'	справить (свадьбу) 'to celebrate' (a wedding).
махинаторство 'scheming'	
нынче 'today'	

Among new words from the informal register were:

грипповать/загрипповать 'to have flu / to catch flu'
забегаловка 'snack bar'
лопух 'simpleton'
лягушатник 'paddling pool'
ляп 'blunder'
отфутболить 'to pass the buck'
очкарик 'four-eyes'
показуха 'sham, façade'
пылесосить 'to Hoover'
стиляга (a word created by the writer D. Beliaev; see: Borovoi, 1963: 251)
'teddy-boy'
стопарь 'vodka glass'
хохмить 'to crack jokes':

Дозорные Турбостроителя метко назвали выставку новаторского инструмента в 21-м цехе *показухой*. Этот инструмент, давно желанный и давно обещанный, появился только . . . на витрине. (Веч. Л., 5.5.64)

The watchdogs of the turbine plant accurately called the exhibition of an innovative tool in workshop 21 a sham. This tool, desired and promised for some time, only appeared . . . in the window.



Notably, although the total number of verbs in these new lexical developments is low, among stylistically marked new words they account for more than a third of the whole (Boiarkina, 1983: 96):

вписаться 'to fit in'

выклáдываться 'to do something to the best of one's ability'

загорать 'to stay idle'

заорганизовáть 'to make an event too formal and bureaucratic'

вкáлывать 'to slog away, work one's socks off', etc.:

Молодёжь проявила немало энергии, чтобы праздник был увлекательным. Но, может быть, его где-то слишком заорганизовали, где-то втиснули в рамки "утверждённой программы". (*Пр.*, 22.3.67)

The young people invested a lot of energy into making the festival interesting. However, perhaps it was over-organised in some places, and in some respects squeezed into a 'fixed programme'.

There was a rise in the number of informal feminine clipped compounds with the suffix -к- (see Section 3.5.9):

комиссиóнка (комиссиóнный магазín) 'second-hand shop'

неотлóжка (неотлóжная пóмощь) 'ambulance service, ambulance'

нержавéйка (нержавéющая сталь) 'stainless steel'

самовóлка (самовóльная отлúчка) 'AWOL';

and of their masculine counterparts with the suffixes -ик, -ник:

грудн́ик 'breast-fed baby'

женáтик (женáтый мужч́ина) 'married man'

операт́ивник (операт́ивный рабóтник) 'police operative'

спáльник (спáльный мешóк) 'sleeping bag':

Через два часа Димка . . . выбежал . . . за лекарством, которое выписала неотложка, и вызвал Тасю (В. Кетлинская, *Плато выше туч*, 1964, cited in NSZ-60).

Two hours later Dimka . . . had run out . . . for the medicine which the ambulance crew had sent for, and called out Tasia.

Sixty new idioms attested in the 1960s accounted for just over 1 per cent of all the innovations of that decade (Kotelova, 1978: 19). This new phraseology included more formal phrases:

на общéственных начáлах 'voluntarily'

принять на вооружéние 'to take on board' (figurative)

as well as informal demotic expressions:

держáть хвост моркóвкой 'to keep one's chin up'  
тяну́ть резíну 'to dither'  
на всю желéзку 'as much as one can':

В кабинетах руководители торговли тоже *тянули резину*.  
Создавались специальные комиссии, собирались совещания. (*Изд.*,  
12.12.65)

The trade managers also dithered around in their offices. Special commissions were created and special meetings arranged.

## 1.6 1970–1985

After Nikita Khrushchëv was ousted in October 1964, for nearly twenty years the country was ruled by Leonid Brezhnev, until his death in November 1982. The upheavals of the earlier Soviet period – with its wars and purges, the dynamic growth of the urban population and of social mobility – were receding into the past, as the country entered a period of conservative stability. A society emerged which functioned virtually as an enormous organisation with one centre – the Central Committee of the Communist Party, whose leader was declared from 1977 to be also the head of state – and a large number of party-state members of the *nomenklatura* who occupied all principal appointments all the way down the rigid and all-pervasive hierarchy (Hosking, 1992: 375).

Society muddled through the next two decades, governed by the same leaders, seemingly immortal, with a steady year-on-year economic decline, an insipid ideological control over every strand of life, and little hope that anything could ever be changed. Later on, this period would be called 'stagnation' (застóй).

During this period, nonetheless, contacts with the outside world broadened: the Soviet Union claimed a super-power role, which was impossible to fulfil without at least minimal integration into the international community. Another reason for forging contacts, albeit reluctantly, with the West were Soviet under-achievements in the areas of engineering and technology. These encouraged the authorities to seek a solution in importing more technology and contracting Western specialists.

As happens in relatively stable historical periods, lexical development in the 1970s and 1980s, although inevitably correlating in some ways with the life of society, displayed considerable independence of social factors. The style of the media, however, reflected the general stylistic mode of society, and was characterised by stability, unanimity and anonymity. Newspapers, television and radio information programmes were indistinguishable from each other, producing one endless discourse after another, filled with bland clichés.

### 1.6.1 Lexical derivation

#### 1.6.1.1 Affixes

See also Sections 3.3–3.5.

Although the borrowing process continued through the 1970s and 1980s, the language system developed its own inner potential for the creation of new words and meanings. Lexical items which had joined the language in earlier decades were now accepted by the system, and this was reflected in lexical and semantic derivation. Thus, the compound *детсад* 'kindergarten' produced the derivatives:

*детсад-комбинат* 'day nursery'  
*детсадовец* 'child attending kindergarten'  
*детсадовский* 'kindergarten' (adjective):

Воспитывать такую любовь [к природе] нужно с *детсадовского* возраста. (*КП*, 1971, cited in *KOT*)

Such a love [for nature] needs to be nurtured from kindergarten age.

*добровольная народная дружина*<sup>6</sup> 'voluntary people's militia patrol', established since 1958, created the words:

*дружинник* 'member of a voluntary people's militia patrol' and  
*дружинница* 'female member of a voluntary people's militia patrol'.

Lexical innovations produced within the language's own system were often formed from extant stems by the addition of affixes. Among these, most productive were the native prefixes (see also Section 3.3): *без-/бес-*, *вне-*, *за-*, *до-*, *раз-/рас-*, *сверх-*:

<i>бездуховность</i> 'lack of spirituality'	<i>запустить</i> 'to launch'
<i>внеочередник</i> 'one who has priority in a queue'	<i>докосмический</i> 'pre-space'
<i>закомплесованный</i> 'paranoid'	<i>сверхэффективный</i> 'super effective':

Законом нашей жизни является активизация духовных, нравственных потребностей человеческой личности, утверждающей себя в борьбе с *бездуховностью* потребительской идеологии. (*ЛГ*, №51, 78)

The rule of our lives is the activation of the spiritual and moral needs of the human personality as it asserts itself in the struggle with the lack of spirituality of consumer ideology.

In verb formation, prefixes were active formative tools:

забюллетénить 'to go on a sick list'	проигнорíровать 'to ignore'
запарковáть 'to park'	распечáтать 'to print out'.

A large number of neologisms were formed with the international prefixes анти- 'anti-', псевдо- 'pseudo-', супер- 'super-', ультра- 'ultra-':

антиракéтный 'anti-missile'	суперзвездá 'superstar'
псевдомиролюбíвый 'pseudo-peaceful'	ультралевáк 'extreme left-winger':

*Псевдомиролюбивая риторика официального Токио — всего лишь камуфляж, призванный замаскировать наращивание военных мускулов. (Пр., 18.9.84)*

The pseudo-pacifist rhetoric of the official Tokyo line is only a disguise designed to mask the build-up of military muscle.

Suffixes also contributed to word production (see also Section 3.5). The suffix -ость was among the more active world-building elements, facilitating the formation of nouns from adjectives:

влагообеспéченность 'provision of moisture'	глубíнность 'depth'
вторíчность 'secondary significance'	дополнítельность 'supplementation'
	заблаговрéменность 'timeliness':

Прогнозы урожайности даются с разной *заблаговременностью*: и за три месяца, и за два и за один. (Зн.-с. 1974, cited in KOT)

Forecasts of harvest yields are given with varying degrees of timeliness: three months, two months and one month in advance.

The suffix -к- continued to contribute to the formation of clipped compounds (see also Section 3.5.9):

аскорбíнка (аскорбíновая кислотá) 'ascorbic acid'  
загрáнка (загранíчное пла́вание) 'voyage overseas'  
пухóвка (пухóвая кúртка) 'down jacket'.

Other suffixes were:

-ист (программíст 'programmer')  
-ищ- (вкуснотíща 'yummy treat')  
-яшк- (стекля́шка 'concrete and glass building'), etc.



## 1.6.1.2 Abbreviations

The tendency of the language towards economy remained strong, making abbreviations a prominent method of word formation. It has been estimated that 50 per cent of the neologisms of the 1970s comprised different types of compounds (Shkliarevskii, 1984: 57). One type included forms with a link vowel, either -o- or -e-, between the members of the compound:

англоязы́чный 'anglophone'  
 взрывоопа́сный 'explosive'  
 мало́метра́жка (квартíра ма́лого метража́) 'small apartment'  
 нефтедо́лларовый 'petrodollar' (adjective)  
 нефтестро́итель 'oil worker'  
 первопеча́тающийс́я 'novice author'  
 пти́це́ме́сто 'unit of poultry'.

Another group of compounds consisted of stump compounds:

бе́руши 'ear plugs', abbreviated from бере́гите у́ши  
 газво́да (гази́рованная во́да) 'carbonated water'  
 химзащíта (химíческая защíта полей́) 'chemical pest control'  
 хозма́г (хозяй́ственный магази́н) 'household goods shop'  
 универса́м (универса́льный магази́н самообслу́живания) 'supermarket',  
 etc.

The following stump compounds were added to the lexicon:

биопо́ле 'biofield'	всеплане́тный 'global'
биорíтм 'biorhythm'	гидропа́рк 'hydro leisure park'
видеокассе́та 'video-cassette'	гидростро́йка 'hydro construction site'
видеоте́хника 'video equipment'	микрока́лькулято́р 'pocket calculator':
вседозво́ленность 'permissiveness'	
всеобóуч (всеоб́щее обóуче́ние) 'universal education'	

Вместе с другими нашими старшеклассниками занимаюсь на курсах механизаторского *всеобуча* — учусь водить трактор. (КП, 1970, КОТ)

Together with our other senior students I am studying on a general machine operating course: I am learning to drive a tractor.

Among active final stumps were -град, -тека:

автогра́д 'town with a car factory'  
 ато́мгра́д 'town with a nuclear physics research institute or a nuclear power station'



видеоте́ка 'video library'

вино́тека 'wine vault'

диско́тека 'discothèque'.

Another type of popular compound was formed by the fusion of two words, the first component being an adverb:

бы́строзаморо́женный 'fast frozen'

далекоиду́щий 'ambitious, far-reaching'

слабоми́нерализо́ванный 'with a low mineral content'.

In the 1970s and 1980s, more hyphenated compounds continued to be produced, exploiting a model popular in the 1960s. Among these are the adjectives

дворцо́во-па́рковый 'park and palace'

ли́терату́рно-а́ртисти́ческий 'literary and artistic'

ма́ссово-оздо́рови́тельный 'mass fitness'

ма́ссово-разъясни́тельный 'mass educational'

нау́чно-те́хнический 'scientific and technical'

поли́тико-право́вой 'politico-legal'.

Hyphenated compound nouns include:

го́род-побрати́м 'twin city'

го́род-спу́тник 'satellite town'

кафе́-моро́женое 'ice-cream café'

ле́кция-пока́з 'demonstration  
lecture'

магази́н-клуб 'shop with integrated  
social activities'

парк-вы́ставка 'park exhibition'

фа́брика-автомáт 'automated  
factory'.

The rate of creation of new acronyms receded by comparison with previous decades. There were, however, new developments due to the tendency of the language towards economy:

БАМ (Байка́ло-Аму́рская ма́гистра́ль) 'Baikal-Amur Railway'

ВИА (вока́льно-инструме́нтальный а́нсамбль) 'vocal and instrumental ensemble'

ДЮСШ (де́тско-юно́шеская спо́ртивная шко́ла) 'young people's sports school'

НЛО (неопозна́нный лета́ющий объеќт) 'UFO'

ФОП (факульте́т обще́ственных профе́ссий) 'a university-based supplementary vocational skills training programme'

and the combined acronym КАМАЗ (Ка́мский Автомо́бильный заво́д) 'Kama Automobile Plant and the make of lorry produced there'.

Derivatives were generated from these new acronyms and those established earlier:

ба́мовский ‘ <i>БАМ</i> ’ (adjective)	кама́зовский ‘ <i>КАМАЗ</i> ’ (adjective)
ба́мовец ‘ <i>БАМ</i> worker’	уа́зик ‘ <i>UAZ</i> car’
гэдэ́эровский and геде́эровский ‘GDR’ (adjective)	цэрэ́ушный (adjective from ЦРУ ‘CIA’):
кама́зовец ‘ <i>КАМАЗ</i> worker’	

- А что вы считаете своими личными вехами в *бамовской* жизни?  
 — В июле 1974 года женился . . . У нас уже двое “*бамовчат*” — Оля и Наташа. (*Нед.*, №4, 78)  
 ‘So, what do you consider to be personal milestones in your life on the *БАМ*?’  
 ‘I got married in 1974 . . . We already have two *БАМ* children – Olia and Natasha.’

### 1.6.2 Semantic neologisms

Semantic derivation accounted for about 10 per cent of all lexical innovations (Nikitchenko, 1983: 118). In the period under discussion, meanings of the following words extended:

- аре́на (спорти́вная, ледо́вая) ‘(sporting, ice) arena’  
 барье́р (звуко́вой, языко́вой) ‘(sound, language) barrier’  
 волево́й (ме́тод хозяйствовани́я) ‘tough (management style)’  
 выбива́ть ‘to knock out’, also ‘to get something through persistence’  
 глубинный (проце́сс, смы́сл) ‘profound (process, sense)’  
 диплома́т ‘diplomat’, also ‘brief-case’  
 гига́нт ‘giant’ (пласти́нка-гига́нт ‘LP’)  
 жа́воронок ‘lark’, also ‘person who gets up and goes to bed early’  
 лапша́ ‘noodles’, also ‘ribbed jumper’  
 пробуксо́вывать ‘to skid’, also ‘to mark time’  
 распахо́нка ‘baby’s loose jacket’, also ‘three-room flat with the entrance to two rooms from the middle one’  
 сова́ ‘owl’, also ‘person who is more active at night than in the morning, i.e. a night owl’:

По его [президента Узбекистана Каримова] мнению, Белоруссии этот союз нужен для того, чтобы *выбивать* у российского руководства деньги и всевозможные кредиты. (*ЛГ*, 25.6.97)  
 In his [President Karimov of Uzbekistan’s] opinion, Belorussia needs this union to screw some money and all the credit possible out of the Russian leadership.

Group semantic transformations, whereby a shift in meaning of one member of a thematic group leads to similar changes in other members, is also characteristic of this period. An example of this is the group of secondary meanings of medico-biological terms:

аллергия ‘allergy’

вирус (мещанства, равнодушия) ‘virus (of philistinism, indifference)’

ген (бродяжничества) ‘(vagrancy) gene’:

Распространение этой своеобразной *аллергии* на труд среди молодёжи капиталистических стран определяется тем, что в условиях массовой безработицы молодёжь вынуждена идти на любую работу. (ЛГ, 80, cited in KOT)

The spread of this unique allergy to work among the young people of capitalist countries is determined by the fact that young people are forced to take any job they can in conditions of mass unemployment.

### 1.6.3 *Loan words*

Foreign language borrowings of the period tended to be primarily from Anglo-American sources, a tendency which was universal rather than typical of Russian only. The loan words attested in this period are:

акселерация (from English *acceleration*), borrowed in the meaning ‘accelerated growth’

биенна́ле (from Italian *biennale*) ‘biennial’

гриль-ба́р ‘grill bar’

диск-жоке́й ‘disk jockey’

дискоте́ка (from French *discothèque*) ‘disco’

диспле́й ‘display’

икеба́на (from Japanese *ikebana*)

истэ́блишмент ‘establishment’

консе́нсус ‘consensus’

пи́цца (Italian *pizza*)

сериа́л ‘serial’

сингл ‘single’ (record)

хит-пара́д ‘hit-parade’

ху́нта (Spanish *junta*) and others:

Список альбомов, возглавляемый сборником *синглов* Аллы Пугачёвой, содержит, кроме него, ещё два сборника. (Смена, №28, 80)

The list of albums headed by Alla Pugachëva’s singles collection contains, in addition, two more collections.

More words of English origin were added to sporting terminology:

аэро́бика ‘aerobics’	спарринг-партнё́р ‘sparring partner’
виндсёрфинг ‘wind surfing’	
виндсёрфер ‘wind surfer’	фальста́рт ‘false start’.
скейтбо́рд, initially spelt скейтбо́ард, ‘skateboard’	

On the sub-word (the meaning) level, calques included:

банк ‘bank’ (ба́нк да́нных, кро́ви ‘data, blood bank’, ге́нный банк ‘gene bank’)  
гру́ппа ‘group’ (рок-гру́ппа ‘rock-group’).

The overwhelming influence of Americanisms caused resentment among some linguists and was criticised officially in the press on more than one occasion. The phenomenon was often viewed as a continuation of the ideological dispute between the Soviet Union and the USA. The linguist F.P. Filin spoke of ‘the aggression of American English’. ‘Why [he asked indignantly] is there a mass influx of Americanisms into Russian and not of Russian words into Anglo-American?’ (Filin, 1981a: 305).

In this period, an increasing number of calques appeared; for example:

аэрокосми́ческий ‘aerospace’ (adjective)  
ба́за да́нных ‘data base’  
бе́лые воротнички́ ‘white-collar workers’

including some with political connotations:

голубь ‘dove’ and ястреб ‘hawk’  
люди до́брой во́ли ‘people of good will’  
желе́зный за́навес ‘iron curtain’  
пакéт (предложе́ний, програ́мм) ‘package’ (of proposals, programmes).

The English term ‘superpower’ was calqued as two Russian forms: *сверхдержа́ва*, which consists of exclusively native components and *супердержа́ва*, with the international prefix *супер-* (see also Section 3.3.2.1).

#### ***1.6.4 Vocabulary and society***

The lexical map of the world continued to be divided along ideological lines. Words referring to the Communist world possessed positive connotations, while those relating to the capitalist West carried predominantly negative overtones. Surprising as it may sound in the 1990s, words very commonly used in the press at this time – *военно-промы́шленный* ‘military-industrial’



and деидеологизация 'removal of an ideological perspective' – were both first used with reference to an ideological enemy and consequently bore a negative connotation. On the other side of this dichotomy were, for example, numerous words with the initial stump соц- (социалистический) 'socialist':

соцгород 'socialist town'  
соцкультбыт 'socialist everyday lifestyle'  
соцстрана 'socialist country'.

As at other times, the new lexis of the period of stagnation included words which had a particularly strong connection with social background. The notoriously long time spent on constructing both industrial and domestic buildings gave rise to the ironic word долгострóй 'endless building', while the emergence of opportunities for some groups of people to travel or work abroad gave rise to a group of words with the initial stump загранич- (заграничный) 'foreign':

загранкомандировка 'overseas business trip'	загранпоёздка 'trip abroad'
загранплавание 'voyage overseas'	загранрабо́та 'work abroad'.

Manned space flight continued to be highest in the rating of newsworthy events, and more words were added to the set of 'space' terms:

астролётчик 'astronaut'	космосни́мок 'space photograph'
космобио́лог 'space biologist'	лунохо́д 'moon rover'.

The appearance of the first words in the 'ecological' thematic group was a sure sign that a deterioration in the state of the environment was beginning to cause concern. They included:

загрязне́ние (атмосфе́ры, вод) '(air, water) pollution'  
загрязня́ть (о́кружающую сре́ду) 'to pollute' (the environment)  
экологиче́ски чи́стый 'environmentally friendly, organic'.

A relative rise in living standards against a background of increasing shortages of goods threw up a category of people obsessed with material values, whose attitude was branded disdainfully as вещьизм 'acquisitiveness':

Было множество терминов: "мещанство", "накопительство", "приобретательство", "вещизм". Не в том дело, как назвать, а в том, наверное, чтобы понять, почему лучшие годы некоторых молодых людей отданы не поиску дела, профессии, красоты, любви . . . , а поиску вещи. (Юн., №12, 79)

There was a multitude of terms: bourgeois mentality, accumulativeness, acquisitiveness, materialism. But the point was not what you called it, but, probably, understanding why some young people devoted the best years of their lives, not to a quest for an occupation, a profession, beauty or love, but to a search for material goods.

Positive media reporting of the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979 and of the Afghan war brought into circulation the words душманы and душмáнский, with reference to Afghan guerrilla fighters. These new words, which originated in the Persian word for 'enemy' (*doshman*), invariably bore a negative connotation in Soviet newspapers.

The Olympic Games, held in 1980 in Moscow, activated the use of words connected with the Olympic theme, such as олимпиада 'Olympiad', олимпíец 'Olympian', олимпíйский 'Olympic'. It also stimulated the formation of neologisms:

олимпиа́дный 'relating to school competitions'  
олимпíзм 'the Olympic movement'  
олимпíйка 'the Olympic system of competition'.

In 1982 a new meaning of the adjective олимпíйский was attested – 'up to Olympic standard':

И теперь не каждый, кто был у нас [в Устинове] лет 5–10 назад, узнает в широких магистралях города с транспортными развязками и светофорными объектами олимпíйского варианта недавние улочки шириной чуть больше шести метров. (*ИЗВ.*, 15.9.82)

And not everyone who was here with us [in Ustinov] some five to ten years ago will now recognise, in the broad main roads of the town, with roundabouts and Olympic-standard traffic lights, the little streets of recent times just over six metres wide.

The new era in Soviet relations with the West, with the less hostile, friendlier image which the Soviet Union attempted to adopt within the international framework, caused some change in official political vocabulary. Since the 1960s, the word диалóг 'dialogue' had broadened from its base in the sphere of linguistics to develop a new meaning: 'negotiations', 'exchange of opinions on important international issues', 'contacts between two countries in order to reach agreement'. In the 1970s and 1980s, from its source in the language of diplomacy, this new meaning infiltrated the media and subsequently came into general use. The word occurred typically in combination with qualifiers:

политический диалог 'political dialogue'  
 конструктивный диалог 'constructive dialogue'  
 равноправный диалог 'dialogue on equal terms':

В то время как Советский Союз выступает с новыми важными предложениями, продиктованными духом доброй воли и заботой о мирном будущем человечества, администрация США под различными предлогами уклоняется от *конструктивного диалога*. (Пр., 1.4.82)

While the Soviet Union is making important new proposals, dictated by the spirit of good will and consideration for the peaceful future of mankind, the US administration is avoiding constructive dialogue under various pretexts.

Similarly, the words доверие 'trust' and партнёр 'partner' acquired a specific political sense. Разрядка '*détente*' was yet another new political buzz word of the period. First appearing in diplomatic language as part of the phrase разрядка международной напряжённости 'defusing of international tension', the word was also used on its own:

В нынешней обстановке политика *разрядки* представляет собой единственный путь, позволяющий обеспечить мир и установление между государствами отношений добрососедства, согласия и сотрудничества. (Сборник действующих, 1924–1981: 444)

In the current situation the policy of *détente* is the only way to guarantee peace and establish good-neighbourly relations, agreement and collaboration between states.

### 1.6.5 Stylistic and phraseological neologisms

Dictionaries of new words of the 1980s show an increase in informal lexis deriving from dialects and non-standard registers; for example:

бухтеть 'to mutter'	двухэтажка 'two-storey building'
везунчик 'lucky devil'	закусь 'nibbles'
волосатик 'hippy'	замотанный 'knackered'
врубить (музыка, механизм) 'to turn on (music, mechanism)'	пижонить 'to put on airs and graces':
выпендриваться 'to show off'	

Цап у меня стакан — и всосал всё до капельки, даже не поморщился. И без *закуси*. Теперь, говорит, ты давай. (Юн., №10, 80)  
 He grabbed my glass, drank all its contents to the last drop and didn't even flinch. And all without a bite to eat. Now it's your turn, he says.

The increase in idioms related primarily to the informal register, though a smaller number came into general use:

мэры доверия 'confidence-building measures'  
на однём дыхании 'quick-fire'.

Informal idioms included:

катить бочку 'to have a go at'  
поставить галочку 'to tick off (to denote completion)'

and the low informal

вешать лапшу на уши 'to pull someone's leg'  
ежу понятно 'any fool can see'.

Phraseological units continued to develop on the basis of the word дом in the meaning 'cultural or service establishment', and the words год 'year', день 'day', декада 'ten-day period', неделя 'week' in the meaning 'time period dedicated to a particular social event':

Дом быта 'Consumer Service Centre'  
Дом учителя 'Teachers' Club'  
Дом научно-технического прогресса 'Centre for Scientific and Technical Progress'  
день открытых дверей 'open day'  
День пропагандиста 'Propagandists' Day'  
неделя дружбы 'friendship week'  
декада грузинского искусства в Москвё 'ten-day celebration of Georgian art in Moscow'  
Международный год ребёнка 'International Year of the Child'.

## Notes

- 1 This word went out of use, only to be rediscovered in 1985 by Mikhail Gorbachëv, when it and its derivatives gave their name to the perestroika ideology.
- 2 In the post-Soviet period, КГБ was renamed ФСБ, for Федеральная служба безопасности (Federal Security Service).
- 3 Translated by Herbert Marshall. See Marshall, H., *Mayakovsky*. London: Dennis Dobson, 1965, p. 147.
- 4 The *Proletkul't* was an organisation founded in 1917 which endeavoured to foster proletarian culture.
- 5 The word телемост came into fashion in particular during the early period of Gorbachëv's perestroika, when the openness of his policy was signalled by a series of television link-up discussions between the Soviet and the American public.
- 6 Дружина denoted the retinue of a prince in Kievan Rus'. Here it could be described as the restoration of an old word with a new meaning.



## 2 Lexical development during perestroika and in the post-Soviet period

### 2.1 The vocabulary of perestroika

A new period in the development of the Russian language, characterised by an intensification of all linguistic processes and the liberalisation of language usage, began with perestroika. This was a programme launched by the then General Secretary of the Communist Party Mikhail Gorbachëv in 1985, in order to revive the Soviet system and establish a more humane, economically efficient and politically liberal kind of socialism. Instead, the reforms proved to be impossible to implement, constrained as they were by the inflexibility of the Communist regime they were supposed to enhance. The failed anti-Gorbachëv coup of 19–21 August 1991 accelerated the collapse of Communist rule and the disintegration of the USSR.

Among the bolder manifestations of perestroika was the policy of glasnost ('openness'), which made it possible to reveal dark truths of the past and the inadequacies of the present. Criticism of different aspects of the Soviet order, from the revelation of Stalin's crimes to the lavish lifestyle of the present-day Party élite, were now to be brought into the public domain. The media had a field day: hungry for an opportunity to speak their mind, newspapers, television and radio programmes vied with each other in issuing ever more daring stories, treading on the verge of the permissible. Hence, from the linguistic point of view, there was an impulse to call a spade a spade and to seek the real meaning of words which had been obscured by the ideological mire. On the other hand, the adequacy of words which had out-lived their time was questioned and such words were discarded, as society reassessed its values before moving forward. For example, in referring to the Revolution of October 1917, the sanctified collocation Октябрьская революция 'October Revolution' was increasingly replaced by Октябрьский переворот 'October coup'. Советский Союз 'Soviet Union', which had always been known as союз братских народов 'the brotherhood of nations', started blatantly to be called империя 'empire':

Видится лукавство, когда борьба против империи выдаётся за демократизацию национального вопроса. (Пр., 15.11.90)

The deceit is obvious when the struggle against the empire is passed off as the democratisation of the nationalism issue.

Scrutiny of the triumphalist notions of the past, never questioned before, is reflected in the following example:

В номере 45 от 9 ноября опубликована статья Райкина, где он пишет, что у нас в стране вместо *грандиозных успехов* — полная *бесхозяйственность*, вместо *великих свершений* — *развал*, вместо *героического труда* — *пьянство*. (МН, №6, 87)

An article by Raikin was published on 9 November in issue number 45, in which he states that instead of grandiose achievements in our country we have complete maladministration, instead of great deeds we have disintegration, and instead of heroic labour we have drunkenness.

Some words and phrases had earlier stood for concepts which had only demagogic value and which had not been supported by reality:

суверенитёт (республик) 'sovereignty (of the republics)'

права человека 'human rights'

индивидуальная трудовая деятельность 'individual work activity'

независимость 'independence'.

These meanings had been devoid of real substance and had no referent. With the changes wrought by perestroika, these items acquired a referent:

Эстония объявила о своей *независимости*. Декларация об этом принята на экстренном заседании парламента. (См., 21.8.91)

Estonia has declared her independence. The relevant declaration was passed at an extraordinary session of parliament.

Among new references of the perestroika era, the word перестройка 'perestroika' itself stands out. This word has become a symbol of the six-year-long final period of Soviet transformation. Not surprisingly, перестройка is prominent in the list of Russian borrowings into all European languages (Wade, 1997: 104). In Russian, however, it was not a lexical innovation, but rather a reinterpretation of an old word, which has been traced back to the *Lexicon* compiled by Fëdor Polikarpov in 1704 (Katlinskaia, 1991: 22). In Dal's Dictionary (1956), it appears mainly as a verbal noun from the verb перестроить, which had the following meanings:

- 1 to rework by building, to construct, to give a different finish;
- 2 to construct in a different manner, to change the formation or location of units (troops);
- 3 to re-tune, give another pitch, higher, lower (musical instruments).

In the Soviet period, the word developed yet another, more abstract, meaning: 'to build, rework, incorporating changes in the order or system of something' (OZH-87). From this meaning derived secondary semantic components connected with the social sphere. In early contexts, *перестро́йка* is still used as a verbal noun:

*перестро́йка эконо́мики* 'restructuring of the economy'

*перестро́йка хозяйственного механизма* 'reconstruction of the management mechanism'

*перестро́йка вы́сшего и сре́днего образова́ния* 'the reform of higher and secondary education'.

*Перестро́йка's* liberation from its motivating verb was demonstrated in Gorbachëv's speech at the June 1986 Plenum of the Communist Party:

Советские люди . . . решительно выступают за то, чтобы *перестройка* носила повсеместный характер. (*Материалы Пленума ЦК КПСС*, 1986: 5)

Soviet people . . . are definitely of the view that *perestroika* should be of a universal nature.

This new lexical meaning, as well as the loss of grammatical government<sup>1</sup>, has resulted from semantic inclusion – that is to say, the single word *перестро́йка* has absorbed the sequence *перестро́йка социáльно-политической и эконо́мической жи́зни сове́тского о́бщества* 'reconstruction of the socio-political and economic life of Soviet society' – making the following phrases, amongst others, possible:

*уро́ки перестро́йки* 'lessons of *perestroika*'

*в ду́хе перестро́йки* 'in the spirit of *perestroika*'

*проти́вники перестро́йки* 'opponents of *perestroika*'.

Henceforth, *перестро́йка* was to become a socio-political term with a broad abstract meaning which can be summarised as *полі́тика, напра́вленная на обновле́ние о́бщества и на егó ка́чественное улучше́ние* 'policy directed at the renewal and qualitative improvement of society' (Varichenko, 1990: 73). Gradually, a temporal sense has developed, with *перестро́йка* also denoting the period from 1985 to 1991:

Что было характерно для времени, *предшествовавшего перестройке*? Тогда многое было нельзя. (*ИЗв.*, 27.12.86)

What typified the time preceding *perestroika*? At that time a great deal was forbidden.

Nevertheless, a vestigial echo of the original verbal meaning 'construction' possibly accounts for the activation of a group of metaphors based on the theme 'house, building':

В дискуссиях с военными товарищами особенно не принимается тезис о национально-территориальных формированиях Советской Армии. Это рассматривается как "*растаскивание армии по национальным квартирам*". (Пр., 16.12.89, cited in Maksimov *et al.*, 1992, hereafter abbreviated to M)

In discussions with military comrades the proposal for national and territorial formations of the Soviet army is particularly unacceptable. This is regarded as the 'dismemberment of the army into national compartments'.

*Демонтаж* партийно-государственного механизма управления страной предполагает разделение существующих политорганов . . . на аппарат партийных комитетов и органы воспитательной работы. (Пр., 25.7.90, cited in M)

The dismantling of the state-party mechanism of national control presupposes the division of existing political organs . . . into a system of party committees and bodies performing educational work.

This image of society as a building, which possibly occasioned the transformation of the word *перестройка*, is not new and had been exploited in Karl Marx's theory, founded on concepts of the base and the superstructure (*надстройка*, from German *Überbau*), and continued to be used in Soviet Russia.

The word *перестройка* generated a lengthy list of derivatives, realising the language's potential for the formation of prefixed words:

контрперестройка 'counter-perestroika'  
антиперестройщик 'opponent of perestroika'  
постперестройка 'post-perestroika'  
недоперестройка 'failure to deliver perestroika in full'  
доперестроечный 'pre-perestroika',

as well as suffixed words: *перестройщик*, *перестроечник* 'perestroika activist'. Adverbial derivatives were also created:

по-перестроечному 'after the manner of perestroika'  
перестроечно 'perestroika-style'.

Reactions to the failure of perestroika were reflected in blends:

катастро́йка 'the perestroika calamity'  
горбостро́йка 'Gorby-stroika'



which also contains a concealed ironic allusion to *горб* 'hump' and to non-standard *горб́атиться* 'to slave' (cf. Dulichenko, 1994: 50).

Another key word-group including *застой* 'stagnation' and *застойный* 'stagnation' (adjective) has extended its semantic range, developing social and temporal meanings:

*Застой* — условно называемое состояние советского общества в 70-е—начале 80-х годов, когда у руководства КПСС и государства стоял Л.И. Брежнев. (М).

Stagnation: the conventional name for the state of Soviet society in the 1970s and early 1980s, when the CPSU and State were led by L.I. Brezhnev.

The following phrases, later very common, were launched:

го́ды засто́я, засто́йные го́ды 'years of stagnation'  
пе́риод засто́я 'period of stagnation':

Рубикон перейдён, и пути назад нет — возвращение к *застойным*, душным *годам* означало бы гибель державы! (ЛГ, 20.5.87)

The Rubicon has been crossed and there is no way back. A return to the years of stagnation and suffocation would mean the end of the state!

The political meanings of *застой*, *застойный* have proved to be popular and they continue to develop. The contexts of their use are now transferring from Brezhnev's era to present-day situations:

Обскурантизм нижней палаты был не так заметен при "*застойном*" черномырдинском правительстве ("*застойным*", как известно, недавно назвал его даже Ельцин). (ЛГ, 25.6.97)

The obscurantism of the lower chamber was not so marked under Chernomyrdin's stagnant government (as is well known, even El'tsin recently called it 'stagnant').

As with *перестро́йка*, *застой* 'stagnation' and *застойный* 'stagnation' (adjective) have formed derivatives:

антизастойный 'anti-stagnation'	застойщик 'exponent of
дозастойный 'pre-stagnation'	stagnation';

the words also participated in ironic word play based on paronymic replacement: *застольные* го́да 'the table years', an allusion to L.I. Brezhnev's liking for banquets and celebrations.

Гласность 'glasnost', openness' was another lexical *leitmotiv* of the time. Unlike others in the series, it had had earlier social connotations and had

therefore not undergone significant semantic shifts. Ozhegov's dictionary defines *гласный* 'open' as 'accessible for public familiarisation and discussion' (OZH-87). However, during perestroika, the social meaning of *гласность* moved to centre stage:

Мы начинаем жить в условиях *гласности*. Люди хотят всё знать, получать исчерпывающую информацию о событиях, происходящих вокруг. (*Пр.*, 22.5.87)

We are beginning to live in conditions of glasnost. People want to know everything and to receive exhaustive information about events going on around them.

Some other words which have become linguistic reflections of the perestroika period also deserve a brief mention. The initial aim of improving society and building socialism with a human face gave rise to the expression *человеческий фактор* 'the human factor'. In the early perestroika period it replaced the bureaucratic word-group *трудовые ресурсы* 'labour resources':

В наши дни, изыскивая резервы активизации *человеческого фактора*, мы опираемся на одну из наиболее фундаментальных закономерностей социализма — возрастание роли общественного сознания. (*Ком.*, №4, 86)

In our time, in seeking out reserves to activate the human factor, we rely on one of the most fundamental rules of socialism: the increased importance of the role of public consciousness.

The collocation *неформальные объединения* 'informal organisations' was coined to describe the first organisations which acted as forerunners of non-communist political parties and movements, and which were based on the principle of common interest and volunteer participation. Activists were called *неформалы* 'neformaly':

Я пока ещё не слышал о *неформальных объединениях* экологов, но, думаю, они должны появиться. (*ЛГ*, 5.8.87)

I haven't heard of grass-roots ecology groups yet, but I think that they are bound to appear.

Восемнадцать процентов *неформалов*, по их мнению, уже участвуют в перестройке. (*КП*, 11.12.87)

Eighteen per cent of grass-roots group members are, in their opinion, already participating in perestroika.

New words of the period include:

гигантíзм ‘gigantism’

манкúрт ‘zombie’, a word launched by the writer Chingiz Aitmatov in *И дóльше вéка длíтся день* ‘*A Day Lasts Longer Than a Century*’

манкуртизáция ‘zombification’

нарабóтки ‘ideas and preliminary materials for a new project’

захлóпать ‘to silence a speaker by clapping’ (see also Section 3.3.4.3)

ры́ночник ‘supporter of market reform’.

Some stump compounds were formed; for example:

госприёмка ‘state standards control’

госзака́з ‘state order’

инофíрма ‘foreign firm’

интердéвочка ‘dollar prostitute’

телемарафóн ‘telethon’

as well as clipped compounds:

незавершёнка (from незавершённое строительство) ‘uncompleted building’

оборóнка (оборóнная промýшленность) ‘defence industry’.

Apart from the afore-mentioned неформáл, other zero-suffixed derivative nouns were formed:

индивидуáл ‘someone engaged in a one-person work scheme’

межрегионáл ‘member of an inter-regional group of people’s deputies’ (see also Section 3.1.7).

Semantic derivation was active in the creation of new meanings:

боевíк (originally, ‘member of revolutionary fighting group’, also, later, ‘blockbuster’) ‘guerrilla’

вертикáльный (вертикáльное управлéние, вертика́льные свýзи) ‘vertical’ (‘vertical control, vertical links’)

деревя́нные рублí ‘worthless (literally “wooden”) roubles’

парлáментский марафóн ‘parliamentary marathon’.

The adjectives прáвый ‘right’ and лéвый ‘left’ were reinterpreted, лéвый naming radical, progressive forces, supporters of free market reform and прáвый naming the conservative communist and anti-reformist wing<sup>2</sup>:

Сейчас грузинский лидер З. Гамсахурдия пытается убедить мир в том, что в блокаде Южной Осетии боевики из националистических формирований не принимали и не принимают никакого участия. (Сов. Рос., 12.2.91)

The Georgian leader, Z. Gamsakhurdia, is now attempting to convince the world that fighters from nationalist units did not take and are not taking any part whatsoever in the blockade of Southern Ossetia.

During the perestroika period, new acronyms and alphabetisms appeared:

МЖК (молодёжный жилищный комплекс) 'young people's accommodation complex', a scheme whereby a group of young families could build their own house

НФ (народный фронт) 'National Front'

ОМОН (отряд милиции особого назначения) 'special police unit'

СКВ (свободно конвертируемая валюта) 'freely convertible currency':

... предложения *НФ* могут ущемить права, кровные интересы русскоязычного населения. (*КП*, 13.10.88)

... the NF's [National Front's] proposals might limit the rights and vital interests of the Russian-speaking population.

Много пишут и говорят о молодёжном строительстве, *МЖК*, обеспечении молодых квартирами. А о старых совсем забыли. (*Оз.*, №31, 87)

Much is written and spoken about the *MZhK* youth accommodation construction scheme and the provision of apartments for young people. The old, however, have been completely forgotten.

New expressions with a negative connotation emerged, often with reference to the conservative forces thwarting perestroika reforms:

администр́ирование 'abuse of administrative methods'

комáнно-администрат́ивная систéма 'command and administrative system'

комáнно-администрат́ивные мéтоды 'command and administrative methods'

комáнно-бюрократ́ическая систéма 'command bureaucratic system'

администрат́ивно-нажимна́я систéма 'administrative pressure system'

механ́изм торможе́ния 'decelerating mechanism'

номенклату́рщина 'the *nomenklatura* system'

неоста́линист 'neo-Stalinist'

партокра́тия 'partocracy';

or, with reference to the past:

брежнев́изм 'Brezhnevism'

одобря́мс (from одобря́ть 'to approve') 'unanimous approval of all Communist Party decisions'



чурба́новщина 'Churbanovism' (from Iu. M. Churbanov, Brezhnev's son-in-law, and the Deputy Minister of the Interior, indicted in a highly publicised corruption trial).

Some words depicting new aspects of the perestroika period also had negative connotations:

митинго́вщина 'demo mentality'

митингова́ть 'to rally'

митинго́вая демокра́тия 'megaphone democracy'

пара́д суверени́тетов 'declarations of sovereignty by Soviet republics and national regions'

теневи́к 'shady businessman'

агресси́вно-послу́шное большинст́во 'the majority who aggressively toe the majority line' (a phrase coined by the democratic deputy Iurii Afanas'ev at the First Congress of People's Deputies in 1989):

Развёртывание демократизации, отказ от *административно-командных* методов руководства и управления, породили опасение: а не расшатываем ли мы сами устои социализма, не подвергаем ли ревизии принципы марксизма-ленинизма? (*Пр.*, 5.4.88)

The development of democratisation, the rejection of the administrative command methods of leadership and control, have generated one concern: are we ourselves not shaking the very foundations of socialism, are we not subjecting the principles of Marxism-Leninism to revision?

... любое самое толковое правительство не сможет ничего сделать, если работать ему придётся в условиях *митинговой демократии*, когда все говорят, но мало кто хочет соблюдать дисциплину и порядок. (*Пр.*, 17.9.90)

... the most eminently sensible government will not be able to do anything, if it has to operate in a state of megaphone democracy, when everyone talks but few wish to observe discipline and order.

During the perestroika period, the following phrases, amongst others, were coined:

архите́ктор перестро́йки 'the architect of perestroika'

бе́лые пятна́ исто́рии 'skeletons in the historical cupboard'

баци́ллы национа́лизма 'viruses of nationalism'

гуманита́рная по́мощь 'humanitarian aid'

обще́вропейский дом 'the common European home'

общече́ловеческие це́нности 'shared human values'

откры́тый микрофо́н 'live microphone'

право́вое госуда́рство 'state based on the rule of law'

нóвое мýшление 'new thinking'  
 тяnúть одеяло на себя 'to look after number one'  
 раскáчивать лóдку 'to rock the boat'  
 шóковая терапия 'shock therapy':

Начиная выпуск еженедельника, мы заявляем, что выступаем за приоритет общечеловеческих ценностей, за реальное народовластие, за *правовое государство*. (ЧП, 26.2.90)

In beginning production of our weekly edition we declare ourselves to be in favour of the priority of shared human values, for real democracy, and for a state system which functions according to constitutional law.

После кровавого воскресенья в Вильнюсе много ли осталось от того, что мы так часто слышали от президента в последние годы: гуманный социализм, *новое мышление*, *общеевропейский дом*? (МН, 20.1.91)

After Bloody Sunday in Vilnius did much remain of what we had so often heard from the President in recent years: humane socialism, new thinking, a common European home?

Some of these phrases were ubiquitous and quickly became clichés, for example, Gorbachëv's phrase процесс пошёл 'the process has begun, it's up and running', which, since perestroika, has been used only as an ironic joke.

## 2.2. Changes in the extant corpus of lexis

During perestroika and in the post-Soviet period, Russian is characterised by an increased instability of the boundaries between the centre and the periphery of the lexical system. This means that words which were on the periphery of language usage are moving into the centre, while some items of central vocabulary are being marginalised. The peripheral groups affected comprise words considered obsolete, historicisms, foreign and native words that refer to foreign rather than to Soviet or Russian reality, and non-standard elements.

### 2.2.1 Activation of lexical items which were considered obsolete

In the 'historical' dimension, words previously considered as historicisms or obsolete are making a comeback. In the first years of Soviet power, the use of many lexical items was artificially suspended, for purely ideological reasons, and in some cases this created lexical gaps. Now, as the scale of values in Russian society is changing, these words are coming back into general use. Particularly striking is the resurgence of words in благо-:

благозвúчие ‘euphony’  
 благолéние ‘grandeur’

благочíние ‘decorum’.

These were members of an extensive group which, according to the Dictionary of the XI–XVII centuries, comprised more than 400 words (Dulichenko, 1994: 161). The majority of these words had disappeared from the language. Some of the remainder stayed on the margins of the Soviet lexical system. Благочíнный ‘orderly’ and благолéние ‘grandeur’ are among those which OZH-87 marks as obsolete. The current reassessment of cultural and ethical values has given these words high-profile status:

Знаменитый своими подвижниками, Симонов монастырь славился также *благолепием* храмов — уникальный фасад Тихвинской церкви входит во все учебники древнерусской архитектуры, — *благочинием* службы и *благозвучием* колоколов. (*Нед.*, №12, 96)

Known for its devotees, the Simonov monastery was also renowned for the splendour of its churches – the unique façade of the Tikhvin church appears in all text books on ancient Russian architecture, for the decorum of its services and the euphony of its bells.

#### 2.2.1.1 *Rehabilitation of religious terminology*

The Orthodox Church, whose activities had been severely constrained by the Soviet state, has resumed a prominent place in society. Worshippers no longer fear persecution. Moreover, to be ostentatiously religious has become a kind of fashion: now former communists get baptised, priests are invited to sanctify official events such as the launching of companies and the opening of schools, hospitals and art venues. The state openly supports the Church, and representatives of the clergy speak in the Duma, at political rallies and in the media. Radio and television put on religious programmes, assisting the rapid circulation of what was only recently a partly forbidden, partly forgotten, lexis.

The changed role of religion has propelled ecclesiastical words, which had been either half forgotten or tied to very specific contexts, into wide and active use:

алтáрь ‘altar’  
 амíнь ‘amen’  
 апóстол ‘apostle’  
 бес ‘devil’  
 Бог ‘God’  
 богоугодный ‘pleasing to God,  
 charitable’  
 благовéст ‘ringing of church bells’  
 грех ‘sin’

духóвник ‘confessor’  
 душеспасíтельный ‘salutary’  
 житиé ‘life’ (of a saint)  
 зáповедь ‘commandment’  
 íсповедь ‘confession’  
 крестíть ‘to baptise’  
 моли́тва ‘prayer’  
 мо́щи ‘relics’  
 постíться ‘to fast’

прорóчество 'prophecy'  
 рíза 'chasuble'  
 Рождество 'the Nativity'  
 свято́й 'saint'

Спас 'Saviour'  
 упоко́й 'repose'  
 храм 'temple'  
 чудотво́рный 'miracle-working'

and many others. Also, the term *страстотéрпская кончи́на* 'martyr's death' was much used in July 1998 in connection with the burial of the remains of Nicholas II and other members of the royal family in the Cathedral of SS. Peter and Paul, St Petersburg. In dictionaries of the Soviet period, by contrast, many of the words listed above were marked as archaic or obsolete:

богоуго́дный (*стар.*) — уго́дный бо́гу 'pleasing to God' (obs.)  
 упоко́й (*устар.*) — о моли́тве: за 'упоко́ение ду́ш' умершего 'a prayer for the repose of the soul of the deceased' (obs.) (OZH-87).

In the Soviet period, some ecclesiastical words, little used in their central meanings, often appeared in figurative contexts, as journalistic clichés:

алта́рь отéчества 'altar of the motherland'  
 апо́столы миро́вой револю́ции 'apostles of world revolution'  
 воéнные рели́квии 'military memorabilia'  
 храм иску́ства 'temple of art'.

The restoration of the words' first, literal, meaning is characteristic of the present time:

... после торжественного шествия перед Лаврой совершён был молебен, причём собравшиеся смогли увидеть ларец с мощами Святого Александра Невского и чудотворную икону. (ЧП, 13.9.97)  
 ... after the triumphal procession a public service was held in front of the Monastery. Moreover, those who had gathered were able to catch a glimpse of the small chest with the relics of Saint Alexander Nevsky, as well as a miracle-working icon.

... Бесы телевидения проникают в гарнизоны, казначейства и храмы, и всё гибнет, ссорится, чахнет, брат идёт на брата, а они веселятся от своих богомерзких проказ. (З., №30, 96).  
 The devils of TV penetrate the garrisons, treasury buildings and churches, and everything perishes, squabbles, withers away, while brother fights brother, and they rejoice at their own hideous tricks.

In commenting on the reintroduction of religious speech acts such as the sermon, the prayer and the lesson, Krysin records the emergence of a new religious-hortatory register (Krysin, 1996a: 136).



2.2.1.2 *The restoration of pre-Soviet lexis in the cultural sphere*

Obsolete, pre-Revolutionary words in the cultural, educational and humanitarian spheres have also been reinstated. In education, the following historicisms have gained in popularity:

гимна́зия ‘high school’	меценáт ‘patron’
гуверне́р ‘home tutor’	попечíteль ‘guardian, trustee’ and
гуверна́нтка ‘governess’	попечíteльство ‘guardianship,
лицéй ‘lycée’	trusteeship’

and the old names of degrees such as бакалáвр ‘bachelor’ and магі́стр ‘master’:

Доисторические слова *бакалавр* и *магистр* появились в лексиконе студента с 1992 года, когда в высшей школе случились реформы и преобразования. (МК, 22. 8.96)

The prehistoric words Bachelor’s and Master’s Degree have figured in student vocabulary since 1992, when reforms and transformations occurred in higher education.

У каждого порядочного вуза есть *попечители*. Особливо ценятся, как удалось выяснить, три категории оных. (МК, 22.8.96)

Any decent higher education establishment has trustees. As I have managed to find out, three categories of the aforementioned are particularly valued.

The renaming of educational establishments has reached mammoth proportions. Here, as in many other spheres of contemporary Russian life, a change in nomenclature symbolises rejection of the past and a new beginning in social life. Schools now often reject the traditional term *школа* ‘school’, a word which for some is associated with the Soviet educational system. The words *гимна́зия* and *лицéй*, from pre-Revolutionary schooling, are perceived as more prestigious and attracting more interest in the educational establishments in question. As critics observe, however, a change of words on a school sign does not necessarily reflect modifications in content or educational method (Bragina, 1997: 102).

The word *гимна́зия* is of Greek origin, but came into Russian via German and Polish. In the nineteenth century *гимна́зия* meant ‘high school’. The name was not confined to one particular type of school, thus the *классическая гимна́зия* ‘classical high school’ concentrated on classical languages and humanities, while the *реальная гимна́зия* ‘real (modern) high school’ placed more emphasis on natural sciences and vocational disciplines.

The word *лицéй*, although it derives directly from French *lycée*, also originated in Greek. In Russian, the word referred to ‘a secondary or tertiary

educational establishment for privileged boys'. The word is closely associated for Russian speakers with the life of A.S. Pushkin, who received his education in the most famous Lycée of all in Tsarskoe Selo. The word лицей has become a symbol of liberal thought, enlightenment and the bonds of friendship.

Since the differential semantic properties of these words are not clearly defined in modern Russian, they are of considerable interest as words which have no referent, i.e. no class of objects which they and they alone refer to. Even so, these words have strong connotations, since they are symptomatic of a return to traditional, humanistic values in education and the prestige of new (albeit restored) names:

Московскому Департаменту образования финансирование *лицеев, гимназий, школ с углублённым изучением отдельных предметов* поручено осуществлять в пределах средств, выделяемых на содержание подведомственных учреждений. (*Нед.*, №12, 96)

The Moscow Education Department has been entrusted with the financing of lycées, high schools and schools with advanced study programmes in certain subjects within the limits of funding allocated for the maintenance of dependent establishments.

Other cultural and humanitarian words, now restored, had been marginalised in the Soviet period because the concepts they expressed were irrelevant for the social discourse of the time. These words were regarded with suspicion, as representing oppositionist ideology:

благотворительность 'charity'	нравственность 'morality'
благородство 'nobleness'	раскаяться 'to repent'
добропорядочность 'respectability'	совестливый 'conscientious'
духовность 'spirituality'	филантроп 'philanthropist'
милосердие 'mercy'	человеколюбие 'philanthropy'
милость 'mercy, charity'	

and others. Now these lexical items have experienced a renaissance, as Russian society rediscovers the concept of universal morality, as opposed to the previous *Moral Codex of the Builders of Communism*. The use of 'moral and spiritual' words is widespread:

*Милосердие* убывало не случайно . . . Чувства, подобные *милосердию*, расценивались как подозрительные, а то и преступные: оно-де аполитичное, не классовое, в эпоху борьбы мешает, разоруживает . . . (*ЛГ*, 18.3.87)

Charity did not subside by accident . . . Feelings like charity were considered to be suspect or even criminal: it is apolitical, they said, not class-related and, in an age of struggle, hinders and disarms.

За рубежом Хворостовский получает 15–20 тысяч долларов как минимум. Здесь у него зарплата — 350–400 тысяч рублей . . . Поэтому здесь Дмитрий Хворостовский занимается *благотворительностью*. (Сп., №10, 95)

Abroad Khvorostovskii gets 15–20 thousand dollars minimum. Here his salary is 350 to 400 thousand roubles. So that here Dmitrii Khvorostovskii is engaging in charity.

Curiously, even in 1987, during perestroika, the new edition of OZH-87 still gave ideologically weighted definitions for some words in this group:

благотворительность 'charity' – 'In bourgeois society: the rendering of material assistance to the poor by private individuals, out of charity'.

Compare this with its English 'bourgeois' counterpart 'charity':

- 1 Love of fellow men; kindness, affection, leniency in judging others;
- 2 Beneficence, liberality to those in need or distress, alms-giving. (COD)

Some words in the group have abandoned their former meaning and are experiencing either expansion or contraction of meaning. Thus, according to Kakorina's observation, new areas of currency of the word *милосърдие* 'charity' are much more limited than in the nineteenth century, and are confined mainly to two contexts: medicine and charity (Kakorina, 1996b: 73–9).

### 2.2.1.3 *Re-activation of pre-Soviet lexis relating to the economy*

Since it was declared that a market economy was the aim of economic advancement, the development of economic lexis has become extremely dynamic. Although pre-Revolutionary words represent only one of several sources on which this group draws, they include a number of key lexical items:

áкция 'share' and акционер 'shareholder'	мáклер 'broker'
арéнда 'lease' and арендáтор 'lessee'	пай 'share'
аукциóн 'auction'	паевóе товáрищество 'joint stock company'
банк 'bank'	предпринимáтель 'entrepreneur'
банкíр 'banker'	ры́нок 'market'
банкрóтство 'bankruptcy'	торги́ 'auction'
бírжа (фóндовая, товáрная) 'stock-exchange'	фíрма 'firm'
трудова́я бírжа 'job centre'	ча́стная со́бственность 'private ownership':

Встреча Ельцина с *банкирами* стала центральным событием недели — такова оценка всех четырёх телевизионных комментаторов. (МН, №38, 97)

El'tsin's meeting with the bankers became the central event of the week — such is the view of all four television commentators.

И так же, как с мафией, России нужно бороться с неплатежеспособными предприятиями. Нужны *банкротства*! (ЧП, 13.9.97)

And just as with the mafia, Russia needs to fight insolvent companies. There must be bankruptcies!

Курс доллара на *торгах* Московской межбанковской валютной биржи 15 сентября повысился по сравнению с предыдущими *торгами* на 4 рубля и составил 1010 руб. (Изв., 16.9.93)

On 15 September the dollar rose by 4 roubles at the Moscow Interbank Currency Exchange compared with previous exchanges, reaching 1,010 roubles.

As words moved to the centre of the lexical system, some changed their connotation. Thus, in the nineteenth and at the beginning of the twentieth centuries, *предприниматель* 'entrepreneur' and related words (such as *предпринимательство* 'entrepreneurship', *предпринимательский* 'entrepreneurial', *предприимчивый* 'enterprising') had a positive connotation, reflecting the respect in which this profession was held. Dal's dictionary (1863–66) bears witness to this: 'an enterprising trader who inclines to, and is capable of enterprise activity and large turnovers. He is bold, decisive and daring in deals of this kind' (Dal', 1956, Vol. 3: 388). This positive definition can be compared with that which appeared in Stalin's time in Ushakov's dictionary: 2. *неодобр.* *Делёц*, *ловкий организатор выгодных предприятий* (derog.) 'Smart operator, clever organiser of profitable deals'. The note *неодобр.* 'derogatory' and the negatively charged *делёц* in the metalanguage bear witness to the pejorative connotation ascribed to the word in the Soviet period. Now, words of this group have recovered their original meanings:

Несмотря на комсомольский возраст, избранница руководителя самой популярной московской газеты уже серьёзный *предприниматель* — руководит издательством "Эксим". (МН, №8, 98)

Despite being of Komsomol age, the wife-to-be of the head of the most popular Moscow newspaper is already a serious entrepreneur: she is in charge of the 'Eksim' publishing house.



Экономическая ситуация в области отмечена постепенным снижением уровня инфляции . . . , развитием *предпринимательской* деятельности, уменьшением темпов падения производства. (*Фин. изв.*, 27.3.97)

The economic situation in the region has been marked by a gradual drop in the level of inflation . . . , the development of enterprise activity and a reduction in the rate of decline in production.

#### 2.2.1.4 *Expressive function of restored words*

Restored lexis can now be used not only in a denotative function but also for expressive purposes. Quite frequently, for instance, lexical items appear that contain the semantic component 'monarch'. Thus, in the following example лейб, as the first component in now obsolete compounds, has the meaning 'royal, imperial, attached to the monarch' (OZH-87), an ironic reference to General Korzhakov, President El'tsin's ex-bodyguard, dismissed in 1996.

Бывшего *лейб-охранника* к победе привели российские газеты и телевидение. (*ЛГ*, 19.2.97),

Russian newspapers and television led the former imperial guard to victory.

President El'tsin is often referred to as if he were a monarch himself:

К моменту подписания номера ещё не стало известно, затрагивалась ли тема секвестра во время встречи *Президента Всея Руси* со "слугами народа". (*МК*, 20.5.97)

By the time the issue [of the newspaper] was signed off it was still not known whether the question of sequestration had been raised during the meeting of the President of All the Russias with the 'servants of the nation'.

This is an allusion to the obsolete expression царь всея Руси 'Tsar of all the Russias', with the Church Slavonic form of the genitive.

The words регент 'regent' and регентство 'regency' were activated in connection with the heart disease of President El'tsin in the autumn of 1996, and the speculation about who was to stand in for him during his operation and period of recuperation. Ozhegov's dictionary defines регент as: 'Temporary ruler of a state instead of a monarch':

Однако, как должно быть невыносимо тяжело Ельцину даже на время передать кому-то пусть формальные, но атрибуты власти! А тем более соблюсти официальную процедуру, которая ставит жёсткие сроки — три месяца *регентства* премьер-министра и новые выборы. (*ЛГ*, 11.9.96)

However, how unbearably difficult it must be for El'tsin to hand over to someone the attributes of power, however formal, even for a short while! And even more so to observe the official procedure which sets a strict timescale: three months of regency for a Prime Minister and new elections.

### 2.2.2 Stylistic liberation of traditionally bookish lexis

Stylistic liberation involves the activation of native words marked as 'bookish'. This applies to words of Church Slavonic origin, words used in poetic and laudatory styles, such 'spiritual' words as:

вои́стину 'verily'	инако́мы́слие 'heterodoxy'
вопроша́ть 'to question'	кончи́на 'decease'
всеве́дущий 'omniscient'	лик 'face'
глаша́тай 'herald'	обрати́ть в ве́ру 'to convert to a faith'
гряду́щий 'future'	па́дший 'fallen'
держа́ва 'power'	сте́зя 'path'
жита́е 'life'	

and others. This lexis is now used in a different stylistic environment, often surrounded by informal words without causing an apparent stylistic clash:

Московская хельсинкская группа . . . попыталась, было, *обратить* Карташкина в свою *правозащитную веру*. И Владимиру Алексеевичу очень хотелось с правозащитными организациями *задружиться*. (ЛГ, 4.3.98)

The Moscow Helsinki group . . . was about to attempt to convert Kartashkin to its belief in human rights. And Vladimir Alekseevich wanted very much to become friends with human rights organisations.

*Грядущее* объединение России и Белоруссии становится, по всей видимости, неизбежным. (Фин. Изв., 27.3.97)

The prospective unification of Russia and Belorussia is becoming, to all appearances, inevitable.

### 2.2.3 Re-orientation of native lexis

A number of words of Russian origin and long-term loans which are perceived as native were used fairly actively during the Soviet period, but in a limited sense, to denote concepts, objects and events which referred either to the pre-Revolutionary period or, more frequently, to life abroad. Now these words have gained currency as items denoting new aspects of post-Soviet reality, and have the status of re-oriented words. These include:

- stylistically neutral lexical items such as:  
 безработица 'unemployment'  
 безработный 'unemployed'  
 пособие по безработице 'unemployment benefit'  
 забастовка 'strike'  
 бастовать 'to strike'  
 конкуренция 'competition'  
 спикер 'speaker'  
 стачка 'strike'  
 and their derivatives, such as бастующий 'striker', забастовочный 'strike' (adjective), стачечный 'strike' (adjective), стачком 'strike committee')<sup>3</sup>
- words which retain their negative connotation after re-orientation:  
 воротила 'tycoon'                      тоталитарный 'totalitarian'  
 терроризм 'terrorism'                фашизм 'fascism'  
 террорист 'terrorist'                фашист 'fascist'.

Two examples from the group of stylistically neutral words are:

716 тысяч официальных *безработных* — лишь верхушка айсберга, под “водой” — миллионы потерявших работу, но не зарегистрировавшихся на *бирже труда*. (*Изв.*, 16.9.93)

716,000 officially registered unemployed is only the tip of the iceberg, for millions of people who have lost their jobs but who have not registered at job centres are beneath the surface.

По официальным данным, средний размер *пособия по безработице* составляет 80 процентов от минимальной заработной платы, которая, как известно, далеко неотягивает до минимального прожиточного уровня. (*Изв.*, 16.9.93)

According to official statistics, the average unemployment benefit rate is 80 per cent of the minimum wage, which, as is well known, falls far short of the minimum subsistence level.

Two examples from the group of words retaining their negative connotations are:

Сперва агитируют за местных *воротил* на выборах, а затем выпрашивают у них деньги, которые потом раздают ветеранам уже от своего имени. (*МК*, 20.5.97)

First they campaign at elections for local big wigs, then they ask them for money which they later distribute to veterans, now on their own behalf.

15 сентября несколько *террористов* из Азербайджана, угрожая взрывными устройствами, захватили самолёт Ту-134, следовавший по маршруту Баку-Пермь. (*Изв.*, 16.9.93)

On 15 September, a number of terrorists from Azerbaijan, threatening to use explosive devices, seized a Tupolev-134 aircraft flying on the Baku–Perm' route.

#### 2.2.4 Name changes

See also Section 5.6.

##### 2.2.4.1 Changes in administrative and institutional names

In Russian history, renaming has usually had a semiotic function. A new name signifies a change of sign and contributes to the formation of a new paradigm of meaning (Dulichenko, 1994: 5). It is known that radical social change often leads to explicit carnivalesque manifestations, of which renaming is one (Kitaigorodskaja and Rozanova, 1994: 50). Present large-scale name-changing activities prompt not only comparison with the time of the October Revolution of 1917, but with much earlier events. Lotman and Uspenskii comment on a similar wave of renaming during the reforms of Peter the Great. These included changing the name of the state, moving the capital and giving it a new, foreign name (St Petersburg), changes in the names of ranks and institutions, and so on; all these changes were considered at the time to symbolise the creation of a new, reborn Russia (Lotman and Uspenskii, 1992: 70)<sup>4</sup>. In a similar way, after 1917 pre-Revolutionary words referring to the administrative and political system were replaced by new ones. The 1990s witnessed a repetition of history, with name changes occurring for a familiar reason, as words are seen as embodiments of the past, which the new Russian establishment is eager to renounce.

New names that refer to social structures and groups, administrative and political institutions and positions derive in the main from two sources, both previously peripheral to the lexical system. The first group comprises resurrected historicisms, i.e. words that earlier had gone out of use because their referent no longer existed; for example:

атама́н 'ataman'	дворя́нское собра́ние 'assembly of the nobility'
Госуда́рственная Ду́ма 'State Duma'	каза́чий круг 'Cossack circle'
губерна́тор 'Governor'	купе́чество 'merchants'
губе́рния 'province'	чино́вник 'official'
департа́мент 'department'	чино́вничество 'officialdom'.

The other group comprises words of foreign origin which in the Soviet period related only to foreign countries:

ме́р 'mayor'	муниципалите́т 'municipality'
ме́рия 'town council'	муниципа́льный 'municipal'



парламент 'parliament'	спікер 'speaker'
президент 'president'	супрефект 'sub-prefect'
премьер-миністр 'prime minister'	(політи́ческая) эліта '(political) élite'.
префект 'prefect'	

As a result, a new lexical paradigm has emerged which is unusually (many say, unjustifiably) heterogeneous.

As in Petrine times, renaming started with the head of state. The foreign title президент 'president' replaced Председатель президиума Верховного Совета 'Chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet' in March 1990, when the Third Congress of People's Deputies elected Mikhail Gorbachëv as the first President of the then Soviet Union. The Верховный Совет 'Supreme Soviet' itself ceased to exist and was succeeded by the Дүма 'Duma', the name of the Boyars' Council which attended the tsar from the sixteenth century to the eighteenth century, and, from 1905, the name of the first elected Russian parliament. The chairman of the Duma has been given the title спікер 'speaker', borrowed from British parliamentary nomenclature. The internationalism парламент 'parliament', which came into Russian from English, is now used as a synonym of Дүма. The former Председатель Совета министров 'Chairman of the Council of Ministers' became премьер-миністр 'prime minister', or премьер 'Premier', who instead of заместители 'deputies' will now have вице-премьеры 'Vice Premiers'. The title of the head of city administration, previously председатель городского совета 'Chairman of the City Council', has been changed to мэр 'mayor', a loan word which imparted a European flavour to the title of the city head. However, for some reason this was considered not to be good enough, and in 1995, in many towns, people found themselves electing not a мэр, but a губернатор 'Governor', a title dating back to the nineteenth century. This old name, exorcised in 1917, has now come full circle. In 1995 it caused some confusion among the population at large, because for many Russians casting their vote the word губернатор sounded outlandish and dated, and prompted a humorous reaction. The situation was all the stranger as there was no unified standard terminology: the head of the Moscow administration is called мэр, while in St Petersburg the name of the same post is губернатор. Moreover, the responsibility of a губернатор is not to be in charge of a губерния 'guberniia, province', as the name implies, but of the Городская администрация 'City Administration', or Городское правительство 'City Government'. Anything that comes under the jurisdiction of the local authorities is covered by the new foreign qualifier муниципальный 'municipal', and an elected City Council, previously Городской совет 'City Soviet', has now also acquired a new name: Законодательное собрание 'Legislative Assembly'. Below are examples of these new names:

В конце прошлой недели Генпрокурор России Юрий Скуратов запросил у Совета Федерации согласие на передачу в суд уголовного дела, заведённого на председателя *Законодательного собрания* Санкт-Петербурга. (МН, №44, 96)

At the end of last week the General Prosecutor of Russia, Iurii Skuratov, sought the Federation Council's consent to take to court a criminal case brought against the Chairman of St Peterburg's Legislative Assembly.

*Городская администрация* начала работу над планом строительства в Санкт-Петербурге линий скоростного трамвая. (МК в П, №6,11–18.9.97)

The City Administration has begun work on the building plans for high-speed tram lines in St Petersburg.

“Да это понятно, — печально заметил утром *спикер* Геннадий Селезнёв, — Дума голосует за недоверие Чубайсу и Немцову, но получается — премьеру. (МК, 15.10.97)

‘Well, it is obvious’, speaker Gennadii Seleznev sadly noted that morning, — ‘the Duma is passing a vote of no confidence in Chubais and Nemtsov, but also, it turns out, in the premier.’

В него [совет] входят также представители хозяйственной и региональной политической элиты, включая президента Татарстана Минтимера Шаймиева и омского *губернатора* Леонида Полежаева. (МН, №44, 96)

It [the council] also includes representatives of the management and regional political élite, including the President of Tatarstan, Mintimer Shaimiev, and the Governor of Omsk, Leonid Polezhaev.

Надежды *департамента* инженерного обеспечения и его подразделений на тепло “бабьего лета” не сбылись. Это с огорчением отметили участники заседания городского правительства, обсуждавшего готовность столичного жилья к отопительному сезону. (Изв., 16.9.93)

The hopes entertained by the engineering maintenance department and its sub-sections for the warmth of an Indian summer have not materialised. This was noted with chagrin by participants in a meeting of the City Government, which discussed the preparedness of the capital city's housing for the cold season.

... Было бы целесообразно, чтобы Борис Немцов выступил пропагандистом “народного капитализма”, который предполагает сильное государство ..., ограничение привилегий *чиновничества* и контроль власти за крупным бизнесом. (МН, №38, 97)

It would be expedient for Boris Nemtsov to advocate 'national capitalism', which assumes a strong state, the limitation of the privileges of officialdom and control of the powers-that-be over big business.

Избирательные бюллетени ещё печатаются в типографиях, однако уже в ближайшие дни тираж начнёт поступать в комиссии муниципальных образований. (ЧП, 13.9.97)

Voting-papers are still being run off in print shops, but copies will begin to arrive at the commissions of municipal sections in the next few days.

#### 2.2.4.2 *A change in forms of address and titles*

Forms of address are extremely sensitive to social change. In the present Russian environment, they play an important part in the process of symbolic name-changing.

Banned during Soviet rule, the pre-Revolutionary addresses

господин 'Mr, gentleman'

сúдарь 'sir'

госпожá 'Mrs, lady'

судáрыня 'madam'

had not been adequately replaced, leaving a palpable gap for over 70 years. The Communist товарищ 'comrade', established after the Revolution as the universal and unisex address, was strongly marked as party jargon, and in everyday life people balked at using it. Another Soviet universalism, гражданин, гражданка 'citizen', a calque of French *citoyen*, *citoyenne*, the address used during the French Revolution, was too closely associated with that accorded to suspects in police stations, prisons and the Gulag. In the Soviet period, people resorted either to the impersonal простите 'excuse me', послушайте 'listen', or to non-standard forms such as:

дéвушка 'young lady'

отец 'father' (affectionate form of address to an elderly man)

братóк 'brother' (affectionate term of address to a man)

жéнщина 'woman' (considered impolite)

and even эй, бородá! 'hey, you with the beard!' (to a bearded man).

In the 1990s the development of a more multifaceted system of address was witnessed. The old forms господин and госпожá, as well as the collective да́мы и господа́ 'ladies and gentlemen', have been reinstated, while товарищ and гражданин, though less used, have not completely disappeared.

The re-launch of the old forms was gradual: first in official addresses to representatives of former communist countries, later, after the disintegration of the Soviet Union, to representatives of the new independent states. At that stage, a semantic component of 'foreignness' was still preserved. At the next



stage, these words were transposed to home ground, initially causing smiles, but in the second half of the 1990s accepted as the norm:

*Господин* Бычков согласился с моим предложением и получил на это добро от Гайдара — тогдашнего главы правительства. (ЛГ, 18.3.98)

Mr Bychkov agreed with my proposal and got the go-ahead for this from Gaidar, then head of the government.

However, the first, tentative, introduction of ‘bourgeois’ titles was vehemently rejected in some circles. In this respect, it is worth recalling a curious incident which occurred when, at the First Congress of People’s Deputies, Mikhail Gorbachëv took offence when he mistakenly thought that a deputy had addressed him as *господин*:

Горбачёв: *Товарищ* С., Вы всё-таки заберите “*господина*” назад. Мы все слышали . . .

С.: Я сказал: “*Гражданин* Президент”.

Зал: *Гражданин* . . .

С.: Я потому изумился, что все так прореагировали. “*Гражданин* Президент”, конечно, Михаил Сергеевич . . .

Горбачёв.: Я тебя — *товарищ*, а ты меня — *господин* . . . Ладно, договорились . . . (*I Съезд народных депутатов СССР. Стенографический отчёт*, cited in Vinogradov, 1993, 2: 54).

Gorbachëv: Comrade S., all the same, take your ‘Mister’ back, will you. We all heard . . .

S.: I said ‘Citizen President’.

Hall: Citizen . . .

S: That’s why I was amazed that everybody reacted like that. Of course, Mikhail Sergeevich, I mean ‘Citizen President’ . . .

Gorbachëv: I call you ‘comrade’ and you call me ‘Mister’. All right, agreed . . . (*First Session of People’s Deputies of the USSR, Stenographer’s report*).

In the late 1990s both *господин* and *товарищ* are often used stylistically as ‘loaded’ titles, the inference being that the former is associated with democratic policies and the market economy and the latter with communist ideology. Either address can have a positive or a negative connotation, depending on the speaker’s standpoint:

Ульяновские законодатели попросили Бориса Николаевича назначить губернатором Юрия Горячева. *Товарища*, еще недавно бывшего 1-м секретарём местного обкома и к тому же активно поддержавшего ГКЧП. В столице дико возмутились и назначили главой стойкого демократа Малофеева. Но тогда в Ульяновске



подняли такой вой, что уже через несколько месяцев *т. Горячев* с триумфом явился в губернаторскую резиденцию с указом о своём назначении в руке. (МК, 24.12.96)

Ul'ianovsk legislators have asked Boris Nikolaevich to appoint Iurii Goriachev as governor. He is a comrade who, not that long ago, was the First Secretary of the local regional committee and, moreover, actively supported the Emergency Committee [during the anti-Gorbachëv coup of August 1991]. There was outrage in the capital, and so they appointed the staunch democrat Malofeev as head. But at that time there was such an outcry in Ul'ianovsk that only a few months later comrade Goriachev triumphantly turned up at the governor's residence with the decree for his appointment in his hand.

The choice of a title in this passage depends on context: the facts given about Goriachev (revealing his close association with communist hard-liners) determine the use of *товарищ*. The latter also has a stylistic function, since it is used to degrade. By using the title *товарищ*, the newspaper article dissociates itself from Goriachev, and the abbreviated form of the title, *т.* – with its overtones of the written bureaucratic discourse of the totalitarian period – adds an ironic slant.

In other contexts, irony could also be ascribed to the word *господин*. A postwoman writing to *Literaturnaia gazeta* defends members of her profession against the accusation by a genteel client that they had stolen customers' magazines:

Может быть, *господина* Баскова ... обслуживает такая высокообразованная тётя Даша с сумкой на ремне, что и правда на два дня впилась в его немецкий журнал. (ЛГ, 11.9.96)

Perhaps Mr Baskov is served by such a highly educated Auntie Dasha, complete with her post-bag on her shoulder, that she really did get stuck into his German magazine for two days.

In some contexts, titles can be used only as emotional indicators of negative attitude, regardless of (or even in spite of, as in the next example) the political affiliation of the person named. This is how the liberal politician Grigorii Iavlinskii refers to Anatolii Chubais, who at the time of the statement was a deputy prime minister in charge of the privatisation programme, the furthest one can imagine from being a suspected communist supporter:

— Как вы думаете, на кого сделает ставку Чубайс или те, кто стоит за ним?

— Не знаю. Меня это не занимает, почему я должен интересоваться психологией *товарища* Чубайса? (МН, №46, 97)

‘What do you think: who will Chubais or his supporters back?’

‘I don’t know. It doesn’t bother me; why should I be interested in the psychology of comrade Chubais?’

In other situations both addresses may occur in the form of a hyphenated compound, usually facetiously, but sometimes with soothing tones:

Да не в Лебеде, *господа-товарищи*, дело. (ЛГ, 11.9.96)

‘But, my gentlemen comrades, it’s not about Lebed’.

### 2.2.5 Re-connotation

Changes in lexis which involve a connotative dimension relate to what Karaulov terms the *pragmaticon* of the Russian linguistic community. The pragmaticon exists at the speaker’s motivational level and acts as a link between his or her aims, motives and presuppositions, on the one hand, and speech behaviour, on the other (Karaulov, 1987: 88).

The ideological components of lexemes are usually based on a view of reality distorted by political propaganda. Soviet society contrived to produce an immense number of such lexical items, reflecting objects and concepts through the prism of Communist ideology. The Soviet lexicon was characterised by a unified and ideological evaluation which was imposed on everybody. Dictionaries made ideological connotations explicit in word definitions. During perestroika, the process of the de-ideologisation of society began, and included the de-ideologisation of vocabulary. Words lost their ideological components and forfeited or changed their emotive connotations, acquiring a capacity for ‘split connotation’; that is to say, a word is able to express negative or positive connotations, depending on the speaker and his or her standpoint. This connotative split mirrors the analogous split in a society which has abandoned its monolithic status and has divided into diverse groups according to political and social orientation. A connotative shift may be of several types.

#### 2.2.5.1 Words lose their ideological components and negative connotation

The ideologically charged lexis of totalitarian language, invested with negative connotations during the Soviet period, has now lost its negative overtones and has aligned with international practice:

бизнес ‘business’

бизнесмэн ‘business man’

буржуа ‘bourgeois’

демократия ‘democracy’

капитализм ‘capitalism’

коммерсáнт ‘business man’

коммёрческий ‘commercial’

конкуре́нция ‘competition’

миллионёр ‘millionaire’	сóбственник ‘owner’
оппози́ция ‘opposition’	фра́кция ‘faction’
ры́ночная эконо́мика ‘market economy’	ча́стная сóбственность ‘private ownership’
свобóдное предпри́имательство ‘free enterprise’	ча́стник ‘private trader’:

Крупное *коммерческое предприятие*, даже далёкое от политики, волей-неволей в политику вмешивается. (МК, 20.5.97)

A large-scale commercial enterprise, even if it has little to do with politics, gets involved in politics, like it or not.

Городской стачком [Белоруссии] видит такой путь в осуществлении требований: осуществление неотложной экономической реформы с передачей собственности от государства народу, введение *частной собственности* на землю . . . (МН, №16, 91)

The [Belorussian] city strike committee envisages the following way of meeting demands: the implementation of pressing economic reform with the transfer of property from the State to the people and the introduction of the private ownership of land.

Сначала выступит Геннадий Зюганов — как представитель *фракции* КПРФ . . . , потом дадут слово представителям *фракций* и групп, которые против “недоверия”. (МК, 15.10.97)

First Gennadii Ziuganov will speak as representative of the CPRF faction, then it will be the turn of representatives of factions and groups who are against the ‘no-confidence vote’.

“Главное, — указывается в циркуляре, — не дать коммунистам осознать всю выгодность их положения и заставить *оппозицию* удержаться от соблазна вотума недоверия премьеру.” (З., №30, 96)

‘The main thing – and this is pointed out in the official instruction – is not to allow the communists to realise the full advantage of their position and to force the opposition to resist the temptation of a vote of no confidence in the Premier.’

#### 2.2.5.2 *Words lose their ideological components and change connotation from positive to negative*

These are mainly the ideologically charged words of communist discourse:

аванга́рд ‘vanguard’	(коммунистическая) ва́хта
большеви́к ‘Bolshevik’	‘(communist) watch’

идейный 'ideologically correct'	передовик 'leading worker'
коммунистический 'communist'	советский 'Soviet'
ленинец 'Leninist'	социализм 'socialism'
номенклатура 'nomenklatura'	социалистический 'socialist':

... в шестую годовщину смерти Ленина — были взорваны пять из шести церквей. Следы коммунистического вандализма видны до сих пор. (*Нед.*, №12, 96)

... on the sixth anniversary of Lenin's death five of the six churches were blown up. The signs of communist vandalism are visible to the present day.

Высокопоставленные российские политики, будь то президент или премьер-министр, не упускают случая заниматься, как в добрые партийные времена, публичной агитацией. (*ЛГ*, 10.9.97)

High-ranking Russian politicians, be they President or Prime Minister, do not miss the chance of engaging in public campaigning, as in the good old Party days.

The family of words based on номенклатура 'nomenklatura' and its adjective номенклатурный has grown in popularity due to the extent that many former communist *apparatchiks* have contrived to occupy high positions under the new regime. This release of word-building potential can be explained by the public need to express condemnation of the phenomena represented by these words:

Огромная "неформальная политическая организация" — антиноменклатурно настроенное население России — оказалась способной нанести несколько тяжёлых ударов по номенклатуре. (*Веч. П.*, 11.3.92)

The huge 'informal political organisation' – the anti-nomenklatura-minded population of Russia – turned out to be capable of dealing the *nomenklatura* some heavy blows.

A strong negative connotation can be discerned in the following frequently used word-groups:

властвующая номенклатура 'ruling *nomenklatura*'  
 жиреющая номенклатура 'greedy *nomenklatura*'  
 криминализированная номенклатура 'criminalised *nomenklatura*'  
 перекрáсившаяся номенклатура 'the *nomenklatura* in a new guise'  
 развращённая номенклатура 'corrupt *nomenklatura*'.



It is quite transparent in the following context:

... социальной основой всего демократического процесса должен стать союз творцов, производителей и предпринимателей, направленный против *репрессивно-распределительной номенклатуры*. (Веч. П., 11.3.92)

... the alliance of creative individuals, industrialists and entrepreneurs which has lined up against the repressive *nomenklatura* with its distributive tendencies should become the social basis of the entire democratic process.

Typical word-groups with the adjective *номенклатурный* also reveal negative overtones:

*номенклатурное всевластие* 'absolute power of the *nomenklatura*'

*номенклатурный контроль* '*nomenklatura* control'

*номенклатурное подполье* 'the *nomenklatura* underground'

*номенклатурный реванш* '*nomenklatura* revenge'.

The adjective *номенклатурный* contains the additional meaning of 'false, improper' in certain contexts:

*номенклатурные реформы* '*nomenklatura*-style reforms'

*номенклатурная приватизация* '*nomenklatura*-style privatisation':

... и наша *номенклатурная приватизация* ни к какому здоровому капитализму привести не может. (НГ, 22.10.93)

... and our *nomenklatura*-style privatisation cannot lead to any healthy form of capitalism whatsoever.

Words in this group are extremely active in generating derivatives, including:

- hyphenated adjectival compounds:
  - партийно-номенклатурный* 'party-*nomenklatura*'
  - номенклатурно-криминальный* 'criminal-*nomenklatura*'
  - мафиозно-номенклатурный* 'mafia-*nomenklatura*'
- prefixed nouns and adjectives:
  - антиноменклатурный* 'anti-*nomenklatura*'
  - прономенклатурный* 'pro-*nomenklatura*'
  - неономенклатура* 'neo-*nomenklatura*'
- affixed nouns:
  - безноменклатурье* 'absence of the *nomenklatura* system'
  - деноменклатуризация* 'dismantling of the *nomenklatura* system'
  - номенклатурищик* 'member of the *nomenklatura*'

... подготовка пакета жёстких законопроектов и указов президента по *деноменклатуризации* российского государства, предусматривающих немедленное отстранение от занимаемых постов представителей номенклатуры ... (Веч. П., 11.3.92)

... the preparation of a package of tough bills and presidential decrees on the 'denomenklaturisation' of the Russian State, stipulating the immediate dismissal of *nomenklatura* officials from the posts they occupy ...

The vector of meaning change turned from positive to negative for many set phrases which had serviced the ritualistic language of the Soviet period. The word-groups

великая стройка (коммунизма) 'the great construction site' (of communism)

светлое будущее 'a bright future'

родное советское правительство 'beloved Soviet government'

мудрый вождь и учитель 'wise leader and teacher'

боевая и трудовая слава 'military and labour glory'

гегемон 'leader'

and the euphemistic phrases маяк производства 'the leading light of industry' (of a more efficient factory) and лампочка Ильича 'Lenin's light bulb' reveal negative connotations in ironic contexts, and this has become one of the most popular stylistic features at the end of the twentieth century:

Столь же немолод контраргумент РАО [Российского акционерного общества] "ЕЭС": без этих капиталовложений вся система остановится, мачты высоковольтных линий рухнут, лампочка Ильича погаснет. (Итоги, №14, 97)

The counter-argument of the Russian Electric System Joint-Stock Company is just as long in the tooth: without these capital investments the whole system will stop, the masts of high-voltage lines will collapse, and Lenin's light-bulb will go out.

Московская реклама ... создаёт своеобразное обаяние сегодняшней Москвы с ее захватывающей атмосферой "великой стройки капитализма". (Зн., №9, 97)

Moscow advertisements ... create the peculiar fascination of today's Moscow, with its exciting atmosphere of 'the great construction of capitalism'.

### 2.2.5.3 Words lose their ideological components and change their connotations from negative to positive

These are words whose referents were condemned in the Soviet period:

диссидент 'dissident'  
диссидентство 'dissident  
movement'

многопартийный 'multi-party'  
плюрализм 'pluralism'.

Social transformation has reversed these values, and the words now contain positive connotations:

*Многопартийная система — это прежде всего результат и отражение социальной разнородности общества. (Пр., 28.2.90)*

The multi-party system is first and foremost the result and reflection of social heterogeneity.

Андрей Амальрик, один из самых известных российских диссидентов, так оценивал их вклад и значение в российской истории: "они сделали гениально простую вещь — в несвободной стране стали вести себя как свободные люди." (Зн., №9, 97)

Andrei Amal'rik, one of the most famous Russian dissidents, assessed their contribution to and significance in Russian history in the following terms: 'they did a brilliantly simple thing – in an unfree country they began to behave like free people.'

#### 2.2.5.4 *Words lose their ideological components and positive connotations*

The word *партия*, in the Soviet period, was primarily associated with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), the only political party in the country. The positive connotation of this word was perpetuated in Soviet discourse. After the introduction of the multi-party system in Russian politics, the word *партия* has been used to refer to any party, as the ideological component has been lost:

В мэрии Москвы 15 сентября состоялось рабочее совещание в связи с намерением ряда общественных движений и *партий* провести шествие и митинг 20 сентября. (Изв., 16.9.93)

A working consultation took place in Moscow City Council on 15 September in connection with the intention of a number of social movements and parties to hold a procession and mass meeting on 20 September.

Lexical items such as

моральный 'moral'  
нравственность 'morality'

справедливость 'justice'  
честь 'honour'

which previously appeared in set ideological contexts:

коммунистическая нравственность 'communist morality'  
 моральный кодекс строителей коммунизма 'the moral code of the  
 builders of communism'  
 пролетарское правосудие 'proletarian justice'  
 социалистическая демократия 'socialist democracy'  
 труд на благо родины — дело чести 'working for the good of the mother-  
 land is a matter of honour'

have reclaimed their original and universally accepted meanings, untarnished by ideological bias:

— Я ушла из политики в силу своих моральных установок. Я не могла биться с умными, но жестокими людьми. (МН, №8, 98)  
 'I left politics because of my moral values. I could not fight against intelligent but cruel people.'

#### 2.2.5.5 Split connotation (*Enantiosemy*)

The introduction of ideological pluralism and the division of Russian society into groups with differing political affiliations has brought about a situation in which the meanings of certain words vary with the user. The ideological lexicon of the Soviet period is still used by communist supporters and the opposition press. The Communist Party still exerts a powerful influence in Russian political life, and the old connotations cannot yet be dismissed. But in the discourse of those who support change the same words occur with different connotations. This applies to almost all the words in this section, though some of them occupy a key position in the contemporary ideological debate. The word family

патриот 'patriot'

патриотический 'patriotic'

патриотизм 'patriotism'

forms one such group. Granovskaia's research has shown that at the turn of the century патриот had a negative connotation and was similar to the word монархист 'monarchist' (Ferm, 1994: 27; cf. also Klushina, 1997: 54). Under Soviet rule, патриот reclaimed its positive meaning and maintained it until recently. But since the rise of the nationalist, monarchist and fascist movements, the set of words denoting 'patriotic' has been associated with them and has acquired a 'split connotation'. The first of the following excerpts is from a liberal newspaper and demonstrates the negative colouring of the words of this group. The second example comes from the reactionary publication *Завтра* ('Tomorrow'), which uses them positively and proudly:

*Патриот* и стадо неразделимы ... *Патриотизм* слеп. Вместо хрусталика, считывающего сложную картину мира, в патриоте-профессионале встроен распознаватель типа "свой-чужой", как у боевого самолёта ... (МН, №19, 96)



The patriot and the herd are inseparable . . . Patriotism is blind. Instead of a crystalline lens, taking in a complex view of the world, the professional patriot has a kind of built-in 'ours and theirs' identification system, as in a war plane . . .

... планируется публичный разрыв патриотов с КПРФ и их стягивание вокруг Лебеда, . . . (З., №30, 96)

... a public breach between the patriots and the CPRF is planned, and the former will concentrate around Lebed' . . .

Although *партия* 'party' is often used as a stylistically neutral noun (see Section 2.2.5.4), it contains other components in some contexts. For example, the much-used word group *партия власти* 'the party of power' has a negative overtone. The expression first appeared at the time of the Duma elections of December 1995, referring to the party *Our Home is Russia*, most of whose members, led by the Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin, were already in power. Latterly, this phrase has been extended to refer to any members of a ruling élite, not necessarily close to Chernomyrdin. In the following example, reference is to Anatolii Chubais, then head of the President's administration and Economic Minister Livshits, both political opponents of Chernomyrdin:

Результаты анонимного указотворчества выдавали жестокую подковерную борьбу в "партии власти". (ЛГ, 11.9.96)

The results of the anonymous decree writing activity betrayed a cruel and underhand struggle within the party in power.

In some other contexts, *партия* has a positive connotation:

... новая демократическая структура должна реализовывать политические претензии своей социальной базы, становясь "антиноменклатурной партией", "партией последовательных демократов"; экономические претензии — становясь "партией радикальных реформ", наконец, нравственные претензии — становясь "партией порядочных людей". (Веч. П. 11.3.92)

... the new democratic structure should realise the political aspirations of its social base by becoming the 'anti-nomenklatura party', the 'party of consistent democrats', its economic aspirations by becoming the 'party of radical reforms', and, finally, its moral aspirations by becoming the 'party of decent people'.

### 2.2.6 Activation, reorientation and reinterpretation of words of foreign origin borrowed before 1985

The overwhelming presence of foreign words in modern Russian discourse is a characteristic feature of our time. The impression is that an average Russian

text is inundated by new foreign-sounding words. However, it is not always realised that many of these words are hardly new. An extremely active rate of borrowing has been accompanied by the activation of older loans. Borrowed forms which had existed in Russian at various levels of assimilation and which were on the periphery of the lexical system are now shifting to the centre. The country's unprecedented exposure to Western influence has resulted in an increasingly active use of loans. New social conditions have raised the prestige of these words and the incentive to use them at all opportunities. As older loans have come back into play, some of their semantic components have changed.

Three types of the centre-to-periphery transfers which have taken place in lexis borrowed at an earlier period can be singled out: (1) the reorientation of words earlier used only in reference to life abroad, (2) the activation of bookish words of foreign origin and (3) the change in status of a term. Some of the words possess more than one of these characteristics.

#### 2.2.6.1 *Reorientation to a Russian referent*

Scholars writing about foreign loans in the Soviet period used to distinguish two categories of loans: words which are used to refer only to foreign reality and words which can refer to both foreign and Soviet/Russian life (Mzhel'skaia and Stepanova, 1983: 126). As Ferm persuasively argues, this distinction can no longer be applied (Ferm, 1994: 148). The new democratic process which Russia has undergone and the development of the market economy required new referents, while the relative similarity of these processes to those in Western countries permitted a reinterpretation of the lexical meanings of existing words and their application to Russian reality. Loans with such reoriented meanings lose the semantic component 'in foreign countries' (or, more often than not, 'in capitalist countries') and acquire a more universal referent. Together with this 'locational' determinant, the loans shed their ideological component and negative connotation. Words of foreign origin attested in the last thirty years are the most numerous in this category. Thematically, the reinterpreted foreign words fall into the following groups:

- administration and institutions: муниципальный 'municipal', мэр 'mayor', парла́мент 'parliament', префе́кт 'prefect', префекту́ра 'prefecture', спíкер 'speaker';
- the political sphere: бри́финг 'briefing', истэ́блишмент 'establishment', ло́бби 'lobby', фе́минизм 'feminism';
- the economy: бй́знес 'business', бизнесме́н 'business man', банкротство 'bankruptcy', инфля́ция 'inflation', привати́зация 'privatisation', фёрмер 'farmer';
- the social sphere: ма́фия 'mafia', парковáть 'to park', проститу́ция 'prostitution', наркома́ния 'drug use', порногра́фия 'pornography'

(and, formed with non-standard suffixes: порну́ха 'porn', порну́шник 'porn baron'); and

- leisure: бесте́ллер 'best seller', казино́ 'casino', крупье́ 'croupier', каба́ре 'cabaret', шоу-бизне́с 'show business'.

Looking at a few examples in more detail, the word бри́финг (from English *briefing*) appeared in Russian in the 1970s but remained peripheral until the end of the 1980s, as a lexeme used to denote a foreign phenomenon (Mzhel'skaia and Stepanova, 1983: 132):

Сегодня высокопоставленное лицо в Вашингтоне собирает на бри́финг представителей спортсменов, завтра госсекретарь Венс опять-таки обсуждает вопрос о бойкоте Московской Олимпиады. (Radio Leningrad, 11.4.80)

Today a high-ranking Washington official is calling together representatives of sportsmen for a press briefing; tomorrow State Secretary Vance is once again discussing the question of the boycott of the Moscow Olympics.

In the period following perestroika, бри́финг has been used in reference to the top echelons of power in Russia, the word having grown significantly in popularity:

На вчерашнем бри́финге в Правительстве РФ официальный ретранслятор Черномырдина Шабдурасулов сказал пару слов. Обо мне. (МК, 15.10.97)

At yesterday's briefing in the government of the Russian Federation Shabdurasulov, Chernomyrdin's official 'parrot', said a few words. About me.

Some argue that бри́финг is superfluous in Russian, on the grounds that it is synonymous with the earlier loan пресе́с-конфе́ренция 'press conference'. Бри́финг possesses, however, the differential semantic components 'short' and 'passive role of journalists', which disambiguate the word's meaning from its synonym (Kartoev, 1992: 58).

The English loans биз́нес 'business' and бизне́сме́н 'business man' are typical representatives of words relating to the economy. The former is defined in Evgen'eva (1981–84, hereafter abbreviated to MAS) as 'business undertaking, smart deal, etc. as a source of personal enrichment'. The definition is overtly negative and carries the implication, inherent in Soviet ideological dogma, that personal wealth should be condemned. Бизне́сме́н appears in OZH-87 with both locational and negative connotations: 'in the capitalist world: a dealer on the make, entrepreneur'. Now either word can be used as ideologically and emotionally neutral, in meanings closer to its English original counterpart:



— Не знаю, какой он [Старовойтов] министр и генерал — мы общались только в определённой плоскости — но *бизнесмен* прекрасный. (МК, 8.4.98)

'I don't know what kind of minister and general he [Starovoitov] is. We communicated only at a certain level. He is an excellent businessman, however.'

There are, nevertheless, contexts where this lexeme bears an echo of its past negative overtones:

Лидеры российского *бизнеса* — существа боязливые, нервные, трепетные. (МН, №38, 97)

The leaders of Russian business are wimpish, nervy and timid creatures.

Unlike *бизнес* and *бизнесмен*, *приватизация* (English *privatisation*) is a relatively recent loan word, having arrived in the 1980s (NSZ-80). Before the economic reforms of the 1990s it was used only with reference to foreign countries and, perhaps because it occurred in a limited number of contexts, had not acquired an overtly negative connotation:

Главный аргумент лейбористов, выступающих за *приватизацию*, — ликвидировать монополию государственных предприятий на австралийском рынке, поставив их в условия неизбежной конкуренции, заставить работать более эффективно (NZS-80).

The main argument of Labour Party members calling for privatisation is the elimination of the monopoly of state enterprises on the Australian market by exposing them to unavoidable competition and forcing them to work more effectively.

In the 1990s, *приватизация* is a key word of the time and no newspaper is complete without it:

Ни для кого не секрет, что государственная собственность, прошедшая через горнило *приватизации*, стоила неизмеримо больше, чем за неё получено государством. (МН, №8, 98)

It is no secret that the state property which has passed through the crucible of privatisation was worth immeasurably more than the State received for it.

One sign that the word is moving to the centre of the language system is the large number of new derivatives which have mushroomed around it: *приватизировать* 'to privatise', the slightly derogatory *приватизатор* 'privatiser' and an ironic perfective with the suffix *на-* which adds the meaning 'to a large extent, to the full':



А убийство питерского *приватизатора* вызывает всеобщий ажиотаж, как будто от него зависит богатство и процветание страны. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

And the murder of the St Petersburg privatiser is causing a general hulla-baloo, as if the whole wealth and well-being of the country depends on it.

Стало быть, амнистируем, потом подождём, когда следующая “группа товарищей” *наприватизирует*, и опять амнистируем. И опять по кругу. (МК, 15.10.97)

So, we declare an amnesty, then we wait for the next ‘group of comrades’ to privatise, and then we declare another amnesty. And then round and round again.

As the word adapts to widespread use, its meaning often broadens to fit wider contexts:

В послепетровской России дела чести были “*приватизированы*” дворянством. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

In post-Petrine Russia affairs of honour were ‘privatised’ by the nobility.

Гастарбайтер (German *Gastarbeiter*) ‘migrant worker’ has been used since the 1970s as an exoticism with a strong locational determinant: ‘emigrant worker in capitalist countries’ (КОТ). Nowadays the word has widened its scope to include the situation in Russia:

Труд *гастарбайтеров* используется во многих странах . . . В Москве за последние 2 года число иностранных рабочих возросло более чем в 5,5 раза. Сейчас в столице зарегистрировано порядка 70 тысяч *гастарбайтеров*, что составляет 1 процент от числа работающих. (МН, №38, 97)

Migrant workers are employed in many countries. In Moscow over the last two years the number of foreign workers has increased more than five and a half times. Now something of the order of 70,000 immigrant workers, 1 per cent of the work force, is registered in the capital.

According to dictionaries of the Soviet period, the loan word лобби ‘lobby’ and its derivatives лоббист ‘lobbyist’ and лоббизм ‘lobbying’ denoted features of Western parliamentary life. The loans first appeared in the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia of 1954 (КОТ). The meanings were negative and ideologically charged, setting them apart from their meanings in the source language:

Lobby, lobbyists (from English *lobby*). In the USA, agents for capitalist monopolies, trying to secure the acceptance of various kinds of bill. On

some occasions the system of bribery which exists in Congress is known as lobbying.

In the 1960s, the group acquired the derivative *лоббистский*, also with a negative connotation (Vvedenskii, 1959, hereafter abbreviated to MSE; Vol. 5):

Тактическую линию проводят функционеры правых партий. Здесь убийства, покушения, всякого рода *лоббизм*, подкуп, шантаж. (КОТ)

Functionaries of right-wing parties are taking a tactical line. Here there are murders, attempted murders, all kinds of lobbying, bribery and blackmail.

At present, the words in this lexical group are used to refer to both Western and Russian reality, and the ideological components have been removed from their new dictionary definitions; cf. 'lobby: a group of representatives of economically powerful structures which influence state policy' (OZH-97):

Затяжной конфликт между группой ОНЭКСИМ и её оппонентами — только начало . . . В такой ситуации финансовые группировки не могут иметь одного на всех *лоббиста* в структурах власти. (МН, №46, 97)

The protracted conflict between the ONEKSIM [bank] group and its opponents is only the beginning . . . In such a situation the financial groups cannot share one lobbyist in the power structure.

The words still sometimes carry a negative overtone, which reflects people's attitude to the concept itself and is international:

Сейчас время коллективных угроз, *лоббизма*, банд, мафий, кланов, сплочения не столько по профессиональным интересам, сколько в защите собственного благополучия и выгоды. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

Now is the time of collective threats, lobbying, gangs, mafias, clans and alliances, not so much to further professional interests as for the protection of personal well-being and gain.

In the post-Soviet period, new words in the group – *лоббировать* 'to lobby' and *лоббирование* 'lobbying' – were formed with native affixes:

Сильно похудевший Константин Боровой объявил о том, что все депутаты Думы подкуплены и за "огромные бабки" *лоббируют* принятие решений, выгодных тем или иным группам. (МК, 15.10.97)

A slim-line Konstantin Borovoi declared that all deputies in the Duma had been bribed and that they lobby for decisions which are beneficial to certain groups for 'a lot of readies'.

The word *ма́фия* (Italian *mafia*) was likewise originally used only in relation to the West:

mafia: secret organisation which arose at the end of the eighteenth century in Sicily (Italy) and which terrorises the population by various means. The name was also given in the twentieth century to some gangster organisations in the USA (after the Second World War the 'Cosa Nostra' (Italian 'Our Cause') became the most famous). (LEV)

This meaning is reflected in Soviet contexts:

В "Итальянских страничках" мы найдём немало о *мафии*. Но это не просто "приключенческий материал" — о контрабанде, торговле наркотиками, мести и пр. Здесь речь идёт о другом: *мафия* — организация, прежде всего политическая. (КОТ)

We will find a lot about the mafia in 'Italian Pages'. But these are not just adventure stories about smuggling, narcotics trafficking, revenge and so on. Here you will find something else: an organisation which is, first and foremost, political.

With the unprecedented growth of organised crime in post-Soviet society, the word *ма́фия* now also has a Russian referent and has come into everyday use, together with its derivatives *мафи́ози* (singular *and* plural, from Italian *mafioso*, plural *mafiosi*) and *мафио́зный* 'mafia' (adjective). The set phrases

мафи́озные структу́ры 'mafia structures'

мафи́озное госуда́рство 'mafia state'

мафи́озные группиро́вки 'mafia groups'

have been coined:

В числе основных препятствий на пути западных инвестиций Пер Гилленхаммар назвал русскую *мафию*. (ЧП, 13.9.97)

Per Gyllenhammar named the Russian mafia as being among the fundamental barriers to Western investment.

Я обо всём этом писал ещё три года назад. Целую книжку написал о том, что у всех на глазах формируется уголовно—*мафиозное* государство. (З., №30, 96)

I wrote all about this three years ago. I wrote a whole book about the way in which a criminal and mafia state is forming before our very eyes.

2.2.6.2 *The activation of bookish words of foreign origin*

The second group of words which have moved from the periphery of the lexical system to the centre contains words, mainly bookish, which have lost their specific stylistic colouring. These words had limited currency and occurred in specific categories of text in official, academic and business registers. In the period following perestroika, the frequency of these peripheral lexical items increased, and from narrow, stylistically marked usage they shifted to mainstream circulation:

альтернатива 'alternative'	конфронтация 'confrontation'
альтернативный 'alternative'	локальный 'local'
(adjective)	легитимный 'legitimate'
вóтум 'vote'	негативный 'negative'
делегировать 'to delegate'	перманентный 'permanent'
инвектива 'invective'	позитивный 'positive'
индифферентность 'indifference'	криминогённый 'generating crime'
консéнсус 'consensus'	регион 'region'
конста́нтный 'constant'	региональный 'regional', etc.:

Единственным выходом по удешевлению строительства было создание в Куркино *локальных* инженерных систем. (МК, 15.10.97)  
The creation of local engineering systems in Kurkino was the only way to reduce construction costs.

*Перманентный* скандал между враждующими группировками был бы слишком опасен. (МН, №46, 97)  
A constant row between hostile groups would be too dangerous.

As often occurs with bookish words, many of these items had neutral synonyms which were more frequently used. The current register change has given rise to a contest between these competing forms. The fashion for foreign words accounts for the presence of a formerly bookish lexeme in a situation where a neutral native word would be entirely appropriate. Subsequently, the foreign-based and formerly peripheral items become first choice. The post-Soviet mass media give preference to such expressions as:

локализáция конфлίκта over ограничéние конфлίκта 'localisation of a conflict'  
нестандáртная ситуáция over необы́чные обстоя́тельства 'unusual circumstances'  
релятíвный is often used instead of относíтельный 'relative' and  
вердíкт replaces приговóр, решéние 'verdict':

... народные избранники вместо всяких *вотумов* недоверия найдут в себе силы работать с правительством. Читай — утверждают проект



бюджета и программу приватизации-98, которые сейчас ждут их вердикта. (МК, 15.10.97)

... the people's representatives will find the strength within themselves to work with the government instead of calling for all kind of votes of no confidence, i.e., they will confirm the budget bill and 1998 privatisation programme which are now awaiting their verdict.

The adjectives *позитивный* 'positive' and *негативный* 'negative' belong to this category of words and are now often preferred to their synonyms *положительный* and *отрицательный*:

Легче всего сказать, что есть свобода *позитивная*, содержательная и есть дурная и незрячая ... *Позитивная* свобода не может обойтись без *негативной*, наоборот, она содержит её в себе, сохраняя её как условие своего собственного существования. (МН, №1, 97)

It is easiest of all to say that there is positive freedom with some substance to it, and there is evil and blind freedom ... Positive freedom cannot exist without negative; on the contrary, it contains it, maintaining it as a condition of its own existence.

For the truncated forms *позитив* and *негатив*, see Section 3.1.7.

*Коммуникация* is now commonly used in place of the native words *связь*, *сообщение* and *общение*, while the adjective *тотальный* 'total' is often preferred to *полный*:

Радиотелефон Samsung SP-R917, работающий на частоте 900 Мгц, — идеальное средство *коммуникации* для большой и дружной семьи. (advertisement, 7Д, 2-8.6.97)

The Samsung SP-R917 mobile phone, working on a frequency of 900 megahertz, is an ideal means of communication for a large and closely knit family.

... государство и общество берут на себя *тотальную* защиту человеческого достоинства и прав. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

... state and society take upon themselves the total defence of human dignity and rights.

It is not unusual for a register shift to be accompanied by a partial change in meaning. The noun *регион* 'region' provides an example of semantic redistribution between new and original meanings. Attested in the mid-1970s, it was borrowed into Russian with the meaning 'a large territory, the components of which are characterised by common geographical, ethnographic and political features'. Initially, the word appeared infrequently, while semantically it diverged from its more common counterparts *район* and *область* by

virtue of its semantic components 'large' and 'heterogeneous'. However, the fashion for foreign words is so dominant that *регион* became the preferred choice in official and political contexts, compromising its original meaning in the process. Thus, *региональный хозрасчёт* 'regional self-financing', which denoted the policy of granting the regions some sort of economic right to self-sufficiency in the early days of perestroika, was terminologically inaccurate. This caused a further fusion of meanings which should, by rights, have been diverging from each other. In the 1970s and 1980s, *регион* had been used primarily in reference to other countries:

Большое воздействие на развитие международных отношений в Латинской Америке оказывает антиимпериалистическая борьба народных масс, которая неуклонно возрастает в ряде государств *региона*. (КОТ)

The anti-imperialist struggle of the popular masses, which is steadily growing in a number of states in the region, is exerting considerable influence on the development of international relations in Latin America.

Now, however, *регион* is used to refer to regions of Russia, typically replacing the Soviet bureaucratic term *места* 'provinces', and thus functioning as an antonym to *центр* 'centre':

Россия всегда была сильна *глубинкой, провинцией, регионами*. (МК, 24.12.96)

Russia has always been strong in terms of its outback, its provinces, regions.

The word *регион* has generated the derivatives *региональный* 'regional' and *регионал* 'representative of a region':

... ей [Москве] в принципе выгодно как можно дольше держать *регионалов* в "подвешенном состоянии". (Итоги, №14, 97)

... in principle it is to its [Moscow's] advantage to keep the regions in a state of uncertainty for as long as possible.

#### *2.2.6.3 Lexical processes in technical terminology: change in status of a term*

Many older loan words which have moved from peripheral position to mainstream use had previously had functional restrictions: they were technical terms limited to professional communication. Having switched from the narrow area of terminology to the status of general language use, these words have now infiltrated everyday language, and their frequency is increasing dramatically.

Specialist terminology of this type derives mainly from:

- politics:
 

автоно́мия ‘autonomy’	консе́нсус ‘consensus’
денонса́ция ‘denunciation’	олига́рхия ‘oligarchy’
диа́спора ‘diaspora’	стагна́ция ‘stagnation’
импи́чмент ‘impeachment’	суверени́тет ‘sovereignty’;
- philosophy:
 

плюрали́зм ‘pluralism’	попули́зм ‘populism’;
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- the economy:
 

инвести́ция ‘investment’	конве́рсия ‘conversion’;
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- computing and engineering:
 

генера́ция ‘generation’	та́ймер ‘timer’;
дисбала́нс ‘imbalance’	
- natural sciences:
 

эколо́гия ‘ecology’	эпице́нтр ‘epicentre’; and
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- sport:
 

аутса́йдер ‘outsider’	та́йм-а́ут ‘time out’.
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Some words fall into two categories: they derive from technical terminology, at the same time possessing a meaning which has been redirected from global to specifically Russian referents.

The term *инаугура́ция* ‘inauguration’ is an example of a redirected political term. This word began to occur in Russian in the mid-1950s and since then had related exclusively to the ceremony of installation in an elected position in the USA:

Во время *инаугура́ции* нового губернатора штата Колорадо мы видели президента университета штата. (КОТ)

During the inauguration of the new Governor of the State of Colorado we saw the President of the State University.

The term became particularly popular during President Bush’s inauguration (Sen’ko, 1994: 176). The introduction of the Soviet and later the Russian presidency gave this word a shot in the arm, and its frequent repetition in the speeches of politicians and in the media has eliminated its terminological overtones:

Год назад, во время *инаугура́ции*, Борис Ельцин призвал власть и народ родить новую идеологию для новой России. (МН, №38, 97)

A year ago, during the inauguration, Boris El’tsin called on leadership and people to create a new ideology for a new Russia.

When an item of terminology comes into general use it loses its mono-semantic status and its meaning ceases to be narrowly defined. A word in

everyday use may be polysemantic, as well as semantically more opaque than a technical term. Although it is not typical for a technical word to have an emotive connotation, some terms, which earlier referred exclusively to the West and appeared in ideological polemic, were emotively charged. In new contexts, former terms can acquire or change their stylistic colouring.

In the Soviet period, the word *олига́рхия* 'oligarchy' was used as an economic and political term in the field of Marxist social sciences. The following example, taken from a Soviet textbook of political economy, illustrates typical usage:

В эпоху империализма буржуазное государство, представляя собой диктатуру финансовой олигархии, осуществляет всю свою деятельность в интересах господствующих монополий. (Ostrovitianov et al., 1954: 258).

In the imperialist era, the bourgeois state, representing the dictatorship of a financial oligarchy, conducts all its activities in the interests of dominant monopolies.

Now, *олига́рхия* has lost the component which determined its status as a technical term; the word's meaning has simplified and broadened to encompass Russian reality. In modern contexts, the word is used so widely that even the major component of its meaning could be dispensed with, reducing it to: 'government by a small and affluent group'. Contexts containing the word *олига́рхия* reveal the negative colouring of the newly created meaning:

Надо ясно понять: Коржаков — представитель одного из кланов правящей олигархии, временно оттеснённого немножко в сторону от самого жирного куска пирога, но не теряющего надежды вернуться на исходные позиции. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

Make no mistake about it: Korzhakov is a representative of one of the clans of the ruling oligarchy, which has been temporarily pushed aside somewhat from the meatiest bit of the pie, but which has not lost hope of returning to its initial position.

From *олига́рхия* derives *олигархиза́ция* 'creation of an oligarchical system':

С другой [стороны] "традиционные либеральные ценности", "демократия", "свобода слова" "борьба с олигархизацией всей страны". (МН, №38, 97)

On the other [hand] are 'traditional liberal values', 'democracy', 'freedom of speech', 'the struggle against the creation of oligarchical rule over the whole country'.



It has also affected the semantic expansion of the noun олига́рх 'oligarch' from a specific politico-economic term to a negatively charged colloquial item:

— Что значит "пережить осень"?

— Бюджет, налоговый кодекс, пережить собственную драку внутри между олигархами и Чубайсом . . . (МН, №38, 97)

'What does "to survive autumn" mean?'

'The budget, the tax code, the internal show-down between the oligarchs and Chubais.'

#### The word group

инвести́ровать 'to invest'

инвести́ция 'investment'

инвестицио́нный 'investment' (adjective)

инве́стор 'investor'

also demonstrates a transformation in economic terminology. As late as 1987, these words were still qualified as technical terms: 'to invest (technical): to inject capital into a foreign enterprise' (OZH-87). Like many other economic terms, it had, in Soviet parlance, referred only to the West.

A wide-ranging discussion of the economic situation in Russia has transformed members of this group into key words in current discourse as well as widening their meanings to cover Russian reality. At the same time, the relative frequency of the native equivalents, such as:

капиталовложе́ния 'capital investment'

де́лать капиталовложе́ния 'to make a capital investment'

вкла́дывать капита́л 'to invest capital'

вкла́дчик 'investor'

has diminished:

Мы *инвестируем* ваши финансовые средства в самые высокоприбыльные проекты: строительство железных и автомобильных дорог, развитие коммерческих теле- и коммуникационных систем (Ог., №12-13, 92)

We will invest your money in the most profitable projects: railway and motorway construction, the development of television and communication systems.

Если продолжать аналогию с мудрым старцем, который, сажая дерево, думает о будущем, то он, по сути, и проводит *инвестиционную* политику (ЛГ, №7, 87).

If one continues the analogy of the wise old man who, when planting a tree, thinks of the future, then he, in point of fact, is carrying out an investment policy.

Ferm observes that the word *инвѳстоп* has diverged in meaning from its Russian counterpart and denotes ‘a firm or a person making a capital investment’, as opposed to *вклáдчик*, which can have the additional meaning of ‘a company or person who puts money into a bank account’ (Ferm, 1994: 166).

#### *2.2.6.4 Terminology and secondary borrowing*

Unlike words which abandon their terminological status, some lexical items acquire new meanings through secondary borrowing from the source language. This may lead to a word’s having two meanings: one terminological, the other neutral. In such cases, the new meaning and the earlier technical term may belong to different thematic groups.

*Дистрибуция* ‘distribution’, for example, was a linguistic term with the meaning ‘a set of contexts in which any given unit can appear. These contexts contrast with all those where the unit cannot appear, that is, place, order, combinability, and other special features of its use, in terms of the relative arrangement of individual parts of an utterance’ (Akhmanova, 1966). Secondary borrowing added the new meaning ‘distribution of goods’:

Что ж, *дистрибуция* [распространение товара] — вещь хорошая. Тем более с тысячедолларовыми заработками. (*Итоги*, №14, 97)

Agreed, distribution [the circulation of a commodity] is a good thing. All the more so with earnings of thousands of dollars.

*Номинация* ‘reference’, also a linguistic term, has acquired, through borrowing, the secondary, non-technical meaning of ‘nomination’:

В каждом конкурсе по каждой *номинации* будут присуждаться 1-е, 2-е и 3-е места и Гран-при. (*7Д*, №40, 96)

In each competition first, second and third places and the Grand Prix will be awarded for each nomination.

Some words which earlier functioned as technical terms develop secondary figurative meanings which, while they existed at the end of the Soviet period, have since been given a new lease of life due to their topical overtones and fashionable foreign sound.

*Прѳссинг* ‘pressure’ was initially borrowed in the 1960s as a sporting term, and denoted ‘limiting an opponent’s movements in all areas of play in sports

involving the use of a ball or puck' (КОТ). The term later acquired the figurative meaning 'deliberate mental or moral pressure', a sense which has become particularly popular in the contemporary press:

Кроме того, будем помнить, под каким *прессингом* со стороны той же Думы работала всё время та же самая реформаторская часть правительства (когда ей вообще удавалось работать). (ЧП, 13.9.97)  
Furthermore, let us recall the pressure under which that same reforming part of the Government always worked (when it managed to work at all) when pressurised by that self-same Duma.

Some former technical terms acquire more than one meaning as a result of secondary borrowing. The word *аксессуары* 'accessory' (French *accessoire*) reflects a complex system of new and extant meanings. In the Soviet period, this was a rare word used in two senses, both on the periphery of the lexical system. The first, according to OZH-87, was technical: 1. 'small object, part of a stage set'. The second was figurative and stylistically marked as bookish: 2. (figurative) 'a detail, accompanying the main item' (bookish):

Повесть гораздо интереснее своими отступлениями и *аксессуарами*, нежели своею романтической завязкою. (Белинский, В.Г. *Взгляд на русскую литературу*, cited in MAS)

The tale is far more interesting for its digressions and details than for its romantic opening.

In present-day contexts, the word occurs in meanings quite different from those given in Ozhegov's dictionary, for example:

Также неплохо эти милые *аксессуары* смотрятся в виде браслетов, колье, диадем и серёг крупных форм и жизнерадостных расцветок. (ТВ Парк, №9, 95)

These delightful accessories also look nice as large, cheerfully coloured bracelets, necklaces, tiaras and earrings.

It is most likely that this new meaning results from further borrowing, this time from English; alternatively it could represent an extension of the native Russian meaning under the influence of English. The word's pronunciation is modelled on French, but in new contexts the use of *аксессуары* (mainly in the plural) narrows the original meaning given in OZH-87 and matches the English definition of 'accessory': 2. '(especially in plural) minor fitting or attachment; small article of (especially woman's) dress' (COD). The development of the Russian loan's semantics also shifts it away from the bookish to the neutral register. The other new meaning, this time a technical one, derives directly from English computer terminology ('computer accessories'):

Огромный выбор компьютерного оборудования и аксессуаров.  
(advertisement, МК, 17.9.96)

A huge selection of computer equipment and accessories.

The outcome of all the changes in this former peripheral lexical item is a semantic 'coup' in the true sense of the word, with the most recent meanings becoming central to the semantic structure of the word.

### 2.2.7 Changes in non-standard lexis

A further type of change in lexical centre-periphery relations is 'internal borrowing' (Kostomarov, 1994b: 60–80), that is to say, transferring lexis from non-standard areas to standard written discourse. Informal words, not used earlier in standard speech, have flooded into newspapers and onto radio and television. These items are moving from the periphery into the central zone of the vocabulary and into widespread use, as the result of a new wave of linguistic liberalisation which, in its turn, reflects democratic developments in society. The history of the Russian language has witnessed successive waves of liberalisation, alternating with periods of conservatism. The democratic development of the language in the post-Soviet era is the most powerful since the 1920s.

A large and diverse group of words is affected. A description of this lexical process is complicated by the fact that there is no clear-cut distinction between different non-standard lexical categories. Types of lexical information traditionally singled out as a basis for classification overlap and a neat paradigm has not yet been devised (Skliarevskaja, 1994).

Dictionaries of the Soviet era recorded non-standard words on a sporadic and inconsistent basis. Lexicologists have not made the situation any clearer. For example, what is normally termed *prostorechie* covers at least five types of additional lexical information. Skliarevskaja, in her prospectus for a new definitive academic dictionary, a map of Russian lexis extending into the twenty-first century, suggests discarding the term *prostorechie*, as it is too ambiguous (Skliarevskaja, 1994: 32). On the basis of her classification, the following non-standard categories will be considered as major sources of internal borrowing: (1) informal words, (2) vulgar words and (3) slang.

The influx of non-standard elements into standard usage disrupts what used to be a watershed between the formal and the informal, the colloquial and the written, the permitted and the taboo. This contributes to the general atmosphere of permissiveness and informality in a society liberating itself from the stylistic strait-jacket of Communist discourse.

#### 2.2.7.1 Informal words

These words are normally associated with informal spheres of communication, mainly in everyday situations. In the 1990s informal words inundate



practically all communicative spheres, with or without a particular stylistic requirement:

Представьте себе, Сергей Сергеич или Иван Иванович взял в кредит деньги и закупил оптом партию *чесалок для попы, ковырялок в носу* или, того лучше, открыл агентство по продаже недвижимости. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

Imagine Joe Bloggs or Johnny Average has borrowed money on credit and has bought a consignment of bum scratchers and nose pickers wholesale or, better still, has opened an estate agency.

Заметим: как раз в дни проведения Русского саммита Виктор Черномырдин назвал проблему инвестиций — прежде всего *закордонных* — ключевой для государства в данный момент. (ЧП, 13.09.97)

Let us note: at the very time of the Russian summit, Viktor Chemomyrdin called the investment problem – first and foremost foreign investment – a key one for the State at the present time.

... хотя это было суперстранно, посол великой державы [США] жил у меня 5 дней. Чекисты за это время *описали* у меня все углы. (МК, 24.12.96)

... extraordinary as this may seem, the ambassador of a great power [USA] stayed at my place for 5 days. During this time Cheka agents outside pissed over all four corners of my house.

Informal means of expression include the particle *аж*, earlier used in low-style registers to qualify the speech of less well-educated groups. It has become extremely popular in the press:

Туляков выставили *аж* пятерых, размазали между ними голоса тех, кто не желал их отдавать залётному генералу. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

There were as many as five [candidates] nominated from Tula; the votes of those who did not want to give them to a carpet-bagging general, were thinly spread among those five.

### 2.2.7.2 *Vulgar words*

The category of vulgar words contains items that border on the taboo. These days, however, it is not unusual to see such words as:

сúка ‘bitch’

зад, за́дница ‘arse’

засра́нец ‘shit’

мо́рда ‘mug’

жрать ‘to gobble’

па́дла ‘bastard’

свóлочь 'swine'  
га́дина 'scumbag'

говно́, дерьмо́ 'shit'  
ры́ло 'snout', etc.

in a newspaper, words whose appearance on the printed page was banned by the Soviet censorship:

Городская голова, проходя мимо дающего интервью спартаковца, громко, под одобрителный посвист подобострастных земляков, кричит в телекамеру: "*Говно у вас, а не команда!*" (МН, №19, 96)

Walking past a Spartak player as he was giving an interview, the mayor loudly, and to the approving whistles of servile locals from his district, shouts into the camera: 'It's not a team you've got, but shit!'

Или, скажем, что такое интеллигенция: мозг нации или её *дерьмо*? (ЛГ, 9.10.96)

Or, let's say, what is the intelligentsia – the brain of a nation or its shit?

— Ну, во-первых, далеко не плотного: за последние полгода девять килограммов убрал . . .

— Каким образом "убрал"?

— *Жрать* и пить надо меньше. (interview with pop-singer Andrei Makarevich, АиФ, №4, 97)

'Well, first, far from overweight: over the last six months I have lost nine kilograms . . .'

'How did you "lose" them?'

'You need to put less food and drink away'.

Наши, в этих шапках грузинских, с шампанским, кричат "Виктор Саныч, мы здесь!" Тот: "*Етит твою мать*, вы уже совсем". (МК, 29.11.97)

Our lot, in those Georgian hats, with their champagne, shout: 'Viktor Sanych, we're here!' And he says: 'Fuck off, you buggers!'

In the 1980s and 1990s, мат ('taboo obscenities') and vulgar language have become common currency in literature: a large number of vulgar words appear in the writings of Eduard Limonov, Valeria Narbikova, Vladimir Sorokin, Viktor Erofeev and others:

Тогда отец послал Викторушку *на хуй* и, сунув руки под простынь, схватил жену Викторушки за *задницу*. (Limonov, Е., *Молодой негодяй*, in Limonov, 1986: 48–9)

Then the father told Viktorushka to bugger off, and, putting his hands under the sheet, grabbed Viktorushka's wife by the arse.

Это наши истребители! Шабашники тяжело дышат. Вот такие вот сбили корейца . . . Поделом ему! *Выблядок* американский! (Erofeev, V., *Говнососка*, in Erofeev, 1994: 314)

Those are our fighter planes! The cowboy builders breathe heavily. Planes like that shot down the Korean plane. Served it right! American bastard!

This tendency may represent a backlash against the covert hypocritical language of the Soviet press and is symptomatic of the liberalisation of the language. Some, however, argue that these outpourings of vulgarity bear witness to a decline in the spiritual state of society, and call for an unrelenting struggle against the pollution of the language with obscenities (Dulichenko, 1994: 221; Skvortsov, 1996: 60).

### 2.2.7.3 *Slang*

Slang words are rooted in the speech of isolated social groups, for example, workers, scientists, students, etc. In contemporary lexical development in this area, two groups are particularly active as sources of internal borrowing: criminal argot and youth slang.

#### CRIMINAL ARGOT

Many scholars are concerned about the amount of slang in contemporary Russian. Theories have been expressed about a connection between the popularity of words from criminal slang and the 'criminalisation of people's minds' (cf. Medvedeva and Shishova, 1995: 32). Skvortsov argues that even to use individual criminal words and phrases for expressive purposes is to instil criminal psychology (Skvortsov, 1996: 71). In the *Толковый словарь уголовных жаргонов* 'Explanatory Dictionary of Criminal Jargons' there are several hundred words that are increasingly being used in the media, fiction and the speech of people from all walks of life (cited in Skliarevskaja, 1994: 11; also see Elistratov, 1995):

балдёж 'high'	наезд 'a rough time'
беспредел 'lawlessness'	не свѣтит 'there is no chance'
блатной 'criminal'	понт 'showing off'
везуха 'lucky streak'	стучать 'to rat on'
вырубиться 'to pass out'	тусоваться 'to hang around'
завал 'failure'	усечь 'to suss'
качать права 'to throw one's weight around'	фуфлѳ 'garbage'
кинуть 'to con'	ханá 'curtains'
кусѳк 'grand'	чернуха 'lie', 'negative information', and so on.
лимон 'million'	

One of the key words of modern times is the noun беспредел 'lawlessness, chaos', which originated in criminal argot. In thieves' language of the 1940s and 1950s, беспредел denoted a group of delinquents who did not conform to criminal codes, habits and traditions. In the 1980s and 1990s the meaning changed to denote any criminals or convicts, subsequently 'extreme lawlessness' (Kostomarov, 1995: 260). Now this latest meaning is becoming more abstract, allowing hitherto impossible adjectival phrases:

августовский беспредел 'August lawlessness' (of the coup of August 1991)

административный беспредел 'administrative chaos'

митинговый беспредел 'demo chaos'

моральный беспредел 'moral chaos'

политический беспредел 'political lawlessness'

or phrases with the genitive:

беспредел бесхозяйственности, власти, дикого капитализма, коррупции  
'the chaos of mismanagement, of power, of unrestrained capitalism, of corruption'.

The word's popularity and ubiquitousness have made it 'a word-symbol, a word-slogan and a word-reality' (Mokienko, 1994: 156) of the post-Soviet epoch:

Их [шахтёров] дети конфет не видели. Старуха семь лет купить чулки не может. Вместо конфет и чулок на каждом километре стоит Ленин. *Беспредел*. (МН, 7.7.91, cited in М)

Their [the miners'] children have forgotten what sweets look like. An old woman hasn't been able to buy stockings for seven years. At kilometre intervals, instead of sweets and stockings, stands Lenin. Anarchy.

Крыша 'front' (literally 'roof') refers in criminal cant to the top level of criminal governance (Bykov, 1994). In everyday speech, крыша now denotes a group of racketeers extorting protection money from shops and businesses:

И деньги ему нужно поскорее вернуть, иначе кредитор поставит его на счётчик, а то и вовсе наймёт *крышу* и прибьёт Сергея Сергеича, которого, разумеется, такой расклад не устраивает. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

And he needs to return the money sharpish, otherwise the creditor will turn the heat up on him, or else will hire a bully-boy and do in Sergei Sergeich, for whom this turn of events is, of course, unwelcome.



Among the most popular words which derive from criminal slang is *разбóрка* ‘bust-up’. From meaning ‘sorting out relationships within or between criminal gangs’ the word has broadened its referential sphere and contextual range: even a President may now feel free to use a phrase such as *разбóрки в правітельстве* ‘government bust-ups’:

— Я не могу работать в условиях, когда обсуждения важных государственных вопросов больше напоминают воровские *разборки* — заявил Шеварднадзе. (*Изв.*, 16.9.93)

‘I cannot work in conditions where discussions of important state issues are more like bust-ups among thieves,’ Shevardnadze declared.

From the language of the *fartsovshchiki*, semi-criminal elements who preyed on foreigners in the Brezhnev era, come non-standard euphemisms denoting the dollars coveted by so many: *ба́ксы* ‘bucks’, *зелёные*, *зе́лень* ‘dosh, readies’ (literally ‘green stuff’):

А потому вряд ли мы когда-нибудь узнаем, чьи в действительности “*зелёные*” пошли на очистку предвыборной тульской атмосферы. (*ЛГ*, 19.2.97)

That’s why we will probably never find out whose dosh really went towards cleaning up the Tula pre-election atmosphere.

Есть анекдот. Почему а Америке пользуются кредитными карточками? Потому что все наличные *баксы* ушли в Россию. (*ЛГ*, 10.9.97)

There’s a joke about that. Why do they use credit cards in America? Because all the bucks have gone off to Russia.

#### YOUTH SLANG

See also Section 6.6.

Youth slang is another popular source of internal borrowing. The use of slang for the younger generation has always represented an attempt to transcend official usage by the creation of a code excluding outsiders. Youth slang is full of playful exaggeration and creates a world of words more colourful than reality. It has elements of carnivalisation and irony (Gerashchenko and Kletsova, 1995: 124–5), which are congenial to the general mood of post-communist discourse. These have been significant factors in the transfer of slang words into general usage.

The language of the media abounds in words like:

*врубáться* ‘to get, understand’

*прéдки* or *шнуркí* ‘parents’

*круто́й* ‘serious, tough, cool’

балдѣть, торчѣть, тащѣться or оттягиваться 'to get a high, to dig'  
 тусóвка 'gang, crew'  
 крýша поѣхала, съѣхала, сорвалáсь 'gone loopy' and others.

The newspaper *Moskovskii Komsomolets* carries a regular feature on student life, aimed at young readers, entitled Стýдень (a slang word meaning 'student', literally 'meat jelly').

An interesting tendency characterises the slang of the 1990s: its development runs counter to that of the general stratum of the language. Throughout the period from the 1960s to the 1980s, English was the primary source of Russian youth slang, whereas in the 1990s, when the language was saturated with new words of foreign origin, slang drew on native resources. The reason for this is that while, previously, English had been the means of isolating one sub-culture from another, and thus those who used slang from the rest of society, English is now becoming too popular to be a sub-cultural code. However, with the rapid rate of internal borrowing, slang stands little chance of maintaining its insular nature.

In contemporary usage, the words тусóвка 'gang, crew', тусовáться 'to hang around, go to parties' and the derivatives:

тусня́ 'gang, crew'	кинотусóвка 'a get-together of
тусóвщик, тусóвщица 'member of a	movie stars'
<i>tusovka</i>	рóк-тусóвка 'rock gig' and others

have become extremely popular. Тусовáться is recorded in the first post-Soviet edition of Ozhegov's dictionary: 'to gather together, to socialise, spend time together' (OZH-93). Etymologically, these words probably derive from the verb тасовáть (карты) 'to shuffle (cards)'. Тусóвка, тусовáться originated in criminal argot, тусóвка originally meaning 'fight, scene, quarrel' (Grachëv, 1995: 85). Thence, the words spread to hippy slang in the 1970s and later to young people's informal speech in general. The meaning of тусовáться changed to 'to hang out', and the meaning of тусóвка changed to 'company, circle of acquaintances', or 'meeting place'.

In the contemporary press, words from this group are used with wider reference, often relating to the world of politics:

Business Week проводит свои конференции каждый год. В разных странах. Это жутко престижные деловые тусовки. (ЧП, 13.09.97)

Business Week holds its conferences every year, and in different countries. They are highly prestigious business get-togethers.

— Слишком часто это делается только для того, чтобы напомнить о себе, приобрести политический капитал, помелькать, потусоваться. (ЛГ, 9.10.96)

‘Too often this is only done to remind people about one’s existence, to extract political capital, to be seen in the right places, be on the scene.’

Another popular word with its origins in youth slang is *оттягиваться*, *оттянуться* ‘to have a good time, get high, let one’s hair down’. It derives from the lexicon of drug-takers and has a subsidiary meaning ‘to take a hair of the dog that bit you’ (Shliakhov and Adler, 1995). In the 1990s it has become a media favourite:

В комментариях Доренко, что называется, *оттянулся*. Более всех досталось не покойному пьянице-водителю, а фоторепортёрам, снимавшим место аварии. (*МК в П.*, №6, 11–18.9.97)

In the commentaries Dorenko had a field-day, as they say. It was not the deceased drunk driver who got the worst of it, but paparazzi who were filming the scene of the accident.

Крутой ‘tough, cool’ is another popular media buzz word. It is connected with the standard figurative meaning of *крутой* (*крутой нрав* ‘stern manner’), but its slang meanings are affected by English ‘tough’ and ‘cool’. *Крутой* has currently acquired a wide range of meanings: ‘tough, cool, extreme, serious, the best’, etc. (Zemskaia, 1996b: 97):

Сейчас Георгий Сергеевич — один из самых “*крутых*” фермеров не только Подмосковья, но в России. (*МК*, 15.10.97)

Now Georgii Sergeevich is one of the most serious farmers not only in the Moscow area, but in Russia.

*Крутой* has the following derivatives:

круто ‘cool’	подкрученный ‘wannabe’
крутизна, крутя ‘coolness’	круче ‘cooler’
крутяк ‘hit’	наикрутейший ‘the coolest’:

Зарубежные детективы его раздражают. Наша жизнь, считает он, гораздо *круче*. (*Сег.*, 8.4.94)

Foreign detective novels irritate him. He thinks that our life is much tougher.

Other slang words include *приколыщик* ‘jokester’, *стёб* ‘mickey-taking’ (see Section 6.4.2) and many words for ‘parents’:

шнурки ‘shoe-laces’	мárксы ‘Marxes’.
чúкчи ‘Chukchis’	

## 2.3 Quantitative changes in lexis

### 2.3.1 *Obsolete words*

One of the effects experienced by a language during a period of great social change is that a large stratum of lexis, or words, becomes surplus to requirements. This affects groups of words which relate to aspects of life no longer relevant to the society in question. The frequency ratio of such words reduces, and subsequently they fall out of active use. In the period from the mid-1980s to the 1990s this has applied to many words denoting items of reality associated with the Soviet period. Key words that symbolised the whole era are being consigned to oblivion:

коммунизм 'communism'  
коммунист 'communist'

марксизм-ленинизм 'Marxism–  
Leninism' and others.

The adjective советский 'Soviet' has ceased to be a ubiquitous qualifier and no longer appears in the following types of phrase, unless referring to the past:

советская власть 'Soviet power'  
советское государство 'Soviet  
State'  
советское правительство 'Soviet  
government'

Советская Армия 'Soviet Army'  
советская законность 'Soviet  
legality'  
советский образ жизни 'Soviet way  
of life', etc.

Following the demotion of the Communist Party from its status as the leading and guiding force in society, words with the initial stump парт- 'Party', which had permeated every aspect of Soviet life, became obsolete:

партком 'Party committee'  
партработа 'Party work'

парторг 'Party organiser', etc.

A similar fate befell words in полит- 'political, ideological', which represented levers of Soviet ideological propaganda:

политучёба 'political education'  
Политбюро 'Politburo'  
политработник 'political worker'  
политмиимум 'basic political loyalty test' and so on.

Among obsolete political vocabulary are also the stump compounds:

горком 'city committee'  
обком 'provincial committee'

райком 'regional committee'



and the acronyms

КПСС 'CPSU'  
СССР 'USSR'

КГБ 'KGB', etc.

Standard clichés and phrases from the ritual language of political propaganda have vanished from the newspapers:

социалистическое соревнование 'socialist competition'  
обстановка политического и трудового подъёма 'atmosphere of political and labour enthusiasm'  
морально-политическое единство всего трудового народа 'moral and political unity of all working people'  
исторические решения партийного съезда 'the historic decisions of the Party Congress' and others.

Words and set phrases which have disappeared from common usage include, in equal measure, those with:

- a positive connotation:
  - разрядка международной напряжённости '*détente*'
  - принцип мирного сосуществования 'principle of peaceful co-existence'
  - неделя действий за разоружение 'disarmament action week'
  - марш мира 'peace march'
  - Ленинский коммунистический субботник 'Leninist Communist *subbotnik*' (voluntary unpaid work)
  - молодой гвардеец пятилетки 'Young Guard of the Five Year Plan'; and
- a negative connotation:
  - гонка вооружений 'arms race'
  - военное противостояние 'military confrontation'
  - загнивающий капитализм 'decadent capitalism'
  - инакомыслящие 'dissidents'
  - оголтелый антисоветизм 'frenzied anti-Sovietism' and others.

The development of a market economy, which has transformed shortages of food and consumer goods into a relative abundance in the shops, has made the following words and expressions redundant:

дефицит 'shortages'  
карточно-талонная система 'rationing system'  
пустые прилавки 'empty counters'  
стоять за 'to queue up for'  
выбросить 'to sell a consumer good in short supply'

достать 'to get' (for купить 'to buy')  
 занять за 'to get a place in a queue for'  
 что дадут? 'what's for sale?'<sup>5</sup>.

Comedian Mikhail Zhvanetskii recollects those times in the following lines:

Вечные крики: "Обувь! Обувь! Обувь *дают!*" Вопль "Я заняла за сапогами!" освобождал от работы автоматически. (МН, №46, 97).  
 The eternal cries of 'Shoes! Shoes! They're selling shoes!' The cry of 'I've got a place in the queue for boots!' automatically excused people from their work.

Kitaigorodskaja and Rozanova make interesting observations about dramatic changes that have occurred in communicative stereotypes used in buying and selling situations in the shops in a post-1985 market environment, compared to the Soviet period (Kitaigorodskaja and Rozanova, 1996a: 354–81).

Some words have not become completely obsolete, but have down-sized their meanings; for example, the adjective ответственный 'at a high level of communist or Soviet managerial control', as in:

ответственный пост 'responsible post'  
 ответственный работник 'authorised employee'.

Соревноваться 'to compete' no longer means 'to take part in socialist competition at work', and призывы has shed the meaning 'slogans issued by the Party for Communist Party marches on 1 May and 7 November'. These words continue to function, but in a more general, non-ideological sense.

### 2.3.2 New words created by derivation

The Russian lexical system is experiencing a time of intensive renewal. A plethora of new words and phrases, based on native linguistic resources, reflect new aspects of reality.

#### 2.3.2.1 Affixes

See also Sections 3.3 to 3.5.

Word formation is especially active in the sphere of new reference. At a time when many new political, economic and social processes have come into being, there has been a need for names denoting processes, hence the popularity of the suffix -изация (see also Section 3.5.5):

ваучеризация 'voucherisation'  
 гуманизация 'humanitarianisation'

коммерциализация ‘commercialisation’  
суверенизация ‘sovereignisation’, etc.:

Ведь отправляют за решётку преступников совсем другие ведомства, а потому министерства юстиции совершенно искренне могут проводить политику *гуманизации* содержания. (ЧП, 8.10.97)  
After all, quite different departments are putting criminals in jail and that is why the justice ministries can with complete sincerity carry out a policy of improving prison conditions.

The rejection of old values has activated a group of prefixes indicating inverse process, rejection or destruction of that which is denoted by the word’s root: <sup>(9)</sup>анти- ‘anti-’, <sup>(6)</sup>де- ‘de-’, раз- (рас-) (see also Section 3.3.1):

антибюрократический ‘anti-bureaucratic’  
антиконституционный ‘anti-constitutional’  
антирынок ‘anti-market’  
антипарламент ‘anti-parliament’  
дэминистеризировать ‘to reduce the number of ministries’  
дэноменклатуризация ‘removal of *nomenklatura* members from power’  
дэсталинизация ‘de-Stalinisation’  
разгосударствление ‘denationalisation’  
раскрестьянивание ‘alienation of the peasantry’, cf.:

В последнее время ведётся кампания по *деполитизации* и *деидеологизации* армии, МВД, КГБ и даже учебных заведений. (Пр., 22.8.90, cited in M)

A campaign of depoliticisation and the removal of ideological influence in the army, the Ministry of the Interior, the KGB and even educational establishments has taken place recently.

В контекстах статей и речей “*раскрестьянивание*” употребляется как синоним “перерождения”: работник-хозяин переродился в работника-подёнщика. (Пр., 2.10.88)

In the context of articles and speeches, the term ‘alienation of the peasantry’ is used as a synonym of ‘degeneration’: the worker-boss has degenerated into a day-labourer.

Semantically close to these is the prefix не- ‘non-’ (see also Section 3.3.1.4):

невострéбованный ‘unclaimed’	невы́ход ‘absence’
невступлéние ‘non-entering’	некоммёрческий ‘non-commercial’:

И вот позавчера в три часа дня передача не вышла вовсе. Оказались *невостребованными* свежие и достоверные факты, которые могли бы пролить на вильнюсскую трагедию свет. (КП, 18.1.91)

And so the day before yesterday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the programme didn't go out at all. New and reliable facts which could have thrown light on the tragedy at Vilnius were unclaimed.

Among other active prefixes are свѐрх- 'super-':

свѐрхвопрѐс 'mega-issue'  
свѐрхцѐнность 'super value'

свѐрхцентрализм 'super centralism'

and its international counterpart сѹпер-:

сѹперидѐя 'superidea'  
сѹпермѐни-компѹтер 'super-mini computer'

as well as certain other international prefixes: нѐо- 'neo-', ѹльтра- 'ultra-', etc. (see Sections 3.3.2, 3.3.3):

*Ультранационалисты . . . стали обвинять русскоязычное население Украины в том, что именно оно несѐт ответственность за то, "что произошло в Крыму". (ИЗВ., 16.9.93)*

Ultra-nationalists . . . have begun to accuse Ukraine's Russian-speaking population of direct responsibility for what happened in the Crimea.

In the Soviet period, the international prefix пѐст- 'post-' was rarely found. The dictionary of Russian morphemes (Kuznetsova and Efremova, 1986) published in 1986 does not even mention it. The prefix re-emerged as a formative element in the creation of borrowed technical terms such as:

пѐстиндустриальный 'postindustrial' (1975)  
пѐстмодернизм 'postmodernism' (1979)  
пѐстпозитивистский 'post-positivistic' (1984).

Its present popularity may owe something to its foreign appeal. It operates as an independent word-formatory device, often combining with native stems (see Section 3.3.3.2).

Поли- 'poly-' is another prefix which reflects a preference for affixes of foreign origin. It often alternates with the traditional много- 'multi-, many':

*Россия — не государство-нация, а что-то очень хитрое — в силу многонациональности и поликонфессиональности. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)*

Russia is not a nation-state but something very subtle, due to its multi-ethnicity and multiplicity of creeds.



With the increasing diversification of political groups, leaders and trends, affixes that denote affiliation to people, groups, theories and events have gained in popularity; these are, in particular, the prefix *про-* (see Section 3.3.4.2) and the suffixes *-ец*, *-ик*, *-ист* (see Section 3.5.8.2):

проэльцинский ‘pro-El’tsin’  
 прочубайсовский ‘pro-Chubais’  
 гайдáровец ‘Gaidar supporter’  
 лужкóвец ‘Luzhkov supporter’  
 жирино́вец ‘Zhirinovskii  
 supporter’

девяно́стик ‘nineties man’  
 рыно́чник ‘supporter of market  
 reform’  
 путчи́ст ‘participant in the putsch’:

.... ВГТРК [Всероссийская государственная телевизионная и радио-компания] во многих своих информационных программах занимает откровенно *прочубайсовскую* и *пропотанинскую* позицию. (МН, №46, 97)

.... VGTRK [All-Russian State Television and Radio Company] takes a frankly pro-Chubais and pro-Potatin stance in many of its news programmes.

Призываем граждан России дать достойный ответ *путчистам* и требовать вернуть страну к нормальному конституционному развитию. (from Boris El’tsin’s speech from the tank during the August 1991 *putsch*)

We call on the citizens of Russia to give a fitting reply to the participants in the *putsch* and to demand that the country be restored to its normal process of constitutional development.

Есть, впрочем, патриотизмы относительно безвредные, противные только. Например, патриотизм хронологический: они *шестидесятники*, а мы *девяностики* — по сусалам их, знай наших! (МН, №19, 96)

There are, however, relatively harmless, merely disagreeable forms of patriotism. For instance, chronological patriotism: they’re sixties people, and we’re nineties people: let’s thump them – here we come!

Names of political or other groups and movements, or of schools and theories, often take the suffix *-изм* (see also Section 3.5.3):

брежневизм ‘Brezhnevism’

глобализм ‘globalism’, cf.:

... если будет складываться блок отходящих от *ельцинизма* демократически настроенных людей ..., может возникнуть сила, способная если не предотвратить наступление тоталитаризма, то не дать ему распоясаться окончательно. (НГ, 22.10.93)

... if a bloc of democratically minded people who are shifting away from El'tsinism takes shape, then there may emerge a force capable, if not of preventing the advance of totalitarianism, then at least of not allowing it to cast aside all restraint.

### 2.3.2.2 Compounds and abbreviations

New compounds and abbreviations have also played an active part in word formation. After the aborted coup of 19–21 August 1991, among the most frequent abbreviations was ГКЧП (Госуда́рственный Комите́т по Чрезвычайно́му Положе́нию 'State Emergency Committee'). Although ГКЧП lasted for less than a week, the political effect of the event on the future of Russia and negative reactions to it throughout the world stimulated active use of the abbreviation and its derivatives (see Section 3.1.4):

В 16 часов состоялось заседание Президиума Верховного Совета СССР, который признал незаконными все решения *ГКЧП*. (См., 22.8.91)

A meeting of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR took place at 4 p.m., declaring all decisions taken by the State Emergency Committee to be illegal.

The disintegration of the USSR threw up the acronym СНГ 'CIS', standing for Содру́жество Незави́симых Госуда́рств 'Commonwealth of Independent States'. The acronym served as a basis for the derivatives эсэ́нгóвый, эсэ́нгóвский 'CIS' (adjective):

Действуют там банды рэкетиров. Причём банды-то наши, эсэ́нгóвские, а дороги-то их, польские. (*АиФ*, №25, 1992)

Gangs of racketeers are operating there. What's more, these gangs are made up of our lot, from the CIS, operating on Polish roads.

An ironic attitude to the inefficient Commonwealth caused the use of the acronym СНГ in satirical contexts and its humorous interpretations such as "Спо́соб насо́лить Горба́чеву" 'Way of spiting Gorbachëv' and "Спа́си нас, Го́споди" 'Save us, Lord'. (See also Section 5.2.4.)

New compounds include a small group of words which denote new objects; for example, existing linguistic resources were used to form the word радиотелефо́н instead of borrowing English *mobile phone*<sup>6</sup>:

... увеличивается ёмкость сети, повышается экологическая безопасность *радиотелефона*, увеличивается продолжительность работы батарей без перезарядки. (advertisement, 7Д, 2–8.6. 97)

... the network capacity is increasing, mobile phones are becoming environmentally safer and the life-span of batteries before they need to be recharged is getting longer.

The microwave is known as микроволно́вая печь, its colloquial clipped-compound variant микроволно́вка or the abbreviation свч-пéчка:

Для любителей хорошо покушать — свч-печки — \$160–350, хлебопечки \$135–170 или тостеры за \$25. (advertisement, МК, 14.12.96)

For gourmets there are microwave ovens, \$160–\$350, bread-baking machines at \$135–170 or toasters for \$25.

New acronyms (see also Section 3.1.3) cover many areas:

- naming diseases:  
СПИД ‘AIDS’
- relating to the mass media:  
АТВ (авторское телевидение) ‘creative production TV’  
СМИ (средства массовой информации) ‘mass media’
- forming new administrative terms  
АО (акционерное общество) ‘joint-stock company’  
ГД (Государственная Дума) ‘State Duma’  
УЭП (Управление экономической политикой) ‘management of economic policy’; and, surprisingly, even:  
РПЦ (Русская православная церковь) ‘Russian Orthodox Church’
- new political parties and movements:  
НДР (Наш Дом Россия) ‘Our Home is Russia’  
ЛДПР (Либерально-демократическая партия России) ‘Russian Liberal Democratic Party’:

Ведь жизнь вокруг меняется, и не всегда к лучшему. Колеблется туда-сюда. Особенно так называемые средства массовой информации. *СМИ*, смишеньки, так сказать . . . (ЛГ, 28.5.97)

After all, life changes all around you, and not always for the best. It sways, first this way, then that. Especially the so-called mass media. The dinky little media, so to speak.

И в президентской команде есть люди, выступающие за то, чтобы *Русская православная церковь* не была равна всем остальным.

— Вы по-прежнему в оппозиции к *РПЦ*? (ЛГ, 19.2. 97)

Even in the presidential team there are people who object to the Russian Orthodox Church having equal status to all the rest.

‘So are you still against the Russian Orthodox Church?’

New stump compounds (see Section 3.1.1) include:

генко́нсул (генерáльный ко́нсул) ‘Consul General’  
 госдúма (Госудáрственная Дúма) ‘State Duma’  
 Демроссия́ (political movement Демократическая Росси́я ‘Democratic Russia’)  
 тера́кт (террористический акт) ‘terrorist act’  
 Центробáнк (Центрáльный банк) ‘Central Bank’, also abbreviated as ЦБ, and others:

Пассажи́ров наиболее загру́женных станций москóвского метро, по сообщению “МК”, будут снимать на видео. На такие меры руководство метрополитена пошло в связи с постоянными слухами о готовящихся *терактах*. (*Нед.*, №12, 96)

According to a report by МК, passengers using the busiest Moscow underground stations will be videoed. The management of the Underground undertook these measures in connection with constant rumours about planned terrorist acts.

Вместо заявленного в программе председателя *Центробанка* Сергея Дубинина вступительное слово читал Пер Гилленхаммар — представитель одной из влиятельных лондонских инвестиционных групп, бывший президент концерна “Вольво”. (*ЧП*, 13.9.97)

Instead of being delivered by Tsentrobank Chairman Sergei Dubinin, as announced in the programme, the opening speech was made by Per Gyllenhammar, representative of an influential London investment group and former President of the Volvo company.

By contrast with the previous period, post-Soviet abbreviations can have additional connotations; even official names are no longer solemnly intoned but are often invested with a touch of irony. For example, Совбéз, a shortened form for Совéт Безопáсности ‘Security Council’ sounds ironic:

Известные заявления Бориса Ельцина о действиях замсекретаря *Совбеза* Бориса Березовского также быстро находят отклик у чеченского президента, бросившего уже ставшую знаменитой реплику: “Чеченец может взять деньги, но он никогда не продается”. (*ЛГ*, 10.9.97)

Boris El'tsin's well-known statements about the actions of the Deputy Secretary of the Security Council, Boris Berezovskii, were promptly echoed by the Chechen President, who chipped in with the now famous reply ‘A Chechen might take money, but he will never sell himself.’

Names for the members of the Russian Parliament or Duma may also sound ironic: дýмский (adjective and substantivised noun), дýмец, думáк



(derogatorily associated with дурáк ‘fool’ and also a metathesis of vulgar мудáк ‘stupid git’):

Более реалистичные думы . . . предложили несколько отсрочить обсуждение секвестра. (МК, 20.5.97)

More realistic members of the Duma . . . have suggested postponing discussion of sequestration for a while.

Плюнуть не успеешь, как станет бывшим и тот весёлый думак — правозащитник мордобоя. (МН, №19, 96)

You won’t have time to blink before that radiant Duma idiot – the advocate of the punch-up – will also be history.

### 2.3.3 *Semantic derivation*

#### 2.3.3.1 *New meanings*

Quantitative change at the level of lexical meaning involves the emergence of new meanings in existing words, a phenomenon which is also termed semantic derivation. It previously accounted for a substantial proportion of lexical change, and in the 1980s and 1990s semantic derivation has continued to be a significant innovatory resource.

A peculiarity of this period, however, is that the influence of foreign languages, especially English, is a prominent factor in the development of meaning. Calques from English are regularly used to extend meaning.

In the period since the mid-1980s, the following words have acquired additional meanings:

афгáнец ‘Afghan’, also ‘participant in the Afghan War’

афгáнский ‘Afghan’, also ‘relating to the Afghan War’

голубóй ‘light blue’, also ‘homosexual’

забáлтывать/заболтáть ‘to start chatting’, also ‘to talk down’ (perestroika, etc.)

подвéшенный ‘suspended’, also ‘uncertain’

раунд ‘round’ (boxing), also ‘round of talks’ and some others:

Мы не рассматриваем этот спор как нечто негативное. Но нельзя забалтывать демократию. (Пр., 17.4.87)

We do not view this argument as something negative, but you should not talk down democracy.

. . . по сути, неизвестно, что лучше: платить налоги в бюджет, где они пропадут в кармане неизвестного чиновника, или же выплачивать их напрямую военнослужащим и ветеранам, как это делают многие афганцы. (МК, 20.5.97)

... in fact, no-one knows which is best – paying taxes to the Exchequer, where they'll end up in the pocket of some unknown state official, or else paying them directly to people in the armed services and to veterans, as many Afghans do.

... “снять” продажную женщину — не столько потребность, сколько дело мужской чести. Иначе рискуешь прослыть импотентом, а то и вовсе “голубым”, чего моряки, народ простой, в своей среде, категорически не терпят. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

... picking up a girl for sale is not so much a need as a matter of male honour. Otherwise you risk being called impotent, or else even ‘gay’, something sailors, a straightforward lot, will simply not tolerate in their ranks.

OZH-87 listed two meanings for the noun челно́к: ‘canoe’ and ‘shuttle, in a loom or sewing machine’. In the 1970s and early 1980s, the adjective челно́чный ‘shuttle’ arose: ‘of the repeated and regular return movements or transportation of someone or something’ (КОТ). Later, the noun челно́к acquired the meaning ‘(space) shuttle’, under the influence of the American term ‘shuttle’ for ‘space shuttle’. The two latter meanings became the basis for the further semantic development of челно́к, but the new meaning of the noun that evolved in the 1990s denotes a specifically Russian phenomenon occasioned by the first stage in market development – a person who buys goods and resells them at a profit elsewhere (Gekkina, 1996: 54):

В рассказе Сергея Залыгина “Предисловие” главные действующие лица — ... граждане, точнее, представление о них — убийцах, челноках, пенсионерах и т. д. (ЛГ, 18.3.98)

In Sergei Zalygin's story ‘The Preface’, the protagonists are ... the citizens, or to be more precise a representation of them: murderers, travelling salesmen, pensioners and so on.

Объём “челночного” импорта в Россию оценивается в 30,6 млрд. долл. (Фин. изв., 27.3.97)

The volume of ‘shuttle’ imports into Russia is valued at 30.6 billion dollars.

Корзи́на ‘basket (of consumer goods)’ is another word which has undergone semantic transformation and developed a new meaning in the socio-economic sphere. The noun's secondary meaning has developed on the basis of its implicit semantic component ‘for essential provision’, and denotes ‘minimum means of subsistence’. Thus, корзи́на usually appears in the word groups:

потребительская корзи́на ‘basket of consumer goods’

семейная корзи́на ‘basket of consumer goods for a family’

минимáльная корзýна ‘minimal basket of consumer goods’  
 элитáрная корзýна ‘basket of consumer goods for the élite’, etc.:

Третий тип — высокодоходные слои населения ... В их *потребительской корзине* 50 наименований продуктов и 84 — непродовольственных товаров. (*АиФ*, №23, 91)

The third category are the high-earning strata of the population. There are 50 names of foodstuffs in their consumer basket and 84 non-food products.

Strictly speaking, *совок* ‘sovok’ is a word-formatory innovation rather than the product of semantic derivation. Nonetheless, since its ultimate meaning derives from word play (and because in Russian speakers’ perception it is inseparably linked with *совок* ‘dustpan’), it is worth considering the word also in terms of its secondary metaphoric meaning. *Совок* is highly charged emotionally, its derogatory meanings signifying: 1. the Soviet Union; 2. a Soviet person, ‘Homo Sovieticus’. Although the word is an abbreviation of the adjective *советский* ‘Soviet’, the allusion to *совок* ‘dustpan’ intensifies its ironic and dismissive connotation, and can be regarded as a peripheral part of the word’s semantics. *Совок* is perceived as an analogue of others in the group of metaphoric meanings denoting ‘stupid person, dolt’: *бревнó, дуб, лапоть, пень, лопýх* (Kostomarov, 1994b: 177). The emotive content of the word reflects feelings, close to masochistic, of self-accusation and repugnance in a society trying to expiate the questionable sin of being Soviet. This is why for many people *совок* sounds particularly offensive. This is the opinion of the journalist Olga Chaikovskaia:

*Совок!* — кто бы знал, как я ненавижу это слово! И к “менталитету”, создавшему его, отношусь без уважения ... Вроде бы их много, *совков*, вроде бы они являют собой какую-то новую категорию ... Перед нами просто ругательство, в соответствии с характером эпохи имеющее ядовитую политическую окраску. Кстати, не советский ли менталитет породил это словцо? (*Век*, 11, 1992, cited in Kostomarov, 1994b: 175).

*Sovok!* Could anyone ever know how much I hate that word! What is more, I have no respect for the ‘mentality’ that created it. It seems there are a lot of these characters around, it seems they comprise some new category of person ... And what it is in fact is just a swear word, which in keeping with the character of the age has a vicious political slant. Incidentally, wasn’t it the Soviet mentality that gave rise to this wretched little word?

Some scholars have also objected strongly to the popularity of the word *совок*, considering it a decadent word which corrupts the nation’s mentality

and which is an insult to the Russian people (cf., for example, Skvortsov, 1996: 142). In the late 1990s, the frequency of this word seems to be receding.

The noun *команда* 'team' is another word whose semantic range has expanded significantly. Before perestroika it had the following meanings: 'a brief formal oral command', 'command of a military unit', 'military sub-unit', 'crew of a ship', 'sports team' (OZH-87).

From the late 1980s, three other meanings have now emerged: 'a group of young people united by some shared interest (sports fans, fans of rock-music, etc.)', 'a musical group, rock-group or the musicians in such groups', and 'a group of assistants in attendance on a political, social or sporting figure' (LEV). The last meaning developed under the influence of American English (cf. 'the President's team') and, in the context of the Russian political scene, has been the most popular of the new meanings:

Умный, опытный Чубайс пришёл на новое место со своей командой.  
(МН, №19, 96)

The intelligent and experienced Chubais arrived at the new post with his team.

It is not only nouns that are affected by semantic derivation. The adjective *прозрачный* has also developed, under English influence. Its traditional meanings are: 'transparent' and 'obvious, easily understood' (OZH-87).

New secondary figurative meanings, as in:

прозрачная граница 'transparent border'  
прозрачная компания 'transparent company'  
прозрачные счета 'transparent accounts'

have developed on the basis of the semantic components 'allowing to pass through' and 'evident', which the semantic derivatives share with the original meanings. The nearest synonyms to these new meanings are *открытый*, *проницаемый* 'open, permeable' (Gekkina, 1997: 58):

Британская компания довольно долго не решалась на легализацию, потому что, зарегистрировавшись в России, TWG становилась более прозрачной для наших налоговых органов и, возможно, потеряла бы на этом часть доходов. (МК, 8.4.98)

The British company took quite a long time to decide on legalisation, as TWG, having registered in Russia, was becoming more transparent for our tax agencies and would possibly have lost a part of its income as a result.

In other words which have a phonetic and a degree of semantic correspondence with their English counterparts, foreign influence is even more obvious. The advent in Russia of the world of glamour prompted a new



meaning of the word *модель* 'model'. Previously, *модель* had been used in the following meanings: 'sample of a product; also pattern for the production of an item (e.g., for a new dress)', 'reduced (or life-size) reproduction or outline of something (model ship, model plane)', 'make' (e.g. new model of a car) and 'plan or outline of some phenomenon or physical object (e.g. model for an artificial language)' (OZH-87).

Emulating the English source word, *модель* now also denotes 'a person who models clothes' and 'a person whose job is to pose, usually for a photographer', though the distinction between the two meanings is blurred. Russian already had words that conveyed these two meanings – *манекёщица* and *натýрщица* – so that the innovations contribute little of value to the semantic system:

В её [Холоповой] "активе" — и молодость, и обаяние, и открытый характер, и внешние данные *модели*. (*Elle*, December 96 / January 97)

She [Kholopova] has youth, charm, a frank nature and the external attributes of a model going for her.

*Модель* habitually occurs in compounds whose initial components are either of Russian or of foreign origin: *сýпермодель* 'super model', *фóтомодель* 'cover girl' and the full loan *тóп-модель* 'top model':

Когда *топ-модель* пришла в себя, то первым делом попросила позвать в реанимацию своего пресс-секретаря. (7Д, №27, 97)

When the top model came round, the first thing she did was to ask for her press secretary to be called to the resuscitation unit.

The word *про́филь* 'profile' underwent semantic extension after one of the English meanings of *profile* was borrowed, namely 'short printed or broadcast biographical or character sketch' (COD). A previous secondary meaning of *про́филь* had denoted 'specific features of professions, teaching or training'; for example:

райо́н сельскохозяйственного про́филя 'area specialising in agriculture'  
про́филь предприятия 'company's core activity'.

By contrast, the new meaning has an animate referent. Recently this new lexical item was picked up as the title of a gossip magazine about the Russian *nouveaux riches*, an indication of how trendy it has become:

Текст и фото из журнала "*Профиль*". (Сп., №10,97)

Articles and photographs from the magazine *Profile*.

## 2.3.3.2 Semantic redistribution

Semantic change also involves the redistribution of semantic components within one meaning of the word, with new semantic components replacing older ones or supplementing and expanding the existing meaning. These lead to the reinterpretation of the lexical item. Many such cases of semantic redistribution were illustrated in Section 2.2. Extension of a word's semantic profile, however, can be considered as 'quantitative change'.

It is difficult to judge yet whether *простра́нство* 'space' and *по́ле* 'field' have developed new meanings, but both have moved towards a greater abstraction:

*информацио́нное простра́нство* 'information network'  
*пóстсоветское простра́нство* 'post-Soviet territory'  
*правово́е простра́нство* 'legal zone'  
*конституцио́нное простра́нство* 'geographical range of the constitution'  
*экономическое простра́нство* 'economic zone';

also:

*антимонопо́льное по́ле* 'anti-monopoly sphere'  
*конституцио́нное по́ле* 'constitutional field'  
*юриди́ческое поле* 'legal field':

Что на деле взволновало российских политиков? Что на территории России в одном из субъектов Федерации начали действовать законы шариата и это означает выпадение этого субъекта из российского *юридического поля*? Безусловно. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

What really worried Russian politicians? That on Russian soil the Sharia laws have become effective in one of the Federation's territories, which means that this territory falls outside Russian jurisdiction? Absolutely.

Но ведь нынешнее более, чем демократичное *телевизионное информационное пространство* создано во многом трудами выпускников нашего факультета. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

But then, after all, the more than democratic TV information network was in many respects created as a result of the labours of graduates of our faculty.

Так расправляются с людьми, которые совершили особо тяжкие преступления ... Не обошло стороной это явление даже *постсоветское пространство*. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

That is how they deal with people who have committed particularly heinous crimes ... It happens even on post-Soviet territory.

Reinterpretation of meaning often reflects a change in cultural and social paradigms. For example, *контролировать*, under the influence of English 'to control', is now more often used in the meaning 'to direct, to command' than in its previous central meaning 'to check'. Similarly, the word *дирéктор* 'director' now refers to a person who jointly manages a business or enterprise, rather than to a single manager (cf. *совéт директорóв* 'board of directors'):

Кстати, сам Бычков вошёл в *совет директоров* Голден АДА, хотя сегодня от этого и отказывается. (*ЛГ*, 18.3.98)

By the way, Bychkov himself joined the board of Golden ADA, although he now denies it.

The meaning of *администрация* 'administration' has also shifted from 'the governing body of an enterprise' to 'a body of state power' (cf. *администрация Президента* 'the President's administration').

*Бéженец* 'refugee' is one of a number of words whose meaning has been reinterpreted. It used to mean 'person who had fled his or her home because of war or disaster' and had been used mainly in connection with the events of the Great Patriotic War (1941–45). In the 1990s, the word's meaning has broadened to cover people fleeing from other disasters, from national conflicts or for political reasons; in this context the phrase *политические бéженцы* 'political refugees' has been coined:

С недоумением узнала, что в Государственной Думе созданы аж три подкомитета по делам *беженцев* (что они делают во благо *беженцев*, остаётся глубокой тайной). (*ЛГ*, 4.3.98)

To my bewilderment I learnt that up to three sub-committees on refugees have been established in the State Duma (what they are doing for the refugees' good remains a profound secret).

### 2.3.4 *Lexical borrowing*

Loan words represent another source of quantitative change in Russian lexis. As has been shown, the rate of borrowing had been uneven throughout the twentieth century, with alternating peaks and troughs, but the rate of borrowing since the mid-1980s has been unprecedented. The colossal changes which have affected all strands of life (in the political and social spheres: dismantling communist institutions; in the economy: developing markets) have predisposed society to seek new linguistic resources in order to reflect the changing environment. The time factor has worked in favour of borrowing: social and political transformation has been rapid, so that new resources were needed promptly. At the same time the slower process of developing native words was being superseded by the acquisition of foreign newcomers. A major stimulus in the appropriation of loans has been the reassessment of social values and the role and status of Russia on the world stage. The polarised



image of the world which obtained in the Soviet period and which was based on a confrontation between Soviet society and the West gave way to an integrative model whereby the Soviet Union, later Russia, has been accepted as an equal member of the civilised community of nations. The post-Soviet Russian governments have declared support for democratic principles, human rights and economic freedom, values nurtured in Western countries, and the latter have been playing an increasingly dominant role in fashioning Russian economic, political and cultural development. The resultant Westernised image is no longer negative, but both fashionable and prestigious.

For all these reasons, foreign loans have been doubly welcome. With the exception of a small number of words, the predominant group of new loans comes from English. A popular non-English borrowing is фазэнда 'ranch, large estate' (Portuguese *fazenda* or, possibly, Spanish *hacienda*), which derives from the enormously popular Latin American soap operas shown on Russian television. In Russian, фазэнда is now used ironically to mean 'dacha, country house'. The fact that a weekly section on gardening in the newspaper *Московский комсомолец* is entitled Фазэнда testifies to the word's popularity. Among other words which have come from languages other than English are:

автобáн 'motorway' (German  
*Autobahn*)

бути́к (French *boutique*)

бюстьé (French *bustier*)

гран-прí (French *grand prix*)

папара́нци (Italian  *paparazzi*)<sup>7</sup>

путáна 'prostitute' (Italian *puttana*):

Дешёвый костюм дешёво и выглядит. Лучше иметь два-три дорогих, чем десяток дешёвых. Но в московский бутик я за покупками не отправлюсь. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

A cheap suit also looks cheap. It's better to have two or three expensive suits than a dozen cheap ones. That said, I will not be going shopping in a Moscow boutique.

Пaпapaнци сeгoдня игpaют poль, кoтopyю вo вpeмeнa КПСС иcпoлнял Кoмитeт пapтийнoгo кoнтpoля. (МК в П, №6, 11–18.9.97)

Nowadays the paparazzi play the role the Party Control Committee played in the days of the CPSU.

#### 2.3.4.1 Introduction of new loans

The media play an important part in introducing the language community to new words and in their promotion. New loans usually appear first in newspapers or on television and radio. There are two different ways of presenting these. The words may simply crop up, on the assumption, often unjustified, that the public knows them. For example:



Наша торговля с зарубежными странами всё решительнее переводится на долларовую основу. Это относится не только к восточноевропейским странам, с которыми мы рассчитывались до последнего времени по *клирингу*, но и к развивающимся государствам. (*ИЗв.*, 8.1.91)

Our trade with foreign countries is more and more decisively being transferred to a dollar basis. This applies not only to the East European countries with which we would, until very recently, settle our clearing accounts, but also to developing countries.

A more helpful approach, as far as readers are concerned, involves the glossing of a new word:

За две недели ежедневных занятий (20 минут в день) CEZANNE поможет снизить вес, разрушить *подкожный жир* (*целлюлит*), укрепить мышцы живота и бёдер, улучшить линию и форму груди, освежить кожу лица. (advertisement, 7Д, 2–8.6.97)

In two weeks of daily exercise (20 minutes a day), CEZANNE will help you lose weight, get rid of subcutaneous fat (cellulite), strengthen your stomach and thigh muscles, improve the line and form of your breasts and refresh your complexion.

В отличие от любой другой ценной бумаги, акции АО МММ абсолютно *ликвидны*, то есть вы можете их свободно продать в любом пункте распространения акций АО МММ, причём по цене, значительно выше той, которую вы за неё платили. (advertisement, TV, 6.6.94)

In contrast to any other security, MMM shares are completely liquid. That means you can sell them freely at any MMM share handling office and, what is more, at a price which is significantly higher than you bought them for.

However, as a result of media exposure, even loans which sound completely unfamiliar to start with soon find their way into common parlance.

#### 2.3.4.2 *Reasons for borrowing*

In spite of the fact that the influx of foreign words often seems almost uncontrollable, the reasons for resorting to a foreign word in the 1990s are similar to those that have obtained in other periods:

- the need to name the profusion of new goods, objects and concepts is the main reason for borrowing;
- the need to differentiate one meaning from another;
- the acceptance of a loan into the language according to the principle of language economy;

- the preference for a loan over native words due to socio-psychological factors, such as the prestigious status of a foreign word.

## THE NEED TO NAME THE PROFUSION OF NEW GOODS, OBJECTS AND CONCEPTS

This is the main reason for borrowing the following:

карао́ке 'karaoke'	я́ппи 'yuppie'
хот-до́г 'hot dog'	эвтана́зия 'euthanasia', etc.

## THE NEED TO DIFFERENTIATE ONE MEANING FROM ANOTHER

Existing Russian words often do not cover all the semantic area which is required, so that a foreign word is introduced to close the gap. This occurs, for instance, in the case of *плéйер*, which differs from *магнитофо́н* in that it is used only for listening, and not for recording:

Молодой человек в наушниках, отрешённо шагающий по улице, поскольку погружён в мир звуков, рождающихся в *плейере* . . ., уже ни у кого не вызывает удивления. (*Нед.*, №22, 86)

The sight of a young person wearing headphones, walking down the street, oblivious to the outside world, since he is absorbed in the sounds emanating from his personal stereo . . . no longer surprises anyone.

The adjective *экссклюзи́вный* 'exclusive' is not exactly the same as *исключи́тельный*, since it has the additional semantic components:

- 'élitist, high class, expensive':  
*экссклюзи́вные райо́ны* 'up-market areas'  
*экссклюзи́вные до́ма* 'posh houses'; even:  
*экссклюзи́вный пиджа́к* 'posh jacket'; as well as
- 'not published elsewhere':  
*экссклюзи́вное интервьё́* 'exclusive interview'  
*экссклюзи́вный репорта́ж* 'exclusive report':

Об "*экссклюзивности*" этого района говорит, в частности, тот факт, что на его территории выделен земельный участок для строительства театра песни Аллы Пугачёвой. (*МК*, 15.10.97)

The fact that land has been set aside for the construction of a theatre for Alla Pugachëva productions speaks volumes for the exclusiveness of this area.

Оттого и пишется . . . о том, как праздновал свой день рождения персонаж светской хроники и как сделал сам себе подарок, небрежно и спонтанно приобретя совершенно *экссклюзивный* пиджак, соизмеримый по стоимости с "вольво". (*ЛГ*, 19.11.97)

Hence the report . . . of how a society-column personality celebrated his birthday and how he gave himself a present, in an off-hand manner and on the spur of the moment, acquiring a very posh jacket costing much the same as a Volvo.

#### THE ACCEPTANCE OF A LOAN ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPLE OF LANGUAGE ECONOMY

A loan is acceptable, according to the principle of language economy, when it involves the replacement of a phrase by a single word:

шо́тлíst ‘shortlist’ instead of спíсок финали́стов ‘list of finalists’  
 шо́п-ту́р ‘shopping trip’ instead of поéздка за гра́ницу с це́лью купи́ть  
 ка́кой-л. това́р ‘a trip abroad for the purpose of buying some commodity’  
 хайджа́кер ‘hijacker’ instead of уго́нщик самолёта ‘aircraft hijacker’  
 оверта́йм ‘overtime’ instead of доба́вочное вре́мя  
 спичра́йтер ‘speech writer’ instead of áвтор рече́й высо́копоста́вленного  
 лица́ ‘author of speeches given by a high ranking official’  
 презента́ция ‘presentation’ instead of торже́ственное предста́вление  
 ‘ceremonial presentation’, or торже́ственное откры́тие ‘grand opening’:

На мой взгляд, литературные достоинства романа Владимова значительно высоки, но на букеровский *шотлист* потянет повесть Варламова. (ЛГ, 9.10.96)

In my opinion the literary merits of Vladimov’s novel are considerable, but it is Varlamov’s tale that will make it to the Booker Prize short-list.

Я знаю, как в Думе наши депутаты подбирают себе помощников, *спичрайтеров*, консультантов . . . Среди них много женщин. (МН, №8, 98)

I know how our deputies in the Duma pick assistants, speech writers and advisers . . . There are a lot of women among them.

#### THE PREFERENCE FOR A LOAN DUE TO SOCIO-PSYCHOLOGICAL FACTORS

Finally, socio-psychological factors such as the prestigious status of a foreign word (especially an English word) frequently account for the preference, often unjustified, given to loans over native words:

кардига́н ‘cardigan’ (cf. жакéт, ко́фта)  
 консáлтинг ‘consultation’ (cf. консу́льтирование)  
 релáкс ‘relaxation’ (cf. о́тдых)  
 котто́новый ‘cotton’ (cf. хло́пковый):

Чем длиннее *кардиган*, тем больше внимания привлекают детали вязки. Длинный *кардиган* из смеси шерсти и нейлона, блуза из шерсти и вискозы, всё — Max Mara. (*Elle*, December 96 / January 97). The longer the cardigan, the greater the attention given to details of the knitting. A long cardigan made from a mix of wool and nylon, a wool and viscose blouse, everything is Max Mara.

### 2.3.4.3 Areas of borrowing

Although the new loan words cover practically every aspect of life, there are areas where borrowing is especially active; for example words relating to:

- economics and business;
- technology, devices and gadgets;
- new lifestyles;
- new aspects of reality;
- the mass media;
- names of clothes and fashion items, etc.;
- food;
- sporting terms;
- musical terms.

#### ECONOMICS AND BUSINESS

Perhaps the largest area of foreign lexical influx is the economic and business sphere, where the terminology of new market-oriented developments in Russian economic life is particularly prominent:

акцепта́нт ‘acceptant’	монета́ризм ‘monetarism’
ауди́т ‘audit’	ли́зинг ‘leasing’
ба́ртер ‘barter’	ликви́дный ‘liquid’
бро́кер ‘broker’	о́фис ‘office’
вѐнчурный ‘venture’	офе́рта ‘offer’
дистриб(ь)юто(е)р ‘distributor’	промо́ушн ‘promotion’
грант ‘grant’	ре́крутинг ‘recruiting’
ка́рго ‘cargo’	риэ́лтер ‘realtor’
комиссио́нёр ‘commissioner’	спо́нсор ‘sponsor’
конса́лтинг ‘consultation’	те́ндер ‘tender’
копира́йт ‘copyright’	фра(е)нча́йзор ‘franchiser’
кли́ринг ‘clearing’	фра(е)нча́йзинг ‘franchising’
ма́рке́тинг ‘marketing’	фью́черс ‘futures’
ме́неджер ‘manager’	хо́лдинг ‘holding’ and others:
ме́неджмент ‘management’	



Гласность ещё один принцип нашей работы. Всё, что мы делаем, должно быть доступно как для официального *аудита*, так и для общественности. (*МН*, №44, 96)

Openness is another principle of our work. Everything we do should be accessible, both to an official audit and to the public.

Энергетический *холдинг* не спешил раскрывать карты. Тем более что при существующей системе платежей, в которой львиная доля энергоресурсов оплачивается *бартером* или векселями, любая попытка анализа расходов превращается в детективную историю. (*Итоги*, №14, 97)

The power supply holding took its time in laying its cards on the table. Especially as any attempt to analyse expenditure under the existing payments system, in which the lion's share of power resources is paid by barter or bill of exchange, turns into a detective story.

Тринити Моторс. Официальный *дистрибьютор* Джeneral Моторс. (*Плейбой*, №7, 96)

Trinity Motors – official distributor for General Motors.

Берите эти слова и составляйте из них любые, самые невероятные сочетания. Всё равно придумать что-нибудь оригинальное не удастся. Международная академия *маркетинга* и *менеджмента*? Есть такая. Институт экономики и предпринимательства? Пожалуйте, гослицензия №16–154. (*МК*, 22.8.96)

Take those words and make of them any, the most improbable, combinations. Even then you won't be able to think up anything original. The International Academy of Marketing and Management? There is such a thing. Economic and Enterprise Institute? Certainly, its state licence is No.16–154.

Очень важна возможность получения консультаций как у *менеджеров*, так и у технических специалистов фирмы. (*Центр Plus*, №27, 1.7.97)

The opportunity of receiving advice both from managers and from the firm's technical specialists is very important.

Имитирующие дневной свет лампы ярко освещают фешенебельный *офис*. (*ЛГ*, 10.9.97)

Natural daylight-reproduction lamps brightly light up the plush office.

Many economic terms generate derivatives based on Russian word-building models:

инженёринговая/инжинёринговая фирма 'engineering firm'  
 брокерские места 'brokers' places' (licences)  
 бартерная сделка 'barter deal'  
 венчурные фирмы 'venture firms'  
 грантовое финансирование науки 'grant-aided financing of science'  
 сертифицировать 'to certify'  
 фьючерный/фьючерский 'futures' (adjective):

Никаких трудовых договоров и контрактов никто специально не заключает, впрочем, если мне уж так хочется, то я могу заплатить 100 долларов, дабы выкупить нечто наподобие лицензии и *дистрибьютерского* набора. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

No one goes out of their way to enter into any job contracts. However, if I really want to, I can pay 100 dollars to buy something like a licence and a distribution levy.

Все приборы *сертифицированы* Министерством здравоохранения России. (advertisement, 7Д, 2–8.6.97)

All devices are certified by the Russian Ministry of Health.

#### TECHNOLOGY, DEVICES AND GADGETS

Another significant group of loan words comprises names relating to technology, devices and gadgets:

ада́птер 'adapter'	то́нер 'toner'
деко́дер 'decoder'	моби́льный 'mobile (phone)'
инста́ллятор 'installer'	пле́йер/плее́р 'player'
компью́тер 'computer'	фо́токи́т 'photo-kit'
факс 'fax'	пéйджер 'pager'
ксéрокс 'xerox'	компа́кт-ди́ск 'compact disk, CD'
ка́ртридж 'cartridge'	уо́ки-то́ки 'walkie-talkie'
ви́део 'video'	уо́ркмен 'walkman' and others:
тью́нер 'tuner'	

*Видеоплеер.* Не о нём ли вы мечтали? И всего за \$133–165. (advertisement, МК, 24.12.96)

A video player – haven't you dreamt of one? And all for \$133–165.

На электронные почтовые ящики этих компаний в Интернете банк отправляет информацию, которая затем в автоматическом режиме передаётся на указанные номера *пейджер*ов. (Фин. изв., 27.3.97)

The bank sends information to the electronic post boxes of these companies on the Internet. The information is then automatically transferred to specific pager numbers.

Арго-кондиционер. Поставщик и *инсталлятор* систем вентиляции и кондиционирования. (advertisement, 7Д, 2–8.6.97)

*Argos Conditioners*. Supplier and installer of ventilation and air-conditioning systems.

Стоимость игр на *компакт-дисках* будет колебаться от 60 до 90 долларов. (МН, №25, 4.95)

The cost of games on compact disks will range from 60 to 90 dollars.

*Фотоки*т к BJC-240. (advertisement, *Центр Plus*, №27, 1.7.97)

Photo-kit for the BJC-240 [printer].

The borrowing of the generic word компьютер ‘computer’ opened the flood-gates for a deluge of computer terminology denoting different types of computers, details of computer equipment, facilities, programs, software and so on:

дисплéй ‘display’  
интерфéйс ‘interface’  
мультимéдиа ‘multimedia’  
софтвéр ‘software’  
хардвéр ‘hardware’  
джóйстик ‘joystick’  
пи си ‘PC’  
лeп-топ ‘lap-top’  
нóутбук ‘notebook’  
пéнтиум ‘Pentium’

сéрвер ‘server’  
скíннер/ скáннер ‘scanner’  
модéм ‘modem’  
монитóр ‘monitor’  
плóттер ‘plotter’  
факс-модéм ‘fax-modem’  
прíнтер ‘printer’  
фáйл ‘file’  
флóппи ‘floppy’.

Computer vocabulary grows apace and, with the advent of the Internet, came the words:

виртуáльный ‘virtual’  
Интернét ‘Internet’  
хáкер ‘hacker’

хáкинг ‘hacking’  
фрíкер ‘phreaker’ and many others:

Москва медленно, но верно превращается в царство *16-битных* игровых приставок. Графика игр для них не уступает обычному мультику, героем которого можно стать, взяв в руки *джойстик*. (МН, №25, 95)

Moscow is slowly but surely turning into the domain of the 16-bit games hook-up. The graphics in these games are as good as in a conventional animated film, and you can become the hero by taking the joy-stick in your hands.

Вторая секретарша что-то набирает на служебном *пентиуме* и то и дело бросает распечатанное в какую-то невероятно чистенькую помойку, которая тут же автоматически поглощает испорченную бумагу. (ЛГ, 10.9.97)

A second secretary is setting something up on an office Pentium and keeps throwing a print-out into some kind of incredibly clean garbage point which automatically swallows up the waste paper right away.

Случай, о котором вы говорите, произошёл в одном из зданий Владивостокского госуниверситета. Там шёл прямой телемост через сеть “Интернет”. (МК, 24.12.96)

The event you are talking about took place in one of the Vladivostok State University buildings. There they had a direct Internet link.

Компьютеры любой конфигурации, *принтер*, *сканер*, *копир*, *монитор*. (advertisement, *Центр Plus*, №27, 97)

Computers of any configuration, printer, scanner, copier, monitor.

“Пария-сервис” — лучший сервис в России! Ремонт, гарантия и заправка *картриджей*. (advertisement, МК, 17.9.96)

*Pariah Service* gives the best service in Russia. Repairs, guarantee and cartridge refill.

История “*хакинга*” (так называется процесс взлома компьютерных сетей) начинается с “*фрикеров*”, которые использовали различные приспособления для бесплатного разговора по телефону. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

The history of ‘hacking’ (as the process of breaking into computer systems is called) begins with the ‘phreakers’, who used different devices to make free telephone calls.

#### NEW LIFESTYLES

Other groups of loans include words relating to new lifestyles:

бунгáло ‘bungalow’

найт-клуб ‘night club’

джаку́зи ‘jacuzzi’

плейбóй ‘playboy’

интерта́ймент ‘entertainment’

та́ймшéр ‘timeshare’

карао́ке ‘karaoke’

хо́стел ‘hostel’

мезонéтта ‘maisonette’

От просторной квартиры до комфортабельной *мезонетты*, от неповторимого *бунгало* до шикарного особняка или просто участка земли — таково многообразие группы “Лептос”. (Плейбой, №7, 96)



From a spacious apartment to a comfortable maisonette, from a unique bungalow to a luxury mansion or just a plot of land – such is the variety offered by the *Leptos* group.

Устройство ванной комнаты было первым делом, которым семья занялась после переезда. Теперь они счастливые обладатели джакузи “на троих”. (7Д, №47, 97)

The layout of the bathroom was the first thing the family undertook after the move. Now they are the fortunate owners of a three-person jacuzzi.

У всех, кому знакомо слово “караоке”, оно ассоциируется с японским рестораном, куда приходят весёлые японцы и беззастенчиво поют. Беззастенчиво — потому что караоке исправляет дефекты любого пения . . . (МК, 17.9.96)

Everyone who knows the word ‘karaoke’ associates it with a Japanese restaurant, where cheerful Japanese come to sing uninhibitedly. Uninhibitedly, because karaoke corrects the shortcomings of any singing . . .

— Где вы отдыхаете?

— . . . в последние годы — в Испании. Мы купили “таймшер” и летом отправляемся на остров Тенериф. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

‘Where do you go on holiday?’

‘. . . in recent years, to Spain. We have bought a timeshare and go to Tenerife in the summer.’

#### NEW ASPECTS OF REALITY

New aspects of reality, or those which in the past it was considered improper to discuss, also constitute important areas for borrowing:

бóйфрэнд ‘boyfriend’

гей ‘gay’

гéндерный ‘gender’ (adjective)

киберпáнки ‘cyber-punks’

кíллер ‘killer’

педофíл ‘paedophile’

скíнхэдз ‘skinheads’

трассексуáл ‘transsexual’

хóспис ‘hospice’:

Есть у неё [Линды Евангелисты] и бóй-фрэнд, да ещё какой — актёр Кайл Маклахлан, более известный в России как “агент Купер” из культового телесериала “Твин Пикс”. (МК в П, № 10, 97)

She [Linda Evangelista] also has a boyfriend, and what a boyfriend, the actor Kyle MacLachlan, better known in Russia as ‘Agent Cooper’ from the cult television series *Twin Peaks*.

Выяснилось, например, что *педофил* Дютру специализировался в основном на торговле детьми, а по случаю и подрабатывал как убийца. Он работал на подпольную сеть, поставляющую для *педофилов* видео и живой товар. (*Итоги*, №14, 97)

For instance, it turned out that the paedophile, Dutrou, specialised basically in the trade in children, occasionally supplementing his earnings as a contract killer. He worked for an underground network that supplied videos and live goods for paedophiles.

Согласившись на роль “*гея*”, Том рисковал своим имиджем “хорошего парня”, но зато приобрёл репутацию человека без предрассудков. (*7Д*, 2–8.6.97)

By agreeing to play a gay man, Tom risked his image as a ‘good lad’; on the other hand he did get the reputation of someone without any prejudices.

*Киберпанки* считают, что каждый из нас имеет право на свободный доступ к любой информации, которая может затронуть наши интересы. (*ЛГ*, 19.2.97)

Cyberpunks believe that each of us has the right to have free access to any information which may concern our interests.

#### THE MASS MEDIA

Words relating to the mass media include:

блókбáстер ‘blockbuster’	нью́з мей́кер / нью́смей́кер ‘news maker’
и́мидж ‘image’	
и́миджмей́кер ‘image maker’	ремíкс ‘remix’
клíпмей́кер ‘music video-clip maker’	таблóид ‘tabloid’
мáсс-мéдиа ‘mass media’	телешóпинг ‘TV shopping’
мíкшер ‘mixer of sound signals’	тóк-шо́у ‘talk-show’
микшерováть/смикшерováть ‘to mix’	три́ллер ‘thriller’
	шо́умэн ‘showman’:

Как и собирался ранее, Арнольд Шварцнеггер принял участие в европейской премьере нового голливудского *блокбастера* “Бэтмен и Робин”. (*7Д*, №28, 97)

As he had earlier intended, Arnold Schwarzenegger attended the European première of the new Hollywood blockbuster ‘Batman and Robin’.

Как известно, сегодня в информационной войне “молодые реформаторы” могут рассчитывать лишь на *масс-медиа*, принадлежащие “ОНЭКСИМбанку”. (*МН*, №38, 97)

As is well known, in today's information war the young reformers can only count on the mass media belonging to *ONEKSIM Bank*.

... для неё [прессы] Ерофеев хорош не как писатель (кто там его читал), но как атрибут модных тусовок, ТВ-персона, *нюсмейкер*, как выражается одна газета. (ЛГ, 19.11.97)

... for the press Erofeev is not an asset as a writer (who's read him?), but as part of the trendy scene, TV personality, or newsmaker, as one newspaper puts it.

Одна из студий звукозаписи подала иск в московский арбитражный суд на *шоумена* Николая Фоменко. (7Д, №27, 97)

One of the recording studios brought an action against the showman Nikolai Fomenko in Moscow's arbitration court.

#### NAMES OF CLOTHES AND FASHION ITEMS, ETC.

Names of clothes and materials, fashion and beauty items, and related words include:

анора́к 'anorak'	топ 'top'
берму́ды 'Bermuda shorts'	ла́йкра 'lycra'
бо́ди 'body' (meaning, 'body-suit')	ну́бук 'nubuck'
стрейч/стретч (брюки-стрейч,	пэ́ч-ворк 'patchwork'
блúзка-стрétч) 'stretch'	аромотера́пия 'aromatherapy'
ле́гинсы 'leggings'	целлю́лит 'cellulite':
сла́ксы 'slacks'	

Давно проверено: одна-единственная малюсенькая замечочка о мини-юбках вызовет камнепад писем. А сколько испорчено бумаги на "клеша", "батники" и прочие "*бермуды*"? (КП, 2.10.86)

It was confirmed a long time ago: one single, tiny little comment about mini-skirts will bring a whole avalanche of letters. And how much paper has been wasted on flares, batik shirts and other 'Bermuda shorts' nonsense?

Ли́ка почему-то не стала мерить подаренное *боди*. (7Д, №40, 96)  
For some reason Lika didn't try on the body-suit she was given.

Хитами нынешнего лета, судя по всему, станут чувственные красноречивые и сексапильные бантики, бабочки и бутоны. Они в изобилии используются мастерами для украшения мини-юбок, сверхдекольтированных *топов* и маленьких жакетов. (ТВ Парк, №9, 95)

By all appearances, this summer's hits will be sensual, expressive and sexy bows, bow ties and sew-on buds. They are used in abundance by the experts to decorate mini-skirts, super-*décolleté* tops and little jackets.

Одета звезда была крайне просто: полосатые серебристо-чёрно-белые *леггинсы* и чёрный пиджак. (МК, 20.5.97)

The star was extremely simply dressed: striped silvery-black and white leggings and a black jacket.

Вы купили маленький аппарат и творите Ваше тело и настроение: талия—стройная, лицо—без морщин, вес—уменьшился, *целлюлит* — исчез, бюст — чёртовски привлекателен, душа — поёт, хочется делать милые глупости. (advertisement for a massager, 7Д, 2–8.6.97);

You have bought a small device and are creating your body and your mood: your waist is slim, your face wrinkle-free, your weight has gone down, the cellulite has disappeared, your bust is damned attractive, your soul is singing and you feel like doing something crazy.

#### FOOD

Words naming food and relating to food include:

биг мак 'Big Mac'

бранч 'brunch'

брáнч-буфét 'brunch buffet'

гáмбургер 'hamburger'

джин-физ 'gin-fizz'

йóгурт 'yoghurt'

кíви 'kiwi'

крéкер 'cracker'

кóрнфлекс 'cornflakes'

пóпкóрн 'pop corn'

пóридж 'porridge'

снíкерс 'Snickers' and others:

Коротко о *киви*. Вкус плода — нечто среднее между сладкой дыней и кисло-сладкой сливой. (Пр., 17.2.89)

A brief word about the kiwi fruit. Its taste is a cross between that of a sweet melon and a bitter-sweet plum.

Компактные установки по переработке молока в *йогурты*, сметану, масло . . . успешно работают во многих городах России. (МН, №7, 94)

Compact installations for the processing of milk into yoghurts, soured cream and butter . . . are operating successfully in many Russian towns.

Иногда так проголодаешься, что все мысли только о еде. Вот когда нужен *сникерс*. (advertisement, TV, 17.05.95)

Sometimes you get so hungry that you only think about food. That's when you need Snickers.

#### SPORTING TERMS

Sporting terms have traditionally been an active area of lexical borrowing. The latest additions to this group are:



айс сёрфинг 'ice surfing'	кикбóксинг 'kick boxing'
армрéстлинг/арм-рéстлинг 'arm wrestling'	рэслинг 'wrestling'
бодибíлдинг 'body-building'	сноýсёрфинг 'snow surfing'
бóулинг 'bowling'	сквош 'squash'
виндгляйдер 'wind glider'	сóкер 'soccer'
джóг(г)инг 'jogging'	степ 'step'
кёрлинг 'curling'	фíтнесс 'fitness'
	хук 'hook':

При встрече Челентано и Лоретти балуются *армрестлингом* — состязаются в силе рук. (*КП*, 12.9.97)

When they meet, Celentano and Loretta indulge in some arm-wrestling: they compete to see who has the stronger arm.

Скажем, для того, чтобы вас зачислили в академию спорта на факультет *бодибилдинга*, необходимо иметь красивое, идеально сложенное тело с возвышающимися на нём горами мышц . . . (*7Д*, №46, 97)

Let's say that in order to be enrolled in the body-building faculty of the sports academy you must have a beautiful and perfectly formed body with muscles bulging like mountains . . .

В Байришцелле (ФРГ) состоялся первый чемпионат Европы по *сноусёрфингу*. (*Сов. спорт*, 6.1.88)

The first European Snowsurfing Championships have taken place in Bayrischzell (West Germany).

Лучшее в мире оборудование для занятий *фитнесом* и укрепления здоровья — в Москве этой осенью! (advertisement, *Elle*, 12.96–1.97)

The best fitness and health equipment in the world is in Moscow this autumn!

#### MUSICAL TERMS

New musical terms in the language include:

бэ́квока́л 'backing vocal'	дíджей 'DJ'
бэ́кгра́унд 'background'	лонг плей 'long play'
брасc-бенд 'brass band'	рейв 'rave'
джайв 'jive'	рэп 'rap'
джэм 'jam'	сингл 'single'
джэм-се́шн 'jam session'	хит 'hit'
джингл 'jingle'	хит-пара́д 'hit parade':

У одного из певунов — переходящий микрофон. Остальные в это время работают *бэк-вокалистами*. (МК, 17.9.96)

One of the songsters has a peripatetic microphone, while the others work as backing vocalists.

Уже в день концерта, всего за несколько часов до него, в Москву прилетел *ди-джей* Бобо, европейская “*рэп-звезда*”, сопровождающий Джексона во всём мировом турне в качестве артиста “на разогреве”. (7Д, №40, 96)

DJ Bobo, the European rap star accompanying Jackson on his world tour as a warm-up act, flew into Moscow on the very day of the concert, with only a few hours to go before it started.

Мы передачу не считаем юмористической. Это не игра, не ток-шоу и не *хит-парад*. (ЛГ, 7.2.96)

We don't think the programme is funny. It's not a game, not a talk show and not the music charts.

#### 2.3.4.4 Levels of adoption of foreign lexis

In any discussion of the most recent language developments it should be noted that the new loans display different levels of assimilation by Russian. Borrowing is taking place at a fast rate and some of the lexical items are naturally superfluous to communication needs. It is difficult at present to predict the long-term prospects of new loans. Some of them fill lexical gaps, and thus have every chance of long-term survival. Some of the latest borrowings are already showing signs of adapting; for example, those involved in active derivation such as:

факс ‘fax’

фа́ксовый (но́мер) ‘fax (number)’

факс-моде́мный ‘fax modem’ (adjective)

факсова́ть, факсани́уть ‘to fax’

Others are transient and relate only to a particular event; for example, бай пасс ‘by-pass’, which became especially popular at the time of Boris El'tsin's heart operation in the autumn of 1996:

... американский хирург, изобретатель “*бай пасса*”, не видит разницы между операцией, предстоящей Ельцину, и тысячами других, которые он сделал в ходе своей медицинской практики длиною в две трети века. (МН, №44, 96)

... the American surgeon, the inventor of the by-pass, sees no difference between the operation facing El'tsin and the thousands of others he has done during his two thirds of a century in medical practice.

It is not clear yet what the fate of another foreign buzz word, секвэстр ‘sequestration’, will be. This international word, which originally came into European languages from Latin, appeared very frequently during the highly charged parliamentary debate over the 1997 budget. Секвэстр was used as a technical term (or, more likely, a pseudo-technical term) for a review of the budget involving a significant cut in planned spending:

На этой неделе в решающую стадию входят манёвры вокруг сокращения бюджетных расходов, которые теперь модно называть французским словом “секвестр”. (МК, 10.5.97)

This week manoeuvres to reduce budgetary expenditure, now fashionably known by the French word ‘sequestration’, are entering a decisive stage.

Early stages of a word’s assimilation by Russian are marked by variations in the word’s use and by its preservation of features inherited from the source language. Some loans are adopted virtually unchanged and retain their English form, notwithstanding their incompatibility with Russian spelling, grammar or pronunciation norms. Variation occurs in the use of script: for some foreign words, Roman letters are used alongside Cyrillic; contrast the following:

Факс-модемы: 7 часов в *Internet*. (advertisement, МК, 17.9.96)  
Fax-modems: 7 hours on the Internet.

Впервые в мире русская гуманитарная газета имеет электронный офис в *Интернете*. (ЛГ, 7.2.96)  
For the first time ever a Russian humanitarian newspaper has an electronic office on the Internet.

Many new words occur with spelling variants:

джем-сешн / джем-сейшн / джем-сэйшн / джем-сёйшен / джем-сэйшен  
‘jam session’  
лэгинсы / лёггинсы / лигинсы ‘leggings’  
масс-мэдиа / массмэдиа ‘mass-media’  
офф-шор / офшор / оффшор ‘off-shore’  
тэндер / тандер ‘tender’  
тинэйджер / тинейджер / тинэдж ‘teenager’  
дистрибьютор / дистрибьютор / дистрибутор ‘distributor’

(for additional examples, see Timofeeva, 1995).

The final grammatical and phonetic shape of some loans remains unpredictable, especially in the case of those which sound particularly clumsy to the Russian ear:

ноу-хау 'know-how'  
сэконд хэнд 'second hand'

пáблик релéйшн 'public relations'.

In some words, noun-adjective distinctions are specified, not morphologically, but analytically, in accordance with English practice and their position in the sentence:

Солидная [фирма] не станет прямо по телефону раскрывать неизвестно кому все свои профессиональные *ноу-хау*. (*Итоги*, №14, 97)

A respectable one [firm] will not divulge all its professional know-how over the phone to just anyone.

Самый уязвимый пункт "know-how-центра" — отсутствие банковской поддержки. (*Коммерсант*, 23.3.92)

The most vulnerable point of the 'know-how centre' is absence of banking support.

Посетительница: "Десять тысяч долларов за *секонд-хэнд*?" (caption, 7Д, №28, 97)

Client: 'Ten thousand dollars for a second-hand article?'

Where a greater degree of integration takes place, analytical forms give way to those determined by Russian morphology, though variations may still co-exist in loan attributes:

*Мультимедиа-компьютер* Packard Bell с монитором, колонками и факс-модемом. (advertisement, *МК*, 17.9.1996)

The Packard Bell multi-media computer with monitor, speakers and fax-modem.

Weiner PC. Продукция компании R&K. *Мультимедийные* компьютеры на базе Intel Pentium Processor . . . (advertisement, *МК*, 19.11.97)

Weiner PC. Production of R&K. Multimedia computers based on the Intel Pentium Processor . . .

At an early stage of assimilation, confusion often exists with regard to the category of number: the same noun can sometimes appear in the singular in one context, and in the plural in another; for instance:

мафиóзи 'mafiosi'  
папара́нци 'paparazzi'

секью́рити 'security':



... ранним утром охрана отеля обратила внимание на странные звуки, доносившиеся оттуда. Взломав дверь, *секьюрити* увидели полный разгром: из шкафов были вывалены на пол все вещи, стол и стулья перевернуты. (7Д, №27, 97)

... early in the morning the hotel guard drew attention to strange noises issuing from it. Having broken down the door, security found the place in complete chaos: everything had been emptied out from cupboards onto the floor, and a table and chairs lay upside down.

Как только *секьюрити* вышел обратно на улицу, стоявший рядом с подъездом преступник открыл по нему огонь. (МК, 20.9.96)

As soon as a member of the security staff came back out onto the street, the criminal standing by the entrance opened fire on him.

The least viable loans in Russian are the so-called ‘interpolations’, that is to say, foreign words or phrases that make occasional contextual appearances (Shagalova, 1997a: 93). These can appear in Cyrillic or in Roman script:

— Чем тогда отличаются эти помады?

— Эффектом. *Лонг Ласт Липстик* обеспечивает мягкое матовое покрытие, а *Лонг Ласт Софт Шайн Липстик* — сочный блеск. (Elle, №12, 96)

‘How do these lipsticks differ, then?’

‘In their effect. Long Last Lipstick guarantees a soft, matt finish, whereas Long Last Soft Shine Lipstick gives a moist shine.’

Владимир Рыжков — типичный “сэлф мейд мэн”: Человек, сделавший сам себя. В 1987 году он вернулся из армии и создал в Барнауле подпольную демократическую организацию “Политцентр”. (КП, 12.9.97)

Vladimir Ryzhkov is a typical self-made man. A person who has made his own way. In 1987 he returned to Barnaul from the army and created an underground democratic organisation called ‘Polit-Centre’.

Самая многочисленная группа студентов, определившая материальное положение своих семей как хорошее (многие писали в своих анкетах “*middle class*”), склонна выбирать “материальное и семейное благополучие”, а также демократические свободы. (МН, № 33, 96)

The biggest group of students, who described the material situation of their families as good (many wrote ‘middle class’ on their forms), are inclined to choose ‘material and family well-being’, and also democratic freedoms.

## 2.3.4.5 Semantic peculiarities of borrowed words

## SELECTIVITY OF BORROWING

Lexical borrowing is always selective: a loan word in the target language seldom coincides in all meanings and semantic components with its equivalent in the source language. More often than not, borrowing is restricted to a specific single meaning. For example, new loans relating to the economic sphere are represented by meanings singled out from the whole semantic spectrum of the English word. Thus, *ваппант* denotes only one meaning of 'warrant' – 'written authorisation to receive money' – but omits others, namely: '1. Thing or person that authorizes action; 2. Voucher, written authorization to carry out arrest or search, represent principal in lawsuit; 3. Certificate of service rank held by warrant officer' (COD).

Similarly, *вѣнчурный* (*вѣнчурное предприятие* 'venture enterprise', *вѣнчурные идеи* 'venture ideas') takes from English 'venture' the meaning 'commercial speculation' (COD), but not 'something you do that is new and might be difficult and so involves the risk of failure' or 'a journey which might be dangerous and is therefore very exciting' (CoCo):

... Союз писателей организовал *венчурное* предприятие и обещает на доходы с него когда-нибудь открыть музей Булгакова. (*Книжное обозрение*, 4.1.91)

... The Writers' Union organised a venture enterprise and promises to use the proceeds to open a Bulgakov museum sometime in the future.

Conditions in Russia, often being quite different from those obtaining in the countries of the source languages, affect selectivity of borrowing. For instance, a person referred to as *дѣлер* 'dealer' in Russian is involved in a different kind of activity from that of a British or an American dealer, and is usually 'simply a petty trader' (Shaposhnikov, 1997b: 40–1):

Похоже, есть претензии у регулирующих органов к поведению первичных *дилеров*. (*Фин. изв.*, 27.3.97)

There seem to be complaints from the controlling bodies about the conduct of the initial dealers.

The Russian word *дѣлер* does not, therefore, reflect the most up-to-date meaning of 'dealer' in English, which is 'a jobber on the Stock Exchange', but rather reflects an older meaning which was attested in 1611 and characterises an earlier stage of the market concept: 'one who deals in merchandise, a trader; *specifically* one who sells articles in the same condition in which he has bought them ...' (OED). The newer sense might, however, be a potential trajectory for the development of the loan.

The difference in the external world which lies behind source and target words may cause new loans to diverge from their original meaning in the donor language. Thus, American 'realtor' in the meaning 'real-estate agent' (COD) has been transformed in Russian. In conditions of an undeveloped property market, the noun *риэлтер* is usually applied to a seedy flat-swapping broker:

С десятков унылых немолодых людей и несколько более молодой я — все мы будущие *риэлтеры* — застенчиво расселись по скамеечкам и приготовили ручки: записывать. (*Итоги*, №14, 97)

About a dozen dejected people no longer in the first flush of youth, and myself, somewhat younger – all future estate agents – shyly dispersed to our benches and got our pens ready to take notes.

#### SOURCE AND TARGET MEANINGS

In some cases a borrowed word does not convey any of the meanings of the source word: only a phonetic shell and individual sememes comprising a mere fraction of the word's meaning are adopted. This happened in the case of *ваучер* (English *voucher*), a sad symbol of the failed attempt to introduce 'popular capitalism' in Russia. In 1992, a campaign was launched under the direction of deputy prime minister Anatolii Chubais to privatise state property and divide the assets among all Russian citizens. The noun *ваучер* was used as a one-off term to denote the privatisation tokens which were distributed to the population, but conveys not one of the meanings of its English counterpart. Surprisingly, despite the fact that it was a term created for a specific purpose, a different name appeared on the token itself, namely *приватизационный чек* 'privatisation cheque'. As in many similar cases, the two synonyms diverged functionally. *Приватизационный чек* has attained official status, while *ваучер* was absorbed into widespread colloquial discourse, its rapid acceptance explained by the vital importance to the public of what it represented:

Рядовой рабочий ЛМЗ за свой *ваучер* с учётом стажа работы на предприятии получил во времена массовой приватизации несколько сотен малопонятных и малоценных тогда бумажек — акций. (*МК в П*, №10, 97)

During the time of mass privatisation, a rank-and-file LMZ plant worker received for his voucher several hundred bits of paper, shares, virtually incomprehensible and then of little value, with his period of service in the company taken into account.

A sure sign of a word's assimilation by the Russian language system is its derivational activity; thus, the adjective *ваучерный* was formed on the basis



of *ваучер*, as well as the nouns *ваучерист* and *ваучерник* ‘voucher trader, speculator’:

Кроме того, ему [Чубайсу] никто никогда не поверит, что после шести лет *ваучерной* приватизации и всяческих заговорческих распродаж он станет вдруг с понедельника вести дела порядочно. (МН, №38, 97)

Furthermore, no one will ever believe of him [Chubais] that after six years of voucher-based privatisation and all kinds of underhand bargain sales, he will suddenly start to conduct business decently from next Monday.

The word *ваучер* had a short but dramatic history. It was nearly ‘banned’ by President El’tsin in one of his attempts to contain the influx of foreign words into official language. He suggested using the word *чек* ‘cheque’ instead, not perhaps realising that *чек* is also a foreign loan, albeit an earlier one. In spite of a resolution passed by El’tsin, *ваучер* continued to be used.

As the voucher campaign resulted in no gains for ordinary people, *ваучер* was increasingly absorbing negative overtones. The linguist and philosopher Vladimir Mikushevich considers that words like *ваучер* testify to the present ailment of Russian. In his opinion, ‘it belongs to words which mean nothing’. He goes on to say: ‘I am a linguist, I teach foreign languages. I can assure you, *ваучер* should mean “commitment” and not “freedom from any commitment”, as it does here, in Russia.’ (ЛГ, 18.3.98). The contextually ironic noun *ваучеризация* ‘voucherisation’ was derived by analogy with the Soviet terms *электрификация* ‘electrification’ and *машинизация* ‘mechanisation’, etc. A prominent economist, Sergei Shatalin, ironically entitled an article “Нужна ли нам *ваучеризация* всей страны?” ‘Do we need the voucherisation of the whole country?’ (Karpinskaia, 1993: 61). *Ваучеризация* continued the process of derivation one stage further by producing the verb *ваучеризировать*. The ironic contextual paronym *волчеризация* ‘vulturisation’ (from *волк* ‘wolf’) emphasised the inhuman effect of the campaign.

*Презентация* ‘presentation’ is yet another loan word which bears a specific Russian meaning. It is used to refer to a ceremony of opening or launching something (for example, a company) or to a promotional preview (for example, of an exhibition or a film), involving invited celebrities and lavish refreshments:

Сцены с веселящимися на цветном экране хорошо одетыми дядями и тётями, бесконечно жующими сладкий хлеб то ли *презентационных фуришетов*, то ли *фуришетных презентаций*, вряд ли состыкуются в детских головках с кадрами страшных выпусков новостей [о войне в Чечне], ненадолго прерывающих хохот и несвязный трёп ведущих. (ЛГ, 7.2.96)



The scenes on the colour screen of well-dressed uncles and aunties enjoying themselves and endlessly chewing delicacies, either from presentational buffets or from buffet presentations, will hardly be linked in children's little heads with the terrifying scenes in news broadcasts [about the war in Chechnia], which for a short time interrupted the laughter and incoherent blethering of the television presenters.

Apparently borrowed from English 'presentation', презентация does not convey any of the source-language meanings, which are: '1. The presentation of information, news etc. involves making it available to people, for example by broadcasting it or printing it and the way in which this is done. 2. A presentation is the appearance of something and the impression it gives to people. 3. A presentation is 3.1 a formal event or ceremony in which someone is given something such as a prize or a reward 3.2 something that is performed before an audience, for example a play or a ballet.' (CoCo)

Judging by the semantic structure of the English word, only isolated semantic components are relayed by the loan, namely 'an event or ceremony', 'in front of the audience' and, perhaps, 'conveying information'.

#### RESHAPING SEMANTIC GROUPS BY BORROWING

Borrowing may affect the semantic system of the recipient language. The emergence of a new word often reshapes the semantic and thematic lexical groups to which the word belongs, and redistributes semantic components among members of the group. Where a word with a similar meaning already exists in Russian, semantic shift takes place.

For example, when the noun спонсор 'sponsor' came into circulation, semantic redistribution occurred, involving not only спонсор but its recently revived equivalent меценат. Although English 'sponsor' can refer to 'a person who subscribes to charity in return for specified activity by another' (COD), in Russian the sense of 'one who provides disinterested, charitable financial support' is conveyed by меценат 'patron', while спонсор normally means 'person or individual who finances a particular event in return for promotion of its/his/her name or in return for direct profit':

... речь-то идёт о здоровье, которое, опровергая поговорку, в ряде случаев всё же можно купить. С трудом удерживаюсь от того, чтобы уже традиционно не воззвать к нещедрым меценатам. (ЛГ, 18.3.98)

... it is a question of health which, to refute the saying, you certainly can buy in certain cases. And it is with difficulty that I refrain from making the traditional appeal to ungenerous patrons.

Ещё некоторое время назад мы бы *спонсором* такого мероприятия не стали . . . А сейчас мы уверены, что польза будет — ситуация в корне изменилась. (ЧП, 13.9.97)

Only a little while ago we would not have become sponsors of such an event . . . But now we are sure that there will be some benefit, as the situation has radically changed.

The word has produced the derivatives спонсорство, спонсорский and спонсировать:

По иронии судьбы, конгресс *спонсировала* Trans World Group, которая выглядела на фоне Лисина весьма бледно. (МК, 8.4.98)

By an irony of fate, the congress was sponsored by the Trans World Group, which looked unimpressive in comparison with Lisin.

Имидж ‘image’ is another word with a Russian equivalent, in this case образ. Despite the availability of such a close synonym, the loan has established itself on a broad front. Some linguists do not consider this a justifiable loan, since seven meanings of the word образ can cover all the contexts of имидж (Starkova, 1992: 62). Others argue that the loan differs from its Russian synonym in possessing an additional meaning: ‘designed to have an emotional impact on viewers, interlocutors and listeners’ (Krysin, 1996b: 150). Again, as in some previous examples, instead of transferring into the target language all the meanings of the source word, the new loan concentrates on one particular meaning. In this case, the borrowed sense is the newest meaning in English, and had not been recorded in the 1970 edition of the OED (Murray *et al.*, 1970), while the meaning ‘5b. A concept or impression, created in the minds of the public, of a particular person, institution, product, etc.; *specifically*, a favourable impression, especially in the phrase public image’ (OED-89) was not attested until 1989. Significantly, when the word first came into Russian, it related mainly to situations abroad, and was an exoticism:

Чем ближе 4 ноября, день выборов [президента США], тем дальше отходят на задний план программы и политика и тем больше всё сводится . . . к “имиджу” — образу кандидата. (cited in КОТ).

The closer 4 November – election day [for the US president] – comes, the more programmes and politics recede into the background and the more everything boils down to ‘image’ – the candidate’s profile.

Now the word is used in many contexts in Russia, ranging from political figures to pop stars and television advertising. It also combines with inanimate objects: имидж съезда, фирмы, товара, услуги ‘image of a congress, firm, commodity, service’ (Ferm, 1994: 191; Sen’ko, 1994: 175):

Теперь, чтобы пообщаться с журналистами, парламентариям приходится бегать в фойе перед залом прессы . . . В результате места на всех не хватает, отчего страдает в первую очередь *имидж* народных избранников: телевидению зачастую приходится снимать их на фоне туалетных дверей. (*МК в П*, 11–18.9.97)

Now, in order to communicate with journalists, parliamentarians need to run to the foyer in front of the press hall . . . As a result there is not enough space for everyone, so that first and foremost the deputies' image suffers: television crews often have to film them against a background of toilet doors.

Электорáт 'electorate' is yet another example of a new borrowing that changes the balance in the lexical system:

Во-вторых, *электорат* в основной массе утвердился в своём будущем выборе. (*МН*, №33, 96)

Second, the overwhelming mass of the electorate has decided upon its future choice.

The word does have a Russian equivalent – избирáтели 'voters', which, some argue, is its absolute synonym. Nonetheless, the word электорáт, an internationalism from the languages of the developed democracies, bears semantic components which are not shared by избирáтели, namely: 'a relatively permanent circle of voters, traditionally loyal to a particular political party' (cf. Khan-Pira, 1997: 57). The politics of pluralism and real choice at elections justified the use of an additional word with a specific sense. Meanwhile, the word избирáтели is now employed as a synonym with a wider, more general meaning. The synonyms are not always interchangeable: the phrases:

оппозициóнный электорáт 'voters for the opposition'

чужóй электорáт 'voters of other parties'

суживать электорáт 'to narrow down the electorate', etc.

cannot be used with the native counterpart; cf.:

Оно показывает, что все претенденты уже дошли до верхней планки своей естественной поддержки и их дальнейшие усилия по расширению числа сторонников будут осуществляться теперь в плотных и агрессивных слоях "*чужого электората*." (*МН*, №33, 96)

It shows that all the candidates have already peaked among their natural supporters and that their subsequent efforts to increase support will now be made within the solid and aggressive strata of an 'alien' electorate.



2.3.4.6 *Superfluous borrowing*

Some borrowings are difficult to justify. It is often the present fashion for foreign words which, more than anything, is responsible for the use of loans in situations and contexts where a native word is entirely suitable. The use of a borrowed word in such circumstances creates unnecessary duplication by forming lexical doublets. Examples of these are:

целитель – хилер ‘healer’  
таблица – чарт ‘chart’  
магазин – шоп ‘shop’  
белок – протеин ‘protein’  
отдых – релакс ‘relaxation’

распродажа – сейл ‘sale’  
подросток – тинейджер ‘teenager’  
транспарентный – прозрачный  
‘transparent’  
хлопок – кóттoн ‘cotton’:

День за днём “Эльсев” благотворно влияет на любой тип волос. Энергия *протеинов*, жизненная сила витаминов, блеск жожоба. (advertisement, TV, 6.96)

*Elseve* benefits any kind of hair, day in day out. The energy of proteins, the vital strength of vitamins, the shine of jojoba.

Репрезентативный, нерепрезентативный are now more frequently used than показательный / непоказательный or представительный / непредставительный ‘representative / unrepresentative’, разрушительный is almost invariably replaced by деструктивный ‘destructive’, тренировка by тренинг ‘training’:

В каждой республике, в каждой области музеи обновили экспозиции за счёт поднятых архивов — предметов старины, ранее считавшихся *нерепрезентативными*. (Сп., №10, 95)

In every republic, in every region museums have restored exhibitions at the expense of opening closed archives – objects of antiquity previously considered to be unrepresentative.

Пилотный ‘pilot’ is a borrowed equivalent of экспериментальный, опытный:

“Городку” три года. *Пилотная* передача вышла в эфир в апреле 1993 года на петербургском ТВ. (ЛГ, 7.2.96)

*Little Town* is three years old. A pilot programme went out in April 1993 on Petersburg TV.

The language of advertising and business indubitably prefers дистрибьютор ‘distributor’ to native посредник or распределитель. Масс-медиа ‘mass media’, a phrase which bears no resemblance to Russian forms, is well established, despite the existence of средства массовой информации and the acronym СМИ:



Судя по информационной записке “Положение в СМИ”, власть бдит не только за тем, какой финансовой группировке принадлежит то или иное издание или телеканал, но и за тем, сколь эффективно собственник управляет своими *масс-медиа*. (МН, №38, 97)

Judging by an information handout entitled ‘The Situation in the Mass Media’, the authorities are keeping a watchful eye not only on which financial group such and such a publication or television channel belongs to, but also on how effectively the owner runs his mass-media.

Since a word or phrase of English origin is socially more prestigious, its use instead of the traditional lexical item involves ‘status upgrading’ (Krysin, 1996: 153). Thus, the English loan *шоп* ‘shop’ denotes a shop which sells foreign, prestigious and expensive goods, while *консáлтинг* ‘consultation’ offered by a firm to its customers is felt to be of a higher quality than *консультáция*, and *чúинг-гáм* ‘chewing gum’ is a luxury product by comparison with the mundane *жевáтельная резíнка* or – colloquially – *жвáчка*; cf., for instance, a television advertisement:

Это не обычная жвачка, а настоящий *чуинг-гам* (cited in Kostomarov, 1993a: 62).

This is no ordinary chewing gum, but real chewing gum.

Often status upgrading applies to words which denote social evils, such as:

рэкeт ‘racket’

рэкeтíр ‘racketeer’

кíллер ‘assassin’

путáна ‘prostitute’

криминалитéт ‘criminals’.

Use of the foreign word instead of the native one, with its powerful overtones and associations, removes any negative connotation from the referent, at the same time adding elements of foreign mystery and romance. *Puttana* (Italian, meaning ‘prostitute’), for instance, has its origins in the Latin word *putidus* ‘dirty’, while the mystique of the Russian equivalent *путáна* has been a source of inspiration for many artistic souls, since several popular songs have been written in which the *путáна* is romanticised, which would be inconceivable if applied to the word *проститúтка*.

Social need has occasioned the widespread use of *рэкeт* ‘racket’ and *рэкeтíр* ‘racketeer’. Although the concept of extorting protection money from shops and small businesses is a new one, at least for the general public, an equivalent Russian word already existed:

вымогáтельство ‘extortion’

вымогáтель ‘extortionist’.

Perhaps the foreign replacement is so popular because its euphemistic nature removes the pejorative sting that adheres to the concept of racketeering:

Профессиональная структура богатых везде одна и та же. Это банкиры, представители шоу-бизнеса, директорат, менеджеры крупных государственных, частных или смешанных предприятий, а также теневые структуры, *рэкет*, коррупция. (ЛГ, 19.2.97)

The employment structure of the rich is the same everywhere. They are bankers, representatives of show business, directors and managers of large state, private or hybrid companies, and also illegal structures, rackets, corruption.

Недавно *рэкетеры* поменяли тактику: с клиентами “работают” непосредственно в поезде, когда народ уже расслабился, разложил снесь на столиках. (КП, 9.4.97)

Recently racketeers have changed their tactics: they ‘work’ directly with clients on the train, when people have had time to relax and lay food out on the tables.

A similar efficacy is demonstrated by the loan *кйллер*. The alchemy of the word determines that while *убийца* ‘murderer’ sounds utterly despicable, *кйллер* is somehow respectable, modern and even interesting:

Питерская милиция ... на особом режиме: усилено патрулирование, мобилизованы резервы, всем, от рядового до полковника, розданы фотороботы предполагаемых *кйллеров*. (ЧП, 13.9.97)

The St Petersburg police ... are on a special regime: patrolling has been intensified, reserves mobilised and everyone, from the rank and file to the colonels, has been given identikit pictures of suspected murderers.

There are a number of ways in which loan doublets might develop in the future. They can either diverge in meaning or stylistic connotation, as often happens with borrowings, or, alternatively, one might be absorbed by the other or be marginalised, or even disappear altogether.

#### 2.3.4.7 Cases of re-borrowing

Where loans are concerned, the dominance of English is so great that in certain circumstances re-borrowing takes place. This involves the process of surplus borrowing, which occurs even though words denoting these concepts already exist and are themselves loans. Thus, English-based *прайс-лист* (also spelt in Roman script, ‘price list’) is displacing the earlier borrowing *прейскурант*, which came into Russian at the beginning of the nineteenth century, most likely, from Dutch *prijscourant* ‘price list’.

Similarly, *консáлтинг* ‘consultation’, which means ‘specialist advice on a particular question’ often replaces *консультáция*, which has been naturalised in Russian since 1804, from French *consultation*. The adjectival derivative

консáлтинговый has now become a variant to консульта́тивный and консультацио́нный, both dating from the 1870s (Chernykh, 1994). By the same token, the earlier French loan маки́яж was recently replaced by its doublet мейкáп ‘make-up’, the only difference being that the latter is of English origin. Мультипликацио́нный (фильм) ‘animated (film)’, of French origin, has been duplicated by the English synonym анима́ционный:

Среди голливудских звёзд наипрестижным занятием становится . . . озвучивание мультипликационных героев . . . Для работы над анима́ционной лентой “В поисках Камелота” они пригласили Гари Олдмена, Джейн Сеймур, Джона Гилгуда и Пирса Броснана — агента 007. (7Д, №47, 97)

Voice-overs of cartoon characters are becoming the most prestigious work among Hollywood stars. To work on the animated film [*The Magic Sword*.] *Quest for Camelot*, they invited Gary Oldman, Jane Seymour, John Gielgud and Pierce Brosnan — agent 007.

The relatively recent emergence of the word ланч ‘lunch’ demonstrates that even a word from the same source can be re-borrowed. It had existed in Russian since the end of the nineteenth century in the form ленч<sup>8</sup>, occurring mainly as an exoticism, but in the 1990s the word reappeared, now with the pronunciation ланч, which is closer to English. Other re-borrowed words include уик-энд / уик-э́нд ‘weekend’ and чипсы ‘crisps’:

Так, Дмитрий Игнатьев, генеральный директор питерской финансовой группы “Ленстройматериалы”, одного из спонсоров саммита, в своём спиче на торжественном ланче сказал . . . (ЧП, 13.9.97)

So, Dmitrii Ignat’ev, general director of the St Petersburg financial group *Lenstroimaterialy*, one of the summit’s sponsors, said in his speech at the celebration lunch that . . .

“Бизнес Тур Интернешнл”. Израиль. Уик-энд на море (5 дней) — от \$545. (advertisement, ЭБ, 9.10.97)

*Business Tour International*. Israel. A weekend by the sea (5 days) from \$545.

Reasons for preferring a loan word to a traditional one might be social and psychological: such words are symbols that represent a new way of life and new social relations in a Russia that is undergoing reform. The widespread and often unnecessary use of ‘new’ loan words may possess a psycholinguistic mechanism similar to political correctness in other languages: the word is used for the purpose of improving reality, as if words have a magic power to change the world.

## Notes

- 1 The word перестро́йка was originally used as a verbal noun, with the government of the genitive case; e.g. перестро́йка эконо́мики.
- 2 This distinction has recently become less clear, as sometimes Russian politicians also adopt the definition of 'right' and 'left' used elsewhere in the world. Thus, the Communist leader Gennadii Ziuganov is referred to as 'left wing' in some publications and as 'right wing' in others.
- 3 Notably, before words of harsh reality such as безрабо́тица 'unemployment', конкуре́нция 'competition' and привати́зация 'privatisation' came to be applied to Russia, transitional words and phrases were coined: высвобо́ждение рабо́чей си́лы 'release of the workforce', состяза́тельность 'competition', разгосуда́рствле́ние denationalisation'.
- 4 Lotman and Uspenskii argue that this is a manifestation of mythological thinking, by which a change of name is thought of as the elimination of an old object and its replacement by a new one which is more favourably regarded by the person who carries out the renaming.
- 5 At the time of writing, future developments are, however, impossible to predict in view of the political and financial events of August 1998.
- 6 Later other words were introduced to indicate 'mobile phone': со́товый телефо́н, the substantivised adjective calque моби́льный, and its derivative colloquialism моби́льник:

Женя добирается целый час. Наконец появляется. . . лысоватый, замотанный и прокуренный, но с *сотовым телефоном* в кармане. (ЛГ, 10.9.97);

Zhenia takes a whole hour to get there. He arrives at last . . . a bit bald, shattered and smelling of cigarette smoke, but with a mobile phone in his pocket.

Корреспондент МН позвонил к самому в штабе главному Владимиру Пывину на *мобильный*. (МН №8, 98)

An MN correspondent called the most senior official in the headquarters, Vladimir Pyvin, on his mobile phone.

- 7 Папара́нци, though originally from Italian, was most likely borrowed from English.
- 8 The word ленч was first attested in the *Encyclopaedic Dictionary of the Russian Language* edited by Brokhaus and Efron (1890–1903).





**Part 2**



## 3 Word formation

### 3.0 Introduction

Word-formatory procedures have made the most significant contribution to the creation of new vocabulary in Russian in recent times. According to Kotelova (quoted in Ferm, 1994: 50), they have accounted for about 85 per cent of new forms, while semantic neologisms have accounted for only about 8 per cent and loans for about 7 per cent.

Zemskaja (1996b: 138–9) includes the following among the most potent factors in contemporary word-formatory procedures:

- 1 the shift of many low-style, colloquial and jargon forms from the periphery to central areas of communication;
- 2 the elimination of Soviet stereotypes;
- 3 the active part played by key words of the age (see Zemskaja, 1996b: 94);
- 4 an emphasis on affixes that reflect the spirit of the time (анти- ‘anti-’, пост- ‘post-’, супер- ‘super-’, де- ‘de-’, -(из)ация ‘-isation’ and others;
- 5 abbreviations and word play.

These and some other issues are dealt with in this chapter.

Some of the material in the chapter derives from dictionaries and glossaries: Corten (1992), Haudressy (1992), Komlev (1995), Kotelova (1984b), Kotelova (1995, abbreviated to KOT), Kotelova and Sorokin (1971, abbreviated to NSZ-60), Levashov (1997a, abbreviated to LEV), Maksimov (1992, abbreviated to M), Ozhegov and Shvedova (1997, abbreviated to OZH-97), ‘UFO’ (1997), Skliarevskaja (1998). In order to avoid cluttering the text, not all the examples are cited to their sources. In most cases the date is sufficient to trace the source.

### 3.1 Abbreviation in Russian

See also Sections 1.1.4.2, 1.5.2.4, 1.6.1.2, 2.3.2.2.

In the nineteenth century abbreviations were used by political parties in Russia to avoid the repetition of long titles, for conspiratorial reasons and for



considerations of space, and by industrial enterprises in recognition of the need for professional-style communication in correspondence and advertising. The First World War (1914–18) stimulated the use of telegraphic code, with its emphasis on terse expression and the creation of abbreviational models, and the young people who had used the code carried the habit into and beyond the Revolution of 1917 and into non-military contexts. Abbreviations virtually became symbols of revolutionary language (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 66–70).

Various types of contraction were experimented with in the post-Revolutionary period, and some acquired official status in decrees signed by Bolshevik leaders. Many early abbreviations had features which were to become unacceptable later:

- the declension of consonant clusters, such as ВЦСПС for Всесоюзный центральный совет профессиональных союзов ‘All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions’;
- alternative initial morphemes; for example: чрезвыч-, чрезв-, чрез-, чре-, че- for чрезвычайный ‘extraordinary’;
- full stops between and after initials, such as Ц.К. for Центральный Комитет ‘Central Committee’; and
- abbreviations that were hard to remember or pronounce; for example: Цетеконт for Центральная телеграфная контора ‘Central Telegraph Office’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 77–9).

The process of standardisation began as early as 1918, legitimising the status of the commonest initial morphemes; for example, загранич- ‘foreign’, культ- ‘cultural’, полит- ‘political’, etc., and rejecting opaque blends such as кредеп for Совет крестьянских депутатов ‘Council of Peasant Deputies’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 80). In due course the number of synonymous doublets was reduced. Thus, го-, гла- and профес- were rejected, respectively, in favour of гос- ‘state’, глав- ‘main’ and проф- ‘professional’ (Panov, 1986, Vol. 2: 91). In the 1980s, paradoxically, гос- as in госзаказ ‘state order’ and госприёмка ‘state quality control’ coexisted with го- as in:

Гохрэн (Государственное хранилище) ‘State Depository’ (of precious metals, stones, etc., which are state property) and

Гознак (Государственное управление по выпуску государственных знаков) ‘State Administration for the Issue of Banknotes’ (White, 1992: 98).

Many early abbreviations have disappeared with the phenomena they denoted – for example: Совнарком (Совет Народных Комиссаров) ‘Sovnarkom’ (renamed Совет Министров ‘Council of Ministers’ in 1946) – as well as the groups of initials used in Stalin’s courts – for example: ПШ from подозрение в шпионаже ‘suspicion of espionage’, КРМ from

контрреволюционное мышление ‘counter-revolutionary thinking’, etc. (Iatsiuk, 1991: 56).

Eventually appropriate word-formatory patterns were regularised, following the domination of syllabic abbreviations in the 1920s, the stabilisation of these abbreviational forms in the 1930s and 1940s and the standardisation of all types of abbreviation in the period since the Great Patriotic War (1941–45).

In the 1940s and subsequently initialisms dominated abbreviational processes, denoting:

- countries: ОАР for Объединённая Арабская Республика ‘United Arab Republic’;
- parties: ПОРП for Польская объединённая рабочая партия ‘Polish United Workers’ Party’;
- international organisations: МОК for Международный Олимпийский комитет ‘International Olympic Committee’;
- science and research establishments: НИИ for научно-исследовательский институт ‘scientific research institute’;
- educational establishments: МГУ for Московский государственный университет ‘Moscow State University’;
- factories: ЗИЛ for Автомобильный завод имени Лихачёва ‘Likhachëv Car Factory’; and
- military realia: ПАЗ for противоатомная защита ‘anti-atomic defence’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 94).

A number of ‘abbrevemes’ (abbreviational affixes) that had begun to dominate in the 1920s and 1930s crystyallised into a well-structured system by the 1960s, thanks partly to the emergence of fixed suffixal patterns (some with infixes) in, for example:

- (-ов)ец: ленфильмовец ‘employee of Leningrad film studios’;
- -(ш)ник:  
    профсоюзник ‘TU official’  
    цэрэушник ‘CIA operative’; and
- -ик: for makes of vehicles; e.g. пазик ‘bus from the Pavlovsk Bus Factory’.

Some were formed as derivatives, e.g. карэбэшный (from КГБ ‘KGB’). This practice has continued in the 1980s and 1990s: вэпэковское предприятие ‘an enterprise of the military-industrial complex’ (from ВПК or военно-промышленный комплекс).

It is possible in modern Russian to identify a number of structural categories of abbreviation, each with its subcategories (Deribas, 1992). In this section the main categories are discussed in turn; they are as follows: (1) semi-abbreviated words, (2) syllabic abbreviations, (3) acronyms, (4) alphabetisms,

(5) syllabic-initial abbreviations, (6) transcription and (7) truncated forms.

### 3.1.1 *Semi-abbreviated words*

This type of abbreviation comprises a truncated adjective + a full noun:

профсо́юз (from профе́ссиональный сою́з) 'trade union'  
редколле́гия (from редакцио́нная колле́гия) 'editorial board' (see  
Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 270–8).

It has affected many semantic fields:

- mechanisms: коленва́л 'crankshaft';
- processes: господде́ржка 'state support';
- substances: пла́стмáсса 'plastic';
- occupations: ветфе́льдшер 'veterinary surgeon's assistant';
- sport: вело́кросс 'cross-country cycle racing';
- trade: ко́жтовáры 'leather goods', etc.

Many compounds were formed with кино- (Kliueva, 1995), including some of an emotive nature (Vorontsova, in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 98). Recent formations include:

инофе́рма 'foreign firm'	комба́нк 'communal bank'
психбо́льница 'psychiatric hospital'	Верхсу́д 'Supreme Court'
драгмета́лл 'precious metal'	(Kostomarov 1994b: 160).
совру́бли 'Soviet roubles'	

Some of the initial 'adjectival morphemes' have acquired considerable autonomy (Vorontsova, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 100–1) and participate in compounds for which there is no adjective-noun equivalent: авиапо́чта 'air mail', авиама́тка 'aircraft carrier' (compare, by contrast, авиапро́мышленность 'aircraft industry' from авиацио́нная про́мышленность), likewise автопробе́г 'car run', агрого́род 'agricultural centre', etc., and compounds in радио- and видео-. The parity of adjectival morpheme and full adjective is shown in contexts where they share equal status: *загран- и центрáльный* аппара́т МИДа 'the overseas and central apparatus of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs' (from *АиФ*, 1993). Some of the prefixal morphemes are homonymous, e.g. авто-, which can stand for:

автомати́ческий (автопогру́зчик 'automatic loader'),  
автомобильный (автопро́мышленность 'vehicle industry') and  
автобу́сный (автосоо́бщение 'bus connections').

Such homonymy implies a growth in analyticity, with meaning resolved by

context. This factor now affects *ком-*, which can represent *коммёрческий* 'commercial', as well as *коммунистический* 'communist' (Shaposhnikov, 1998: 98). Some truncations, such as *рай-* (for *райо́нный* 'regional'), have been less used in the post-Soviet period; compare the former *райко́м* 'regional committee' and current *администра́ция райо́на* 'regional administration' (Shaposhnikov, 1998: 99).

Truncated adjectives in the series include:

<i>арт-</i> ( <i>артобстре́л</i> 'artillery bombardment')	<i>жил-</i> ( <i>жилпло́щадь</i> 'living space')
	<i>спец-</i> ( <i>спецшко́ла</i> 'special school')

and many others. Some contractions consist of three or more components: *адмтехперсона́л* 'administrative and technical staff'. Sometimes vowel infixes (o or e) connect the components, as in *генофо́нд* from *генети́ческий фонд* 'genetic fund' and *бронези́лет* from *брониро́ванный зи́лет* 'bullet-proof vest'; compare, by contrast:

*автозаво́д* (from *автомо́бильный заво́д*) 'car factory'  
*телепереда́ча* (from *телеви́зио́нная переда́ча*) 'TV broadcast',

where the vowels constitute part of the abbreviational morpheme.

A sub-category of this type comprises forms such as *завка́федрой* (from *заве́дующий/-ая ка́федрой* 'departmental head'), where the post-positive noun appears in an oblique case. Such forms are indeclinable: я *разговáривал с замми́истра* 'I was talking to the deputy minister'.

Likely areas of expansion among semi-abbreviated words involve *космо-* 'space' (e.g. *космосни́мок* 'space photograph'), *теле-* 'television' (e.g. *телесе́риал* 'TV serial'), *видео-* 'video' (e.g. *видео́презента́ция* 'video-presentation'),<sup>1</sup> and (unless hampered by homonymy with *авто-* 'car' as suggested by Vorontsova (in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 103; also footnote 24), *авто-* 'automatic' (*автозапра́вка* 'automatic fuelling'). *Парт-* 'Party' has acquired a negative connotation:

Она [биография] типична для карьеры *партфункционера* эпохи застоя . . . (*КП*, 12.5.96)

It [a biography] is typical of the career of a Party functionary of the period of stagnation . . . ,

Some forms in *гос-* (*госперево́рот* '*coup d'état*'), *спец-* (*спецкли́ника* 'special polyclinic'), *сов-* (*совноменклату́ра* 'Soviet élite') and others have also been used to discredit the old regime (Dulichenko, 1994: 290–3). Ferm (1994: 65–6) comments on a small but active group of forms in *ино-* (*иномáрка* 'foreign make of car') and *дем(о)-* (*де́мблók* 'democratic bloc'). The growth in drug-taking and the official recognition under glasnost that it took place at all (Ferm, 1994: 66) has resulted in an increase in forms in *нарко-*:



нарколо́гия ‘study of drug abuse’  
 наркоры́нок ‘drug market’  
 наркото́рговцы ‘drug dealers’

наркоде́льцы ‘drug operators’  
 наркома́фия ‘drugs mafia’  
 наркома́ния ‘drug addiction’:

На профессиональный уровень в области *наркобизнеса* представители режима Дудаева вышли ещё в конце 1991 года. Именно тогда в новую международную *наркогруппировку* “Содружество” вошли несколько офицеров КГБ СССР. (КП, 12.5.96)

Representatives of the Dudaev regime began to engage in the drugs trade at a professional level as early as the end of 1991. It was then that several KGB officers joined the international drugs syndicate ‘Commonwealth’.

Compounds in порно- are also likely to increase as a result of greater social permissiveness:

порноб́изнес ‘porn trade’  
 порноф́ильм ‘pornographic film’

порнокл́уб ‘porn club’.

And the holiday boom has led to a plethora of terms in тур-:

турпроду́кт ‘tour product’

турусл́уги ‘touring services’:

В столице Кении зарегистрирован первый *туроператор*. (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)

The first tour operator has been registered in the capital of Kenya.

Environmental concerns have generated terms in эко- (some probably semi-calques): экосисте́ма ‘ecosystem’, экоци́д ‘ecocide’, and so on. In fact, scientific advance can create neologisms in virtually any semantic field: биона́вты ‘bionauts’ (1985), referring to people locked in a hermetically sealed chamber, as a preliminary stage in a space programme.

See also Section 4.1.2.2.

### 3.1.2 Syllabic abbreviations

This category contains words comprising two initial syllables:

кибо́рг ‘robot, cybernetic organism’ (from киберне́тический органи́зм)  
 спецхра́н ‘special storage area’ (from специа́льное храня́лище)  
 вещдо́к ‘material evidence’ (from веще́ственное доказа́тельство):

*Старлей* [старший лейтенант] попытался распутать стропы. (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)

The senior lieutenant tried to disentangle the shroud lines.

The device is widely used in naming organisations:

Главгортранс for Главное управление городского пассажирского транспорта 'Main Administration for City Passenger Transport'  
 Мосметаллширпотреб for Московский трест по производству металлоизделий широкого потребления 'Moscow Trust for the Manufacture of Metal Consumer Goods'

but the process has been complicated in the 1980s and 1990s, from a structural point of view, by increasing cooperation with foreign organisations, thus: Асситал for Ассоциация делового сотрудничества с Итальянской республикой 'Association for Business Cooperation with the Italian Republic'.

Sometimes the abbreviation consists of three syllables: леспромхоз for лесопромышленное хозяйство 'forest husbandry', rarely four or more: Мосгорисполком for Московский городской исполнительный комитет 'executive committee of the Moscow City Council of People's Deputies'. Prefixes are normally retained together with the following syllable: госиздát from Государственное издательство 'State Publishing House' (for самиздát 'independent publication of works, illegally published works', superseded since the second half of the 1980s as the result of the creation of independent presses and unofficial newspapers, see Gorbanevskii, 1991). In some cases the truncated noun replaces a case form: комдív (from командующий дивизией 'divisional commander').

A variant of the structure involves the combination noun + noun: ликбэз from ликвидация безграмотности 'anti-illiteracy campaign' (Deribas, 1989; compare the 1980s formation ликэкобэз 'campaign against ecological illiteracy'), прорáб (for производитель работ 'clerk of works'); прорáбы перестрóйки was a term used, sometimes ironically, in the late 1980s to denote the prime movers in the establishment of perestroika. Here, too, prefixes are retained: управдóм 'house manager' from управляющий/-ая дóмом.

The noun + noun variant is found in the names of companies and especially ministries, e.g. Минióст for Министёрство юстиции 'Ministry of Justice'. Ferm (1994: 63) points out, however, that the abbreviated forms may imply disparagement (this also applies, for example, to other abbreviations such as нардеп for народный депутат 'people's deputy', etc.; Ferm, 1994: 62) and are rarely used in official communications; however, note the following:

Заказчиком работ по программе выступают Минтопэнерго и Минсельхозпрод. Минэкономики и Минфину предстоит ... определить механизм распределения финансовых средств. (ИЗВ., 27.7.96)

The project work is contracted by the Ministry of Fuel and Power and the Ministry of Agricultural Production. The Ministry of the Economy and the Ministry of Finance face the task . . . of determining the mechanism for the distribution of finance.

Some new ministries are otherwise abbreviated: МЧС for Министёрство по чрезвычайным ситуациям ‘Ministry for Emergencies’.

A less common variant of the construction involves the intermittent selection of components in a phrase, culminating in the suffix of the central noun – военкомат (from *воённый комиссариат*) ‘military commissariat’ – telescopic abbreviations which omit the central section of a compound noun – ра́ция (from *радиостанция*) ‘radio station’ – and blends comprising the initial and final sections of two nouns – биони́ка (from *биоло́гия + электрони́ка*) ‘bionics’ – or of an adjective and noun – Еврови́дение (from *Европе́йское + телеви́дение*) ‘Eurovision’ (possibly a calque).

### 3.1.3 Acronyms

See also Section 4.1.1.2.

Many acronyms are linked to a particular time:

ЭПА́С for the Soviet-American Экперимента́льный полёт Аполло́н-Сою́з ‘Apollo–Soiuz Experimental Flight’ of 1975

ВИ́Ч (ви́рус иммунодефи́цита челове́ка) ‘HIV’:

зараже́ние ВИ́Ч-инфе́кцией ‘HIV-infection’ (ВИ́Ч-инфици́рованный ‘person with HIV’), which is linked to social and health concerns originating in the 1980s

ОМО́Н (отря́д(ы) мили́ции о́собого назначе́ния) of the special-purpose police detachments which were formed in the late 1980s to quell popular unrest (cf. adjective омо́новский and noun омо́новцы ‘OMON troops’) спид or СПИ́Д (синдро́м приобре́тённого иммунодефи́цита) ‘AIDs’; cf. спидофо́бия ‘AIDs-phobia’, спидове́д ‘AIDs specialist’, спидоно́с ‘AIDs-carrier’:

. . . *противоспидный* лекарственный препарат “Ретровир”, полученный из-за рубежа. (*Изд.*, 23.3.89)

. . . ‘Retrovir’, an AIDs remedy imported from abroad.

Acronyms are read as words:

ИТА́Р (Информацио́нное телеви́зио́нное аге́нтство Росси́и) ‘Information Television Agency of Russia’

ЕЭ́С [jэ́с] (Европе́йское эконо́мическое соо́бщество) ‘European Economic Community’

бомж (без определённого места жительства) 'person of no fixed abode, down-and-out'

РІА (Російское информацио́нное аге́нтство) 'Russian Information Agency'

ВЦИОМ (Всеросійский центр изуче́ния о́бщественного мнѐния) 'All-Russian Centre for the Study of Public Opinion'

ІРА (Ірла́ндская респу́блика́нская а́рмия) 'IRA'.

Acronyms likely to be unfamiliar to the reader are sometimes glossed:

У телефонистки на табло *автоматического определителя номера (АОН)* высвечивается номер телефона, с которого звонят. (*Изв.*, 18.10.96)

The number of the caller lights up on the operator's automatic number indicator screen.

A contemporary trend involves the use of acronyms which are already words with a different referent:

КЕДР (Конструктивно-экологическое движение России 'Russian Constructive-Ecological Movement'; cf. кедр 'cedar')

БАРС (Банк развития собственности 'Property Development Bank'; cf. барс 'snow leopard')

АИСТ (Автоматическая Информационная Станция 'Automatic Information Centre'; cf. аист 'stork'). (АИСТ is from Minakova, 1985: 100)

### 3.1.4 Alphabetisms

See also Sections 4.1.1.2 and 2.3.2.2.

Alphabetisms are a form of acronym comprising initial letters and are read as letters, not words:

ЦТ [це-тэ] 'Central Television' (Центра́льное телеви́дение)

ГА [гэ-а́] 'General Assembly of the UNO' (Генера́льная Ассамбле́я ОО́Н)

ВББ [вэ-бэ-бэ́] 'All-Russian Exchange Bank' (Всеросійский биржево́й банк)

РФ [эр-эф] 'Russian Federation' (Росси́йская Федера́ция)

СКВ [эс-ка-вэ́] 'freely convertible currency' (свобод́но конверти́руемая валю́та)

СНГ [эс-эн-гэ́] 'Commonwealth of Independent States' (Содру́жество неза́висимых госуда́рств)

ТСН [тэ-эс-э́н] 'Television News Service' (телевизио́нная служба́ новосте́й)

ЯКВ [я-ка-вэ́] 'nuclear and space armaments' (я́дерные и косми́ческие воору́жения)



МВФ [эм-вэ-эф] 'International Monetary Fund' (Международный валютный фонд)

НДС [эн-дэ-эс] 'value added tax' (налог на добавленную стоимость), etc.

Changes in the security services have generated a number of new alphabetisms in the post-Soviet period:

СВР for Служба внешней разведки 'Foreign Intelligence Service'

СБП for Служба безопасности президента 'Presidential Security Service'

ФСО for Федеральная служба охраны 'Federal Guard Service'

ФПС for Федеральная пограничная служба 'Federal Frontier Service'

ФСБ for Федеральная служба безопасности 'Federal Security Service'

ФСК for Федеральная служба контрразведки 'Federal Counter-Intelligence Service':

Владимир Гурджианц был арестован *ФСБ* (тогда ещё *ФСК*) в марте 1994 года. (*МК*, 11.9.96)

Vladimir Gurzhians was arrested by the FSB (then still the FSK) in March 1994.

Some alphabetisms generate derivatives: командир бэтэровцев 'commander of the troops of an armoured personnel carrier' (from БТР, an abbreviation of бронетранспортёр 'armoured personnel carrier'), cf., from, respectively, ВВ (внутренние войска 'internal troops') and ФБР (Федеральное бюро расследований 'FBI'):

Мы дружим с ВВ, мы уважаем ВВ . . . — примерно так мы заявили *Ввиному* генералу . . . (*МК*, 11.9.96)

We are on good terms with the Internal Troops, we respect them . . . and we conveyed as much to their general.

Теперь всюду "взвэшники" . . . (*Молот*, 18.10.96)

Now there are Internal Troops everywhere . . .

По указанному адресу нагрянули *эфбээровцы*. (*Пр.-5*, 13–20.9.96)

FBI agents raided the address given.

ГКЧП [гэ-ка-че-пэ] (Государственный комитет по чрезвычайному положению) 'The State Emergency Committee', which staged the anti-Gorbachëv *putsch* 19–21.8.91, enjoyed a short-lived but highly emotive existence. After the failure of the *putsch* the initials became the subject of facetious comment:

Путч провалился, потому что никто не смог выговорить *Гэ-Ка-Че-Пэ*. (*Н. вр.*, №36, 91)

The putsch failed because no one could contrive to pronounce Ge-Ka-Che-Pe.

The initials also served as a base for derivatives: ГКЧПйсты/гэкачепйсты for members of the junta (alternatively пугоязовцы after Boris Pugo, the Interior Minister, and Dmitrii Iazov, Defence Minister, or янайцы after Gennadii Ianaev, Vice-President of the USSR and leader of the group; see Shmelëv, 1992: 69), also (recalling the чекйсты, members of the ‘Cheka’, the political police force established in 1917; see Hosking, 1985: 59–60), чепйсты and, for those who distanced themselves from the junta and its attempted putsch, отчепйсты and the occasionalist verb отчепйться (cf. отщепйться ‘to chip off’). Derivatives appeared:

послепўтчевый or пўстпўтчевый	допўтчевый ‘pre-putsch’
‘post-putsch’	недопўтч ‘an abortive putsch’

and puns – such as путч к коммунизму ‘the putsch to communism’ (cf. путь к коммунизму ‘the road to communism’, поПўТЧевать (cf. попўтчевать ‘to regale’) – were used to ridicule the conspirators:

Гэкачеписты от КПСС и их поПўТЧики затаились. (*Н. вр.*)

The CPSU’s *gekachepisty* and their fellow *putschists* have gone into hiding [cf. попўтчики ‘fellow-travellers’].

*Независимая газета* passed a final judgement on the coup:

Недоперестройка со всей неумолимой логикой увенчалась *недопутчем*. (*НГ*, №43, 91, in Shmelëv, 1992: 68)

An abortive perestroika culminated with relentless logic in an abortive *putsch*.

### 3.1.5 Syllabic-initial abbreviations

These comprise:

- the first syllable(s) of an adjective or participle + the initial letters of the other components:
  - завуч ‘director of studies’ (from заведующий учебной частью)
  - Днепрогэс ‘Dnieper Power Station’ (from Днепрóвская гидроэлектростáнция);
- initial letters + syllable:
  - собэс ‘social security department’ (from социáльное обеспéчение)
  - ГУЛАГ/ГУЛáг (from Глáвное управлéние исправительно-трудо́вых лаге́рей ‘Main Administration of Corrective Labour Camps’);

- initial + syllable(s) + initial:  
МАГАТЭ ‘International Atomic Power Agency’ (from *Международное агéнтство по áтомной энергéтике*);
- initials + stump + full words:  
ЦНИИпромздáний ‘Central Scientific Research and Experimental Design Institute for Industrial Buildings and Structures’ (from *Центрáльный нау́чно-иссле́довательский и прое́ктно-экспериме́нтальный институ́т промýшленных зда́ний и соору́жений*);
- initials + stumps:  
Гипроавтопрóм ‘State Institute for the Design of Factories in the Vehicle Industry’ (from *Госуда́рственный институ́т по прое́ктированию заво́дов автомоби́льной промýшленности*), etc.

For ‘chain formations’ in science and technology, see Leichik (1990).

### 3.1.6 *Transcription*

This category consists of forms which are read like letters of the alphabet and represented graphically either by letters or in transliteration:

ЧП/чепé (чрезвычайное происшествие) ‘emergency’  
НЗ/энзé (неприкосновéнный за́пас) ‘iron rations’.

Such forms were popular in the early twentieth century, especially for naming members of political parties:

с.-д. for социáл-демократ ‘Social Democrat’  
с.-р. for социáл-революционёр ‘member of the Social Revolutionary Party’

and later in other fields:

ЦК/цека́ ‘Central Committee’, from Центрáльный Комите́т  
РС/э́рэс ‘jet-propelled missile’, from реакти́вный сна́ряд

and the type has remained relatively productive:

х/б or хэбэ́ ‘cotton fabric’ (хлопчатобума́жный ‘cotton’ – гимнасте́рка х/б or хэбэ́, гимнасте́рка из хэбэ́ ‘cotton battle-dress blouse’)  
а/б ‘plane ticket’ (from авиабилéт)  
б/у or бэу [бэу́] ‘used before’ (бывший в употребле́нии):

Покупаем щелочные аккумуля́торы. б/у. (КП, 12.5.96)  
We buy used alkaline batteries.

Other examples include:

- (with slashes):  
 в/с for *вы́сший сорт* 'superior brand'  
 к/т for *киноте́атр* 'cinema'  
 п/я for *почто́вый ящик* 'post box'  
 п/о for *почто́вое отде́ление* 'post office'
- (with a dash): з-д for *заво́д* 'factory'
- (with dot(s) and a dash): ж.-д. for *желе́зная доро́га* 'railway'
- (with a slash and a dot): об/мин. for *оборо́тов в мину́ту* 'revolutions per minute'

(Minakova, 1985: 99; Khan-Pira, 1994: 44–5).

The lexicalised forms (*чепе́* 'emergency', etc.) are used mainly in popular speech or professional parlance; cf.

кэ́гэ 'kilogram'  
 рэ́ 'rouble'

60 кэ́мэ в час '60 kilometres an hour'.

Gender is determined by the central noun, thus all forms listed here are masculine except for neuter *ЧП/чепе́* (for *чрезвычайное происше́ствие*).

One of the most resonant words in the series is *зек* or *зэк* 'prisoner, convict', which gained wide currency in 1962 with the publication of A. Solzhenitsyn's *Оди́н день Ива́на Дени́совича* 'One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich':

Скрипя валенками по снегу, быстро пробежали *зэки* по своим делам.  
 Their felt boots creaking through the snow, the prisoners were running past to go about their business.

According to one view, *зек/зэк* was short for *заключённый каналоармеец* 'prisoner member of the canal army', initially of prisoners engaged in forced labour on the White Sea Canal, subsequently of all prisoners; however, a consensus favours derivation from the prison-camp abbreviation *з/к* (pronounced [зэ-ка́], plural *з/к з/к* [зэ-ка́ зэ-ка́], then [зэк]), which camp humour in Noril'sk converted into *заполя́рные комсомо́льцы* 'polar members of the Komsomol'. *З/к* is thus one of a series of slashed letter abbreviations denoting people in the political and penal system; cf. *т/а* (*трудоармеец* 'member of the labour army'), *с/п* (*спецпереселенец* 'permanent exile'), etc. (see Khan-Pira, 1994; Korshunkov, 1996).

An example of the reverse procedure – a noun that derives from a letter abbreviation – is the rocket-launcher *кати́уша* '*katiusha*', a name which appears to have been attached to the rocket under the influence of the factory mark 'K' that was stamped on its side (and the eponymous pre-war song composed by M. Blanter). Originally used as a code-word to conceal the



identity of a secret weapon, кати́уша came into general use following the launchers' combat debut in 1941:

Подожжённые “*катюшами*”, горели остатки бензина или нефти.  
(К. Simonov, *Дни и ночи 'Days and Nights'*, cited in LEV)  
Remnants of petrol or oil were burning, ignited by the 'katiushas'.

### 3.1.7 *Truncated forms*

Truncated words are found predominantly in colloquial parlance, many comprising the first syllable of a noun:

зам 'deputy' (from заместитель)  
бич 'seasonal worker' (usually a homeless alcoholic, from English *beach-comber*, American *beach-bum* or, dubiously, бывший интеллигёнтный человек 'formerly cultured person').

Some comprise two syllables:

опер 'operative' (from оперуполномоченный)  
Пётр 'St Petersburg'  
Афгáн 'Afghanistan, Afghan veterans, Afghan War'; cf. афгáнцы 'Afghans, veterans of the Afghan War':

Это подразделение, прошедшее Афган . . . (*Молот*, 18.10.96)  
It is a detachment that has come through the Afghan War . . .

Псих 'a nutter', ultimately of foreign origin, derives from психбольной 'mentally disturbed', itself from психически больной:

В армии неучи и психи. Почему? (*Пр.-5*, 6–13.9.96)  
The army is full of ignoramuses and nutters. Why?

Others derive from adjective-noun phrases:

импорт from импортная вещь 'imported item'  
неформал 'member of a неформальное объединение 'informal, grass-roots organisation' (see Section 2.1, p. 71)  
актив 'activists' from активные члены  
факс 'fax' from факсимильная связь  
нелегалы 'illegals' (earlier for those engaged in illegal political activity, latterly for persons in any unlawful situation: those without a registration permit, refugees from the third world making their way to Western Europe via Russia, foreign workers living illegally in Russia, illegal traders, etc.; Ferm, 1994: 76)

and include colloquial forms such as:

рац ‘rationalisation proposal’ (from рационализаторское решение)  
 фан ‘a fan’ (e.g. of pop music, from фанатик, фанат or English ‘fan’)  
 нал ‘cash’ (from наличные деньги); and  
 безна́л ‘calculation/reckoning without cash transfer’ (from безналичные  
 деньги or безналичный расчёт)  
 прики́д ‘clothes’ (from прикидывать ‘to try on’):

Алёна была особенно хороша, продемонстрировав, что умеет  
 подать и классический элегантный костюм, и авангардный *прикид*.  
 (АиФ, 4.3.98)

Alëna was particularly pretty, demonstrating that she could show off a  
 classical elegant suit and trendy avant-garde clothes.

Some of the truncations have existed since the 1960s or earlier, cf., in con-  
 temporary contexts, серьёз – only in the word-group на полном серьёзе –  
 and примитив:

А пресса уже на полном серьёзе рассуждает о том, кто из нынешних  
 политиков способен встать у руля . . . (Пр.-5, 13–20.9.96)

And the press is already debating in all seriousness which of today’s  
 politicians is capable of taking the helm . . .

— *Примитив* уходит. Сейчас за каждым лицом — целая гамма  
 чувств. (Тр.-7, 18–24.10.96)

— Primitive feelings are out. Now behind every face is a whole range of  
 emotions.

Others (Kostomarov, 1994b: 163–71) include модёрн ‘modernism,  
 modernity, modernist style’ (often of dance, architecture, furnishing, sculp-  
 ture), напряг ‘tension, effort’:

Подкрасить и подчистить [город] без особого *напряга*. (Нед., №28,  
 96)

Spruce up the city without particular effort.

Like примитив and модёрн, a number of forms come from professional  
 parlance, some with abstract synonyms:

на́йв/на́йвность ‘naivety’

адеква́т/адеква́тность ‘adequacy’

or phrasal synonyms:

конструктив/конструктивное решение 'constructive decision'  
 позитив/позитивные аспекты 'positive aspects'  
 негатив/негативные аспекты 'negative aspects'

or (from Ferm, 1994: 55) негативная информация 'negative information'.  
 The photographic terms негатив and позитив acquired their new meanings  
 through party jargon and public speaking:

М.С. Горбачёв прежде всего констатировал нарастание *позитива* в  
 советско-американском диалоге (*Изв.*, 22.6.91)

M.S. Gorbachëv above all noted an increase in positive elements in the  
 Soviet–American dialogue.

Some words, once ridiculed, have become respectable:

*Интим* для большинства нормальных женщин — не самоцель, а  
 способ привязать к себе мужчину. (*Пр.*-5, 6–13.9.96)

For most normal women intimacy is not an aim in itself but a way of  
 winning a man's affections.

Терминал 'terminal' has extended its sphere of usage from transport to  
 computing, while компáкт is a simplification of компáкт-диск 'compact  
 disk' (also СД [сиди́]; Skliarevskaja, 1998).

Words popular in the 1980s and 1990s include маргина́л 'drop-out, social  
 reject', кримина́л and интенсív:

Рыбалки, походы за грибами и катание на яхте . . . Спрашивается,  
 какой здесь *криминал*? (*ЛГ*, №34, 84)

Fishing, picking mushrooms, yachting . . . You can't help wondering  
 what's criminal about that.

. . . общий английский (стандарт, *интенсив*, *суперинтенсив*, один-на-  
 один) . . . (*Нед.*, No.15, 96)

. . . general English (standard, intensive, super-intensive, one-to-one) . . .

For беспредел, see Kostomarov, 1994: 171–4 and 'Criminal argot' in  
 Section 2.2.7.3.

Some truncations are created on an *ad hoc* basis, sometimes appearing side  
 by side with more explicit forms. Thus, an article: Юхáнов смóтрит на мир  
 глазами *даунов* 'Iukhanov looks at the world through the eyes of sufferers  
 from Down's Syndrome' also refers to психóлоги óбщества "Даун-  
 синдром" 'psychologists from the Down's Syndrome Society' and  
 [сущестvá, страдающие] болéзнью Дауна '[people] with Down's Syn-  
 drome' (*КП*, 12.5.96).

A number of truncated forms derive from nouns through suffixation, some of the suffixes being irregular (so-called) ‘unifixes’:

обща́га ‘hostel’ from общежи́тие	де́мбель ‘demobilised soldier’ from
алка́ш ‘alcoholic’ from алкогóлик	демо́билизо́ванный.

There are also forms in -ик, mostly non-standard:

ве́лик ‘bike’ from велосипéд	го́мик ‘homosexual’ from
те́лик ‘telly’ from телеви́дение	гомосексуа́лист
му́льтик ‘cartoon’ from	ко́мпик ‘computer’
мультифíльм	ви́дик ‘video recorder’
бро́ник ‘bullet-proof vest’ from	ши́зик ‘nutter’
бронези́лét	ту́ник ‘parasite’ and
ко́нтрик ‘counter-revolutionary’	ми́крик ‘minibus’.
from контрреволюцио́нёр	

Suffixed forms of the type черну́ха ‘denigration, carping, defamatory information’ and порну́ха ‘pornography’ are a current growth area. Черну́ха became popular under Gorbachëv to denote depressing revelations about the totalitarian past or negative information about current events. Now the word tends to denote works (mainly films) that depict exclusively negative aspects of reality (Skliarevskaja, 1998). Others of the type (Kostomarov, 1994b: 158) include

группову́ха ‘group sex’ (also, according to Ferm, 1994: 55, ‘gang crime’, and to Skliarevskaja, 1998, ‘gang rape’)  
 массову́ха ‘mass culture’  
 джазу́ха ‘jazz music’  
 ко́льцеву́ха ‘ring road’  
 передову́ха ‘leading article’ and, typical of the 1980s  
 виду́ха ‘film or TV for entertainment only, with no moral message’.

Бормоту́ха ‘plonk’ is based on бормотáть ‘to mumble’. Davie (1998: 324, 335) lists forms from youth slang:

герлу́ха ‘girl, bird’	депресу́ха ‘a downer’
дрищу́ха ‘stupid bitch’ (a Kazan’ coinage)	стипу́ха ‘a grant’.

### 3.2 Problems of abbreviation in a market economy

(This section draws substantially on Leichik, 1992.) The standardised system for the creation of abbreviations which obtained during the Soviet period has been under pressure in the period since 1985 as new types of financial



organisation have arisen, each requiring to be named in a fashion that would be interesting, reflect its purpose and be easy to remember and pronounce. In seeking a middle way between the full though long-winded name of an institution – for example, *Моско́вская инвестицио́нная бир́жа* ‘Moscow Investment Exchange’ – and abbreviations which are inexpressive and insufficiently explicit – for example, ВББ (from *Всеросси́йский биржево́й банк* ‘All-Russian Exchange Bank’ – there has been a partial return to the creation of free formations bereft of the normative strictures of Soviet times, with letters and sometimes syllables assigned arbitrary values; for example: *Рина́ко* from *Росси́йское инвестицио́нное акцио́нерное о́бщество* ‘Russian Investment Joint Stock Company’.

Some syllabic abbreviations have, however, been more successful in reflecting the function of the organisation they represent:

Росинту́р, the name of a foreign travel agency

Автоторгце́нтр, a firm that makes spare parts for cars

Жилинфо́, an agency which has information on apartments to let.

The long-established set of familiar abbreviations – *мос-* from *моско́вский* ‘Moscow’, *снаб-* from *снабже́нческий* ‘supply’ (adjective) – is now supplemented by others: *интер-* from *интернациона́льный*, as in СП “*Интерстройко́мплекс*”, a joint venture selling buildings, and *тек-* from *техни́ческий* ‘technical’ (with *x* pronounced [k] English-style), as well as by letter abbreviations:

АО or А/О for акцио́нерное о́бщество ‘stock company’

М(Г)П for ма́лое (госуда́рственное) предприя́тие ‘small (state) enterprise’  
and

АП for аре́ндное предприя́тие ‘leasing enterprise’.

Some firms have abandoned abbreviation, opting instead for names associated with their activities:

“Вака́нсия” ‘Vacancy’ (an employment agency)

“Декóр” ‘Decor’ (a furniture factory)

“Скóрость” ‘Speed’ (a removal firm)

“Мэгрé” ‘Maigret’ (a criminal investigations department)

or have selected fine-sounding names such as “Мерку́рий-а́льфа” ‘Mercury-Alpha’ (a firm that hires passenger vehicles), or prestigious-sounding foreign names, such as “Бро́кер ха́ус” ‘Broker House’ (a firm that provides financial support for commercial projects). Where abbreviations are retained, they may be amplified, as in РИФК “Алья́нс” (of a regional investment and finance company – *региона́льная инвестицио́нно-финансо́вая компа́ния*) ‘RIFK “Alliance”’, while stump compounds such as “Профе́срвис” (providing

typing and clerical courses) are based on well-established patterns of the type *капвложѣния* ‘capital investment’.

### 3.3 Prefixes

The next three sections (Sections 3.3–3.5) deal with affixation (see also Sections 1.1.4.1, 1.6.1.1 and 2.3.2.1). This section considers prefixes; Section 3.4 looks at infixes and, finally, Section 3.5 looks at suffixes.

The emergence of new prefixal compounds is often determined by extra-linguistic factors. Thus, the following new words arose due to the factors given:

*расказачивание* arose a year or two after the October Revolution to denote a state policy that involved the destruction of Cossack communities, *раскулачивание* ‘dekulakisation’ to describe the deportation of ten million *kulaks*, or rich peasants, during the collectivisation of agriculture (1929–32);

compounds in *при-* (*прилуниться* ‘to land on the moon’, *приводнение* ‘splash-down’ and in 1981 *привенериться* ‘to land on Venus’, all based on the model *приземлиться* ‘to land’, *приземление* ‘landing’) with developments in space flight in the 1960s and 1970s;

*запрограммировать* ‘to programme’ (a computer) in the 1960s;

*загазовать* ‘to pollute with noxious gases’ due to environmental concerns in the 1970s;

*отказник* ‘refusenik’ in the late 1980s, of those who were refused permission to emigrate or who refused to join the Party or serve in the Soviet Army (or of a child abandoned by its parents);

*отмывание денег* ‘money-laundering’ (probably a calque from English), of criminal activities practised by criminals and speculators from the late 1980s;

*отоварить талоны* ‘to convert ration coupons into goods’, during the period of rationing in the late 1980s and the early 1990s;

*задействовать*, a key Party and bureaucratic word of the 1980s and 1990s meaning ‘to activate’.

В поисках преступной группы были *задействованы* лучшие кадры МВД Болгарии . . . (*Труд*-7, 18–24.10.96)

The best operatives in the Bulgarian Ministry of Internal Affairs were activated in search of the criminal gang.

#### 3.3.1 Prefixes that denote negation, rejection, deprivation

Prefixes of this type have been particularly active in the post-1985 and post-Soviet periods, as totalitarian structures and concepts have been questioned, discredited or dismantled (see also Section 2.3.2.1).

3.3.1.1 <sup>(2)</sup> *Анти-*

The prefix, which is said to reflect the spirit of the present age and a rejection of the Soviet past (Ferm, 1994: 85), has a number of meanings:

- opposition: антимарксизм ‘anti-Marxism’, антимилитаристы ‘anti-militarists’. Adjectives in анти-, e.g. антирождественский вѣчер ‘anti-Christmas party’, reflected manifestations of atheism in the early years of the Revolutionary period; later, during collectivisation, came антиколхозное движение ‘the anti-kolkhoz movement’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 164). By the 1960s анти- could combine with virtually any abstract noun: антисоветизм ‘anti-Soviet ideology’, etc.;
- preventive:
  - антистрессовое действие ‘anti-stress effect’
  - антиракета ‘interceptor rocket’ (1960s);
- antonymous: with анти- reversing the meaning of the central noun. Many words relate to mid-twentieth century advances in physics:

Итак, у каждой частицы нашего мира есть антипод, живущий в зазеркалье, в *антимире*. (E. Parnov and E. Gushchenko, *Окно в антимир*, 1963, cited in Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 161)

Thus, every particle in our world has an opposite, a mirror image living through the looking-glass, in the anti-world.

Such scientific terms were prefigured by words describing nihilistic artistic forms (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 162–3). Some, such as антипоэзия ‘anti-poetry’ appeared in the nineteenth century, and the meaning is said to have developed under the influence of nihilistic tendencies in Western art and literature. Анти- continued to be associated with concepts of artistic nihilism in

антироман ‘anti-novel’  
антифильм ‘anti-film’

антимзыка ‘anti-music’ (of punk  
music)

and of works that did not satisfy the canons of socialist art. A link was sometimes made between art and politics:

... в этот век *антироманов*, *антигероев* и даже *антисущностей* у Америки осталась только *антицель* — борьба с коммунизмом (ЛГ, №31, 67, cited in NSZ-60)

... in this age of anti-novels, anti-heroes and even anti-essences America has only a non-aim left – the struggle against communism.

The early 1980s saw the emergence of a number of adjectives and nouns in which анти- denoted opposition:

антиракётное движение ‘anti-missile movement’  
 антирейганизм ‘anti-Reaganism’, cf.:

Девятьсот “томми” полка считаются “лучшими *антитеррористами* командос западного мира”. (КП, 12.11.80)

The 900 squaddies of the regiment [the SAS] are considered to be ‘the best anti-terrorist commandos in the Western world’.

Furthermore, антибэби (1981), of chemical contraceptive pills (‘in Western countries’), represented the prefix’s preventive meaning. Deribas (1986: 66–7) compares a group of remedies in -ин (антисклерозин ‘tablets for sclerosis’, антианемин ‘cure for anaemia’, etc.) with the prefix’s relatively unproductive synonym противо- (противоядие ‘antidote’).

The early Gorbachëv period began with the антиалкогольная кампания ‘anti-alcohol campaign’ instituted in 1985 (Schmidt-Häuer, 1986: 123–7). However, most nouns in анти- relating to the late 1980s and early 1990s denoted opposition to Gorbachëv’s reforms:

антикооперативный ‘anti-cooperative’<sup>2</sup>

антиперестрочник ‘opponent of perestroika’

антирыночник ‘opponent of the market economy’

антисоюзный (1989) ‘opposed to continued membership of the USSR’ (in some Union Republics, especially the Baltic States)

антигорбачёвский путч ‘anti-Gorbachëv *putsch*’:

За последнее время резко активизировалась *антиармейская*, по сути *антигосударственная*, кампания по срыву призыва в Вооружённые силы (Лен. пр., 14.4.90, cited in M)

Of late, an anti-army, essentially anti-state campaign has been mobilised to disrupt conscription into the armed forces.

Антиреклама ‘an anti-advertisement’ (designed to emphasise the poor quality of a product) exemplifies the third category of meaning, in which the prefix imparts a meaning opposite to the concept expressed by the root noun. In the post-Gorbachëv period, and into the second half of the 1990s, анти- combines freely with phenomena from a broad semantic range. Thus, античелночное постановление ‘anti-*chelnoki* resolution’ was directed against the *chelnoki* ‘commuters’ (Russians who make frequent trips abroad to Turkey and some other countries to buy hi-fi equipment, leather jackets and other commodities not easily available on the home market; cf. Section 2.3.3, p. 131):

Наварили на *античелночном* постановлении пока только коррумпированные таможенники (МК, 11.9.96)



Corrupt customs officials are the only ones who have profited from the anti-*chelnoki* resolution to date.

The preventive meaning of анти- is reflected in антипригарное покрытие ‘anti-scorch cover’, of a *Delphino* iron advertised in 1996.

Противо- is found in a few compounds, usually of a practical nature: противоугонные замки зажигания ‘theft-proof ignition locks’ (1970s). The best-known compound is противостояние (also конфронтация ‘confrontation’), first recorded in the 1970s:

Она показывает всю искусственность противостояния Ельцин-Зюганов, которому снова “нет альтернативы”. (КП, 12.5.96)

She demonstrates the complete artificiality of the El'tsin–Ziuganov confrontation, for which again there is ‘no alternative’.

Others, recorded in the mid-1990s, relate mainly to medicine and welfare:

противозмейная сыворотка ‘anti-snake serum’

противотуберкулёзный санаторий ‘tuberculosis sanatorium’ (but  
антиспидовская пропаганда ‘anti-AIDs propaganda’, in Skliarevskaja, 1998: 56)

противоскользкий ‘non-slip’ (of footwear).

### 3.3.1.2 Без-/бес-

This prefix has been productive throughout the history of the language, mainly in adjectives based on preposition + noun phrases: безграничный ‘boundless’ from без границы ‘without bounds’. The category is preferred to prepositional phrases in many technical contexts:

беспилотные самолёты ‘pilotless planes’

бесшовные трубы ‘seamless tubes’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 155–9).

Some forms relate to non-technical contexts:

Наша конечная цель, — это безгосударственное коммунистическое общество (Изв., 13.6.29, cited in Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 157)

Our ultimate aim is a non-state communist society.

Neologisms in the 1960s continued to be of a mainly technical nature – бесчелночные ткацкие станки ‘shuttleless looms’ – or related to political matters – безъядерная зона ‘nuclear-free zone’ – a trend that was repeated in the 1970s – безадресная агитация ‘unfocused propaganda’. An increasing awareness of ecological issues is reflected in безотходный ‘devoid of (industrial) waste products’. Безотходность appeared in 1980, denoting the

capacity to manufacture without creating waste products. Бессточный ‘effluent-free’:

Очистка здесь *бессточная*, в реку не возвращается ни единой капли.  
(Пр, 23.6.75, cited in Kotelova, 1984b)

Purification here is free of effluent, not a single drop is returned to the river.

Бессточный was supplemented in the early 1980s by бессбросный (from сброс ‘overflow disposal system’).

Despite an initial lack of computer technology in Russia, безбумажная технология ‘paperless technology’ appeared in the 1980s, as did безбумажное учреждение ‘paperless institution’ (implying a degree of electronic sophistication). Other signs of the time were:

безавтомобильная зона ‘pedestrian precinct’  
бесстрессовая обстановка ‘stress-free environment’ and  
бесполоя одежда ‘unisex clothes’.

In the Gorbachëv period, гласность ‘openness’ (see Section 2.1, pp. 70–1) had generated its opposite безгласность ‘secrecy’, certainly by 1988. Negative aspects of society were reflected in безальтернативность, of the lack of choice in Soviet elections, and бездуховность ‘lack of spirituality’, used in the late 1980s of the materialistic ethos of the Brezhnev era.

For беспредел ‘complete lawlessness’, see the Criminal argot section in Section 2.2.7.3, Kostomarov, 1995 and Popov, 1993: 49.

In the mid-1990s adjectives and nouns in без-/бес- continued to reflect social concerns. Citizens concerned about the dramatic increase in crime could acquire 8mm G5 Reck gas pistols with no cocking piece (бескурковый пистолёт), new Russians imported беспошлинные шубы ‘duty-free fur coats’, the space industry – into which the state once poured limitless funds – sought беспроцентный кредит ‘interest-free credit’, and бесхозный ‘with no owner’ was found in a variety of contexts:

Но молодой человек всего лишь предлагал покровительствовать, приняв её за “*бесхозную*” путану (КП, 6–13.12.96)

But the young man was only offering protection, mistaking her for a prostitute without a pimp.

Also found was the following, reflecting the break-down of control mechanisms and the appearance of uranium on the world market:

... уран, который остаётся “*бесхозным*” после разрядки и уничтожения ядерных бомб. (Изв., 12.10.96)

... uranium that finds itself ‘without an owner’ after *détente* and the destruction of nuclear bombs.

The following example on the subject of tyres (шина ‘tyre’ understood) is an example of back formation from a prefixed opposite (бескамерная ‘tubeless’):

*Камерная или бескамерная? Радиальная или диагональная? Отечественная или импортная? (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)*

With a tube or tubeless? Radial or diagonal? Manufactured at home or abroad?

### 3.3.1.3 Де-

Де- combines with many verbs in -изировать and nouns in -изация to denote the dismantling of Soviet institutions (note also демонтаж ‘dismantling’, of statues or state mechanisms, and see Section 3.5.5.3, pp. 221–2). Раз- / рас- conveys similar meanings, mainly combining with Russian roots:

разгосударствление ‘denationalisation’  
 рассказнить ‘to free from dogma and stereotype’  
 разукрупнение ‘dissolution into smaller units’  
 распад империи ‘collapse of the empire’

and in some cases with international roots:

разбалансированность ‘imbalance’  
 разблокирование путей ‘clearing of the paths’, etc.

### 3.3.1.4 Не-

Не- has played a significant role in word formation from the 1960s to the early 1980s. Compounds fall into a number of categories:

- political: неприсоединение ‘non-alignment’;
- economic:
  - необновимый ‘non-renewable’
  - недефицит ‘goods in good supply’ (a back formation from дефицит ‘goods in short supply’):

Сможем ли мы из этого списка дефицита что-либо в недалёком будущем перевести в другой перечень — *недефицита*? (ЛГ, №37, 84)  
 Will we soon be able to transfer anything from this list of goods in short supply to another list – of goods *not* in short supply?

- technological: непрограммируемый ‘unprogrammed’ (also, metaphorically, ‘unpredictable’);
- social: неполная семья ‘single-parent family’.

Post-1985 controversy was reflected in a series of opposites:

неконвертируемость ‘unconvertibility’ and СКВ (свободно конвертируемая валюта) ‘freely convertible currency’  
 конституционные and неконституционные действия ‘constitutional/unconstitutional actions’  
 правовое государство ‘rule-of-law state’ and неправовое государство ‘state not based on the rule of law’.

Another example is нерыночное регулирование ‘anti-market regulation’. (For неформальные группы see Section 2.1, p. 71.)

Compounds with не- grew in the mid-1990s and were often used for differentiation:

нестоличная публика ‘provincials’  
 немосквичи ‘non-Muscovites’  
 негосударственное некоммерческое образовательное учреждение ‘non-state, non-commercial educational institution’.

(The last in an advertisement for the Современный гуманитарный университет ‘Modern University of the Humanities’, cited in *Неделя*, №15, 96.) The most characteristic example of the type was неграждане ‘non-citizens’ (Ferm, 1994: 80). Following the promulgation of new laws on citizenship in the newly independent Baltic republics the word referred to people, usually Russians, living in the republics but not meeting the requirements for citizenship. While before perestroika нерусский ‘non-Russian’ was the only word of this type, Dulichenko (1994: 273) quotes, in the context of other newly independent republics, негрузинское население ‘non-Georgian population’ and нетатарская национальность ‘non-Tatar nationality’:

И хотя в одинаковом положении оказались и граждане, и неграждане Латвии — последним обиднее: . . . права голоса у них нет. (*АиФ*, №11, 98)

And although citizens and non-citizens of Latvia are in the same boat, the latter feel more aggrieved: . . . they have no vote.

Some negative forms refer to technological advance: непрекручивающийся шнур ‘non-twist flex’. Не- in недороги ‘bad roads’ implies poor quality, cf. непогода ‘bad weather’ (originally погода meant ‘good weather’ – hence непогода ‘bad weather’ – and only subsequently ‘weather in general’):



Они не адаптируют к нам старое, а создают новые модели, по мнению экспертов, действительно специально для нас и наших *недорог*. (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)

They [firms] do not adapt existing models for us, but create new models, in the opinion of experts designed specifically for us and our bad roads.

Невыплата зарплаты ‘non-payment of wages’ was an unfortunate sign of the times in the mid-1990s and continues also in the late 1990s.

### 3.3.2 *Prefixes that denote excess or intensity*

See also Section 2.3.2.1.

The series of prefixes denoting excess or intensity, productive throughout most of the twentieth century, comprises архи-, ультра-, супер-, гипер- and the native prefix свёрх- (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 164–9), each having its own range of occurrence.

#### 3.3.2.1 *Свёрх- and супер-*

Свёрх-, the commonest of the group, combines with abstract and concrete nouns and with the names of people, and has existed since the late eighteenth/early nineteenth centuries, distinguished from the others by its broad range (see also Section 2.3.2.1, p. 125). It owes its origin and development to advances in science and technology, and has also appeared in socio-political contexts, especially in the 1920s and 1930s:

свёрхбюрократизм ‘excess bureaucracy’

свёрхпритеснение ‘excess oppression’

as well as in astronomical terms such as свёрхгалактика ‘super-galaxy’. By the third quarter of the twentieth century it was combining with roots from the spheres of:

- technology: свёрхпроводники ‘super-conductors’
- administration: свёрхструктура ‘super-structure’
- the military: свёрхбомба ‘super-bomb’
- astronomy: свёрхзвезда ‘super-star’
- the economy: свёрхурожай ‘super-harvests’
- politics: свёрхдержава ‘super-power’ and
- sport: свёрхмарафон ‘super-marathon’:

*Сверхмарафон* — уникальные состязания . . . Подмосковная гонка на 80 километров — это, по существу, один из самых лучших, самых массовых стартов страны. (КП, 6.3.75, cited in Kotelova, 1984b)

The super-marathon is a unique contest . . . The 80-kilometre race in the environs of Moscow is actually one of the best races in the country, with one of the greatest number of participants.

Some forms were calqued, mainly from English, e.g. свёрхкритичность from 'supercriticality'. Adjectives with свёрх-, some found as early as the late eighteenth century, have also increased in number in the twentieth century, reflecting technical achievement:

свёрхглубокие скважины 'extra-deep boreholes'  
свёрхнизкие температуры 'extremely low temperatures'  
свёрхвысокие давления 'very high pressures'.

Of the score of neologisms in свёрх- coined in the 1970s, the most significant was свёрхдержава 'super-power', at first branded as a 'bourgeois-nationalistic' term that had been extended to the USSR as a result of bourgeois propaganda:

Термин "сверхдержава" и содержание, которое в него пытаются вкладывать, не имеют никакого отношения к политике, которую проводит наша партия, проводит наше государство. (Пр., 11.3.74, cited in Kotelova, 1984b)

The term 'super-power' and the content with which people have tried to invest it have no relation to the policy pursued by our Party and our state.

Many words coined in the 1980s reflected growing concern over the arms race:

свёрхракета 'super-rocket' (of the American MX nuclear-missile complex)  
свёрхвооружение 'excess armament' (of the deployment of American missiles in Western Europe)

as well as developments in other fields: свёрхдлинноволновой диапазон 'extra-longwave band'. After 1985 the incidence of compounds with свёрх- diminishes. Both those listed in Maksimov *et al.* (1992, abbreviated to M) contain a critical nuance:

Курс на *сверхиндустриализацию* республик затормозил развитие сельского хозяйства. (Сов. культура, 29.6.89, cited in M)

The drive towards over-industrialisation of the republics has hampered the development of agriculture.

На первом месте среди *сверхобеспеченных* стоит правящая верхушка, имеющая доступ к спецраспределителям и высококачественным товарам и услугам. (АуФ, №42, 89, cited in M)

First among the extra-well-provided-for are the ruling circles, who have access to special retail distributors and high-quality goods and services.

In the 1990s *свѣрх*- lost ground to *сúпер*- (Ferm, 1994: 80–1; Zemskaja, 1996b: 117–8), possibly as a result of the influence of international lexis. While English ‘super-’ was calqued as *свѣрх*- in the 1960s, direct loans or adaptations are commoner in the 1990s in:

- politics: *сúперсуверениза́ция* ‘intense activity in granting sovereignty’ (to Union Republics)
- economics: *сúпермонопо́лия* ‘super-monopoly’
- military matters: *сúперракéта* ‘super-rocket’, and
- popular culture: *сúпермодéль* ‘top model’.

Examples from the press in the mid-1990s show expanding usage in technical and commercial contexts:

*сúперплóские кинеско́пы* “Toshiba” ‘extra-flat “Toshiba” TV tubes’  
*сúперсли́вочный йóгурт* ‘super-cream yogurt’:

Америка нам друг, но *суперкомпьютер* не даст никогда. (*Изв.*, 18.10.96)

America is our friend but will never give us the super-computer.

*Сúпер*- is being used in a widening range of semantic fields:

*сúпергруппа* “Oasis” ‘the super-group “Oasis”’

*сúперпоеди́нки* ‘super-duels’ (chess matches between Kasparov and Karpov)

and so on. In a few cases it has replaced or supplemented *свѣрх*-:

*сúпердержа́ва* ‘super-power’ (cf. *свѣрхдержа́ва*)

*сúперракéта* ‘super-missile’ (cf. *свѣрхракéта*).

Its dominance sometimes leads to ironic treatment:

В соседних домах . . . бумажники да визитницы из *супернатуральной суперэлитной суперкожи* . . . (*АиФ*, №6, 98)

In neighbouring stores there are wallets and business-card holders made of super-natural, super-élite super-leather.

### 3.3.2.2 *У́льтра*-

*У́льтра* appeared in the nineteenth century in the meaning ‘extremist’, possibly on the basis of French *ultra* (for *ultraroyaliste* ‘ultra-royalist’), later in the spheres of:

- politics: *у́льтрапу́сский* ‘ultra-Russian’,
- literature: *у́льтрарома́нтизм* ‘ultra-Romanticism’ and
- science: *у́льтрафиоле́товые лучи́* ‘ultra-violet rays’.

Its political connotations have continued in the twentieth century (Saliakhova, 1984: 74). V.I. Lenin used *у́льтрареакционе́ры* ‘ultra-reactionaries’ of priests and *у́льтрасамоде́ржа́ние* of extreme autocracy.

By the 1970s and 1980s *у́льтра-* was also common in:

- science and technology: *у́льтракоро́ткие во́лны* ‘ultra-short waves’, and
- socio-political contexts: *у́льтрараси́стская организа́ция* ‘extreme racist organisation’:

В США разворачивается книжная чистка. Её инициаторы — члены различных *у́льтраконсервативных* организаций . . . (КП, 27.5.84)

A purge of books is developing in the USA. Its initiators are members of various extreme right-wing organisations.

Usage includes *left*-wing extremism: *у́льтралёвый* ‘ultra-left’. Since the mid-1980s political forces have re-deployed, so that, for example, *у́льтраконсерва́торы* ‘ultra-conservatives’ can refer to communists:

Её [КПСС] *у́льтраконсервативное* . . . и консервативное . . . крылья явно выступают против концепции рыночной экономики . . . (МН, №39, 90)

Its [the CPSU’s] ultra-conservative . . . and conservative . . . wings are openly opposed to the concept of a market economy . . .

In science the prefix has expanded to cover:

- scientific analysis: *у́льтрамикроско́п* ‘extra-sensitive microscope’
- metallurgy: *у́льтрачи́стые ме́таллы* ‘extra-pure metals’
- physics: *у́льтрацентрифу́га* ‘ultra-centrifuge’ (for separating particles weighed or dissolved in liquid)
- medicine: *у́льтрамикробы́* ‘ultra-microbes’ (invisible through an optical microscope) and
- psychology: *у́льтраэгоцентри́зм* ‘ultra-egocentrism’.

### 3.3.2.3 *Архи-* and *гипер-*

Other prefixes of excess are less used. There are no examples of *архи-* ‘arch-’ in Kotelova and Sorokin (1971), Kotelova (1984b), Maksimov *et al.* (1992) or Kotelova (1995), and few in *гипер-* ‘hyper-’:



гиперзвуковая волна 'hyper-sound wave' (high-frequency sound oscillations of 10 to the power of 9 hertz and above)

гиперреализм 'hyper-realism' (a synonym of свёрхреализм),

but economic factors in the late 1980s and early 1990s gave rise to гиперинфляция 'hyper-inflation'; cf. also:

Или "*гипермаркеты*" — то же, что супермаркеты, только гораздо больше, площадью от 5 тыс. кв. метров. (*АиФ*, №41, 96)

Or 'hypermarkets', the same as supermarkets but much bigger, with an area of 5,000 square metres or more.

For additional information on свёрх-/ультра-/супер- see Maksimov (1995: 220).

### 3.3.3. *Temporal prefixes*

#### 3.3.3.1 *До-* and *пред-*

Some prefixed adjectival forms denote time that precedes technical achievements; thus (in the 1980s):

докомпьютерная эпоха 'the pre-computer age'

доэнтэровские времена 'the age before the scientific and technological revolution'

"дохимическое" здоровье 'pre-chemical health' (of a time free from chemical pollutants).

Sexual permissiveness is reflected in:

Теперь почти все молодые женщины в больших городах ведут добрачную половую жизнь . . . (*Нед*, №34, 87)

Nowadays almost all young women living in cities engage in pre-marital sex . . .

In the late 1980s and 1990s донеперестроечный 'pre-perestroika' referred to the period before the 1985 social upheaval and допутчевый 'pre-putsch' to the abortive *putsch* of August 1991: допутчевая компартия 'the pre-putsch Communist Party'. Пред- 'just before' appears in the adjective предзабастовочный 'pre-strike' (1989, M), expressing a concept new to Russia. Предоплата 'advance payment' and предпродажная подготовка машины 'pre-sale preparation of a vehicle' are signs of the times.

## 3.3.3.2 До-, после- and по́ст-

For по́ст-, see also Section 2.3.2.1, p. 125.

До- correlates with после- in доперестро́ечный ‘pre-perestroika’/ послеперестро́ечный ‘post-perestroika’, etc. По́слега́рантийный ремо́нт ‘post-guarantee repair’ and послеобка́точный техухо́д ‘technical maintenance after running in’, both of which bear witness to increasing car-ownership in the 1980s, have no opposites. Loan synonym по́ст- has undergone unprecedented productivity (Kostomarov, 1994b: 185–6) and is particularly characteristic of its time (Ferm, 1994: 85) – it can denote virtually any aspect of the post-Soviet period (Dulichenko, 1994: 273), combining mainly with roots that represent significant social, political and cultural phenomena:

по́стиндустриальное о́бщество ‘post-industrial society’  
 по́сткоммунистический ‘post-Communist’  
 по́ст-модерни́зм ‘post-modernism’, etc.

This contrasts with после-, whose meaning is almost exclusively temporal: послеа́вгустовский ‘post-August’ (of the *putsch* of August 1991) (Zemskaja, 1996b: 111).

## 3.3.3.3 Нео-

Нео- ‘neo-’ also has temporal implications. Pejorative неокапита́лизм ‘neocapitalism’ and неоко́лониализм ‘neocolonialism’ of the 1950s and 1960s were joined in the 1990s by необо́льшеви́зм ‘neo-Bolshevism’ and неоста́линист ‘neo-Stalinist’; cf. also:

М. Каддафи осудил американскую администрацию за проведение курса “неоглобализма”. (*Изв.*, 18.3.86, cited in Sorokina, 1988: 154)  
 M. Gaddafi condemned the American administration for pursuing a policy of ‘neoglobalism’.

## 3.3.3.4 Экс-

Since 1985 экс- ‘ex-’ has been used in a range of new combinations. While экс-чемпио́н ‘ex-champion’ and экс-мини́стр ‘ex-minister’ are well established, post-Soviet phenomena such as

экс-аппара́тчики ‘ex-apparatchiki’	эксноменклату́рщик ‘ex-member of
экспарти́ец ‘ex-Party member’	the élite’

are new; cf. also:

... экс-СССР заработал на 22 награды больше ... США. (*АиФ*, №32, 96)

... the former USSR won 22 medals more ... than the USA.

А вот к визиту экс-президента СССР волгоградцы отнеслись более спокойно. (*КП*, 12.5.96)

But then the people of Volgograd were more sanguine about the visit of the ex-President of the USSR.

Traditionally combining with the names of titles and posts, *экс-* in the mid-1990s was sometimes used in place of *бывший* 'former', possibly under the influence of English 'ex-':

*экс-жена́* 'ex-wife'

*экс-супру́г* 'ex-spouse'

*экс-члѐн* 'former member'

*экс-кинозвездá* Бриджит Бардо́ 'the former film-star Brigitte Bardot'

*экс-шеф* 'former boss', and so on.

### 3.3.4 *Perfective and other prefixes*

#### 3.3.4.1 *Perfective prefixes*

According to Tikhonov and Voronova (1988: 54), prefixal/suffixal denominal verbs of the type *засентябрьить* 'to become overcast', *наманикю́рить* 'to manicure' and *раскавы́чить* 'to remove quotation marks' (ascribe someone else's opinion to oneself) are on the increase. A major word-formatory process involves the formation of prefixed perfectives from bi-aspectual verbs in -ировать; see Section 4.1.3.

#### 3.3.4.2 *Про- as an adjectival prefix*

See also Section 2.3.2.1, p. 126.

As an *adjectival* prefix, *про-* has lost its erstwhile negative nuance. Earlier combining with the names of countries and regimes (*проамерикáнский* 'pro-American', etc.), it now liaises with a broader range of forms:

*проинфляциóнная* *полíтика* 'inflationary policy'

*прое́льцинский* *блòк* 'pro-El'tsin bloc'

*проза́падная* *ориентáция* *росси́йской* *внѐшней* *полíтики* 'the pro-Western orientation of Russian foreign policy':

Е. Гайдар говорит о *прорыночных силах*. (*Сег.*, 17.1.96, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 114–5)

E. Gaidar speaks of pro-market forces.

3.3.4.3 *За-*

*За-* in the meaning ‘spoil by excess performance of the action of the root verb’ (as in *закормить* ‘to overfeed’; cf. Wade 1992: 276 (vi)) appeared in a number of compounds in the 1980s, mostly with pejorative nuances:

*закредитоваться* ‘to take on too much credit’

*заорганизованность* ‘over-organisation’

*заредактированный* ‘over-edited’

and others. *Застой* ‘stagnation’ (of Soviet society in the 1970s and early 1980s) was originally a verbal noun (*застой крови* ‘haemostasia’) from *застояться* ‘to stagnate’, before acquiring the status of a free-standing noun describing the Brezhnev era.

*За-* has been used in other compounds critical of the former bureaucratic system:

*зацентрализованность в оформлении заграндокументов*  
‘over-centralisation in the processing of overseas documentation’

*забюрократить книгоиздательское дело до абсурда* ‘to  
over-bureaucratise book publishing to an absurd degree’

*засоциологизировать историю* ‘to overdo the sociological analysis of  
history’

*комсомол сильно зарутинировался* ‘the Komsomol became far too  
regimented’ (from the press of 1986–8, cited in Dulichenko, 1994: 271–2).

Unruly behaviour in the Congress of People’s Deputies was reflected in *затаптывание* ‘silencing through stamping’ and *захлопывание* ‘silencing through slow handclapping’. *Захлопывать* and *захлопать*, a new aspectual pair meaning ‘to silence through clapping’, already existed separately with differing meanings: *захлопывать* as the imperfective of *захлопнуть* ‘to slam’ and *захлопать* as the perfective of *хлопать* ‘to clap’; cf. use of the verbal nouns in:

Раньше, чтобы убедить оппонента, заливали ему горло расплавленным свинцом ... Нынче ... изобретён более дешёвый метод — *захлопывание* и *затаптывание* неугодного. (*Сов. культура*, 16.6.90, cited in M)

At one time they would pour molten lead down an opponent’s throat to convince him ... Now ... a cheaper method has been invented – the culprit is silenced through stamping and clapping.

3.3.4.4 *Псевдо-* and *квази-*

According to Zemskaja (1996b: 115–6), *псевдо-* ‘pseudo-’, which usually bears a subjective nuance – *псевдопарламент* ‘pseudo-parliament’,



псе́вдодемократи́ческий ‘pseudo-democratic’ – is more active than ква́зи- ‘quasi-’, which compounds mainly with nouns (ква́зикоа́лиция ‘quasi-coalition’). Both bear, in varying degrees, the ironic connotations of the post-Soviet period.

### 3.4 Infixes

Infixes are intermediate sound complexes that precede a suffix. They have no meaning themselves, do not change the meaning of a word and are therefore not categorised as morphemes. They are structural units that link a root to a suffix, for example -ин-, -ов- in, respectively, куб-*ин*-ский ‘Cuban’ from Куба ‘Cuba’ and орл-*ов*-ский from Орёл ‘Orël’.

Infixes may be optional; for example, they may appear in adjectives derived from some personal names – ба́йронский or ба́йроновский ‘Byronic’ – but are the norm in forming adjectives from many other names:

наполео́новский ‘Napeolonic’

га́млетовское реше́ние ‘Hamlet-like decision’.

Over past decades, -ов- has been routinely used in the formation of adjectives from foreign surnames, both polysyllabic – as in рокфе́ллеровский from Рокфе́ллер ‘Rockefeller’ – or monosyllabic – as in фо́рдовский from Форд ‘Ford’ (Zemskaja, in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 51, 53).

The fashion for infixes is plain in certain adjectives denoting inhabitants and nationalities, since they supplant earlier forms that had no infix:

маррока́нский ‘Moroccan’ (early twentieth century маро́ккский)

ява́нский ‘Javan’ (earlier я́вский)

сорренти́йский ‘Sorrentan’ (earlier сорре́нтский).

Many infixes have well-established functions. Thus, -й- links the vowel ending of an indeclinable noun (for example, шо́ссе ‘highway’) and suffix -н-: шо́ссе́йная доро́га ‘main road’; this infix is also found in some place-names in -и:

Гюмрийцы . . . сейчас улыбаются не чаще ереванцев. (*АиФ*, 4.3.98)

The inhabitants of Giumri . . . now do not smile any more frequently than those of Erevan.

It is also found in media contexts:

И сегодня развитие этой “русскорадийной империи” идёт семимильными шагами. (*КП*, 6–13.12.96)

And today the development of this ‘Russian Radio’ empire is progressing at a cracking pace.

Современный ноутбук обязательно должен быть *мультимедийным*.  
(*Нед*, №38, 96)

The contemporary ‘Notebook’ simply must be multi-media.

Возможно, некоторые [туалеты] . . . оказались слишком торжественными для эфира серьёзной *новостийной* программы.  
(*АиФ*, 4.3.98)

It is possible that some [outfits] . . . were too solemn for an on-air news programme.

Panov (1968, Vol. 2: 47–8) describes the development of derivatives from indeclinable loans, and Lipatov (1987: 84–6) the word-formatory potential of some abbreviations.

### 3.4.1 *The infix -ов-*

The infix *-ов-* is used with the abbreviated names of many organisations, especially those which end in a hard consonant:

загсовский from загс ‘registry office’  
детсадовский from детсад ‘kindergarten’  
детдомовский from детдом ‘children’s home’.

This word-formatory system has now superseded that of derivation without infixes, which was active in the early years after the Revolution:

КИМские значки ‘KIM badges’ (КИМ: Коммунистический  
интернационал молодёжи ‘Communist Youth International’)  
завкомская организация ‘factory committee organisation’ (завком:  
заводской комитет ‘factory committee’).

The infix *-ов-* had long been common in derivatives based on monosyllabic roots – thus *вор-ов-скóй* from *вор* ‘thief’ and *кремль-ёв-ский* from *кремль* ‘Kremlin’ – and it has also been popular in modern Russian in forming derivatives from monosyllabic acronyms:

мйдовец ‘Foreign Office employee’  
жэковский from ЖЭК ‘housing office’ (Zemskaia, in Muchnik and Panov,  
1964: 45–6).

The practice has extended to derivatives which do *not* have monosyllabic roots: *исполко́мовский* from *исполко́м* ‘executive committee’; cf., in the 1920s and 1930s, the lack of infixes in:

*не́пманский* ‘*nepman*’s’, from *НЭП* ‘New Economic Policy’  
*эсе́рский* from *эсе́р* ‘Social Revolutionary’  
*э́ресэфе́сэ́рский* from *РСФСР* ‘Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic’.

Over recent decades the infix *-ов-* has appeared in derivatives:

1 from loan words and foreign names:

*вьетко́нговцы* ‘members of the Vietcong’

*пентаго́новцы* ‘Pentagon employees’

*па́нковский* from *панк* ‘punk’

*адида́совский* from *Адида́с* ‘Adidas’

*ритм-э́нд-блю́зовский* from *ритм-э́нд-блю́з* ‘rhythm and blues’,

including indeclinable loans: *метрóвская ста́нция* ‘underground station’;

2 from acronyms and other abbreviations: *зе́ковский* (from *зек* ‘convict’), some of them foreign:

*э́сэсовцы* ‘SS-men’ (from *SS* – German *Schutz-Staffel* ‘Nazi special police force’)

*айбиэ́мовский* from *Ай-Би-Эм* ‘IBM’ (International Business Machines);

3 from organisations and names:

*метрополитéновцы* ‘Underground staff’

*огонько́вцы* ‘Ogonëk staff’

*гайда́ровец* ‘supporter of E. Gaidar’

*битло́вский* ‘relating to the Beatles’ (Davie, 1998: 371);

4 from stump compounds:

*детса́довец* ‘kindergarten pupil’

*военкома́товское пись́мо* ‘letter from the military and registration office’

*спецна́зовцы* ‘special force troops’.

The infix may be used to create derivatives based on the secondary meaning of a word: *во́лговские мото́ры* ‘Volga (car) engines’ (cf. *во́лжский* from *Бо́лга* ‘River Volga’), *цеховщи́к* from *цех* ‘workshop’, also, in the mid-1980s, ‘illegally-run enterprise producing manufactured goods for sale on the black market’. It continues to derive new forms well into the 1990s, from the names of organisations, persons, newspapers and technical advance. The next four extracts exemplify each of these in turn.

А между тем десятки миллионов российских граждан уже устали надеяться на возвращение сгоревших “сбербанковских” вкладов. (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)

And meanwhile tens of millions of Russian citizens have tired of hoping for the return of their lost 'savings bank' deposits.

Выгуливаю по утрам любимую кошечку, причём могу немного пробежаться в удобных *кляйновских* джинсах. (КП, 27.9–4.10.96)  
I walk my pet cat of a morning, managing to do a little jogging in my comfortable [Calvin] Klein jeans in the process.

Принципы, которыми руководствуются в своей работе журналисты "Ридерз Дайджест", нам, "аифовцам", близки и понятны. (АиФ, №32, 96)

The principles followed by *Readers' Digest* journalists in their work are close and comprehensible to us, the staff of *Arguments and Facts*.

... мы с удивлением обнаружили, что только десятая часть наших интернетовских читателей живёт в России ... (Ог., №39, 96) (cf. интернетный сайт 'web site')

... we were surprised to find that only a tenth of our Internet readers live in Russia ...

However, not all derivatives from new lexis involve the infix -ов-; for example: ноутбучный from нóутбук 'notebook' (a type of lap-top computer) and, with suffix -ов-, чíповый from чип '(computer) chip':

Сегодня с технологической точки зрения проект выпуска первой чиповой карты СОРАС (Chip off-line pre-authorised Card — "чиповая карта с предварительной авторизацией") готов к реализации. (МН, 22–29.9.96)

Today, from a technological point of view, the planned production of the first chip off-line pre-authorised card is ready for implementation.

Analogy has resulted in the encroachment of -ов- into other semantic areas; cf. the infix in забегáловка 'low-grade snack and wine bar' with its absence from longer-established forms, such as раздевáлка 'changing room' and читáлка 'reading room'.

For -ов-, see also Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 41–6.

### 3.4.2 The infix -ш-

See also Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 45–6, 48–9; Zemskaja, in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 45.

The infix -ш- has long been used in adjectives derived from adverbs of time and place:



сегóдняшнйй ‘today’

та́мошнйй ‘there’ (cf. the *hard* endings of the new derivative adjectives).

Now it is used colloquially to form derivatives from indeclinable nouns:

кинóшнйй ‘cinema specialist’

метрóшнййе знакóмства ‘subway acquaintances’

and from abbreviations ending in a vowel sound (not necessarily a vowel letter):

эмгеу́шнйй ‘student of Moscow State University (MGU)’

кагебёшнйй ‘KGB operative’

гайшнйй ‘traffic policeman’ (ГАЙ ‘State Motor-Vehicle Inspectorate’)

and so on; cf.:

Своё спутниковое ТВ, в отличие от *энтэвэшного* [НТВ — независимое телевидение], они считают спутниковым телевидением для бедных. (МН, 22–29.9.96)

They consider their own satellite TV, unlike NTV [independent TV], to be the poor man’s satellite television.

... сугубо концептуальное мерси от нас, МКашиников, нашим партнёрам ... (МК, 11.9.96)

... a particularly conceptual *merci* from *Moskovskii Komsomolets* to our partners ...

Впрочем, детальное исследование всех остальных клавиатур показало, что все они имеют дырки, *НР-шной* [a special kind of alphabetism, with Roman initials combining with Russian infix and suffix] просто не повезло. (Нед, №37, 96)

However, a detailed examination of all the other keyboards showed that they all have gaps, and the Hewlett Packard was simply out of luck.

Zemskaja (1996b: 123) assigns some recent derivatives, e.g. цэбёшнйй from ЦБ (Центральный банк ‘Central Bank’) and (with infix -ов) эсэнгóвский from СНГ (Содружество независимых государств ‘Commonwealth of Independent States’) to non-standard registers.

### 3.4.3 *The infix -ин-*

The infix -ин is found between a root ending in a consonant and a suffix beginning with a consonant, to avoid clutter at the morpheme boundary; thus: ялт-ин-ский from Ялта ‘Yalta’. The infix -ин- is associated with many

place-names ending in vowels (Zemskaja, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 50–1):

карага́нд<sup>и</sup>нский from Карага́ндá ‘Karaganda’  
 алма-а́т<sup>и</sup>нский from Алма́-Ата́ ‘Alma-Ata’  
 душа́нб<sup>и</sup>нский from Душа́нбе́ ‘Dushanbe’  
 ба́к<sup>и</sup>нский from Баку́ ‘Baku’

even though the omission of the final vowel of the toponym may obscure the town’s name; cf.:

В Приморье найдена нефть. Об этом поспешил сообщить “Огоньку” находки́нский геолог Алекса́ндр Воро́тынцев. (Ог., №39, 96)

Oil has been found in the Primor’e. The Nakhodka geologist Aleksandr Vorotyntsev hastened to inform *Ogonëk* about this.

Примерно половина йогуртов, продаваемых в Москве, именно то́льятт<sup>и</sup>нские. (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)

About half the yogurts sold in Moscow are in fact from Togliatti.

Some of the place names have the form of adjectival nouns:

ми́рнинский, ми́рнинец from Ми́рный ‘Mirnyi’ (a scientific research base in the Antarctic)  
 я́годнинец ‘inhabitant of Iagodnoe’ (Я́годное).

Изве́стинский and изве́стинец ‘employee of *Izvestiia*’ are derivatives of Изве́стия ‘*Izvestiia*’.

### 3.4.4 The infix -ч-

#### 3.4.4.1 Linking the names of towns

The infix -ч- is used to link the names of certain towns with the suffix -анин (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 120–1). This affects some names in -ск:

бра́тча́нин ‘inhabitant of Bratsk’  
 но́рильча́нин ‘inhabitant of Norilsk’

and some with stems ending in a labial:

серпу́ховча́нин ‘inhabitant of Serpukhov’  
 сумча́нин ‘inhabitant of Sumy’.

There is a current tendency, especially among journalists, to give precedence to -анин and particularly -чанин in naming the inhabitants of towns, even where there is a well-established form in -ец, e.g. белгородчанин ‘inhabitant of Belgorod’ in place of long-standing белгородец. There has been a reaction against this practice (a practice which, incidentally, provides some evidence of agglutination). Thus, the inhabitants of Ставрополь ‘Stavropol’ have asked to be called ставропольцы instead of ставропольчәне (Katlinskaia, 1992: 48 attributes the vogue for -(ч)анин to ‘emotionalism’), and there has been a similar objection to the use of витебчәне instead of long-established витебляне ‘inhabitants of Vitebsk’, on the grounds that the former is allegedly a product of the period of ‘stagnation’ (in fact, the inhabitants of Vitebsk were called витебляне from 1430, витебчәне from 1663 and витебцы from 1838; Borunova, 1995).

(On the specialisation of -(ч)анин in the meaning ‘name of inhabitant’, see Borunova, 1995: 66; for -ец/-анин, see Levashov, 1995b and Torgautova, 1990; and for consideration of a number of endings, see Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 285–94.)

#### 3.4.4.2 *Formation of adjectives from nouns in -ение*

The infix has also been active in the formation of adjectives from nouns in -ение (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 52–5; Danilenko, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 65–6). Variant forms in -енский and -енческий appeared in the mid-nineteenth century and continued into the 1930s, but by the 1960s -енческий had become the norm. The adjectives relate largely to professional spheres such as

- politics: разоружённые мероприятия ‘disarmament measures’
- administration: управлённый аппарат ‘government apparatus’
- philosophy: мировоззрённая зоркость ‘philosophical perspicacity’
- sociology: поколённые факторы ‘generation factors’; cf.:

В годы с необычно высокими снегами часть неопытных зверей выживает благодаря ... поведенческим адаптациям — приспособлениям. (V. Dezhkin, *Беседы об экологии*, cited in КОТ)

In years of unusually deep snow some inexperienced animals survive thanks to behavioural adaptations – accommodations.

Many of the developments have gone hand in hand with the growth of cognate abstract nouns in -енчество, as opposed to -енство; for example:

упрощённый ‘oversimplified’ and упрощенчество ‘oversimplification’,

both with a pejorative nuance. Forms in -енческий/-енчество have increased in number in recent decades:

возрождѣнческій from возрождѣние 'renascence'  
 настроѣнческій from настроѣние 'mood'  
 всепрощѣнчество 'universal forgiveness', etc.

### 3.4.5 Loss of palatalisation

The growth of certain types of infix may be due to a *weakening* of the palatalisation of velars and labials at the morpheme boundary between root and suffix (Zemskaja, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 60 deals with the issue as it affects velars). The areas mainly affected are:

- 1 nouns in -ец denoting inhabitants: compare traditional таганро́жцы 'inhabitants of Taganrog' *with* mutation and ира́кцы 'Iraqis', *without* mutation. In some cases the mutation issue is obviated by use of an *infix*: владивосто́ковцы 'inhabitants of Vladivostok' (an alternative to владивосто́кцы);
- 2 adjectives in -ский: compare earlier таганро́жский and later таганро́гский, from Таганро́г 'Taganrog';
- 3 forms in -анин: compare киевля́нин 'Kievan' *with* mutation and ростовча́нин 'inhabitant of Rostov', катангча́не 'inhabitants of Katanga' [now Shaba], *without* mutation but with infix -ч-;
- 4 some animate nouns in -ист: compare шпажѣ́ист 'fencer' from шпа́га 'sword' and штангѣ́ист 'weight-lifter' from штанга́ 'weight'.

### Санкт-Петербург

With the restoration of the name Санкт-Пете́рбурґ 'St Petersburg' in 1991 петербу́ргский became the officially recognised adjective, with петербу́ржский a colloquial variant, and петербу́ржцы the name for the inhabitants (masculine петербу́ржец; feminine петербу́рженка).

### 3.4.6 Conclusion

The growth of infixes in modern Russian is mainly due to the need to form derivatives from stump compounds, acronyms, other abbreviations and indeclinable loan words. Infixes perform a vital role in retaining the outward form of the underlying stem. Use of the infix -ов- obviates the necessity for the palatalisation of velars and facilitates liaison with a far greater number of underlying stems than is the case with -ец and -ский:

огонько́вец 'employee of Огонёк'

оо́новец 'UNO official'

электроси́ловец 'employee of *Élektrosila*', etc. (see Danilenko, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 89–90).



### 3.5 Suffixes

See also Section 2.3.2.1.

Suffixation remains a fundamental process in the creation of Russian nouns and adjectives. Among native suffixes -щин(а) and -ость, and the loan suffix -изм, have been active in creating new abstract nouns, and there has been a plethora of forms in -(из)аци(я), especially in combination with the prefix де-. The pseudo-suffix -инг and the bound morpheme -гейт have played a special role in word formation, as have agent suffixes and the adjectival suffixes -н-, -ов- and -ск-.

#### 3.5.1 Abstract noun suffixes in -ость

##### 3.5.1.1 Of adjectival origin

Some recent nouns of adjectival origin relate to matters of state and administration. One of these, *многопартийность* 'multi-party system', was recorded in the 1970s with a pejorative nuance:

Попытки изобразить “плюрализм”, буржуазную *многопартийность* как синоним демократии . . . рассчитаны на обман масс. (*Пр*, 1974, cited in КОТ)

Attempts to portray 'pluralism', the bourgeois multi-party system as a synonym of democracy . . . are designed to deceive the masses.

However, this had been positively reassessed by 1990:

*Многопартийность* сегодня — совсем необязательно поляризация политических интересов . . . (*Ком.*, №1, 90, cited in М)

Nowadays a multi-party system by no means necessarily implies the polarisation of political interests . . .

Another key word – *государственность* 'sovereignty' – was much used following the collapse of the USSR, as newly independent republics created their own state structures. President Nursultan Nazarbaev expressed the following ambition: Я очень хочу, чтобы Казахстан остался в содружестве республик-государств — на основе полноценной *государственности* 'I very much want Kazakhstan to remain within the commonwealth of republics-cum-states – on the basis of fully-fledged sovereignty' (Haudressy, 1992: 51; Kazakhstan declared independence in 1991). Following the introduction of multi-candidate elections in the USSR in the late 1980s the word *выборность* was used to denote the filling of posts by election rather than by appointment, while *ведомственность* 'concentration on narrow sectional or departmental interests' was demonised in the early period of perestroika as an approximate synonym of *местничество* 'narrow regionalism'. Like some

other nouns of the type (e.g. газѣтность ‘journalistic precision’, cf. газѣтный ‘relating to newspapers’), it acquired an emotive content absent in the source adjective ведомственный ‘departmental’. Words such as рýсскость ‘Russian-ness’ and украинскость ‘Ukrainian-ness’ reflect a growing sense of national identity following the break-up of the Soviet Union.

Глáсность ‘openness’, a key word of the perestroika period, came into its own in 1986 (see Section 2.1, pp. 70–1).

### 3.5.1.2 Derived from passive participles in -нн-

See Maksimov, 1995: 217.

Since the onset of the Soviet period, a number of nouns in -ость have derived from perfective passive participles, and their number has increased in recent decades, some denoting attitude or state:

вы́ключенность ‘opting out’ (1960s)	вседозвóленность ‘permissiveness’ (1970s)
ангажированность ‘partisanship, bias’	зашóренность ‘tunnel vision’ (1980s).
включѣнность ‘involvement’	

Compare, in a reference to V.I. Mukhina’s sculpture *Рабóчий и колхóзница* ‘Worker and Peasant Woman’:

Яркая политизированность содержания не нравится многим. (*Сов. культура*, 30.6.90, cited in M)

Many dislike the blatantly politicised subject matter.

### 3.5.1.3 Derived from adjectives and passive participles in -м-

See Maksimov, 1995: 217.

Other nouns have derived from adjectives and passive participles in -мый, mainly denoting extent or potential. The frequency ratio of this word-formatory type has increased steadily, and by the 1990s some linguists were bemoaning its mushroom growth (e.g. *смотр́имость* передач предыдúщего дня ‘viewing figures for the previous day’; Kostomarov, 1994b: 157). Examples include:

заполня́емость трибýн ‘attendance on the terraces’  
разводи́мость ‘divorce rate’ (cf. рождáемость ‘birth rate’) (1970s).

Самоокупáемость ‘self-sufficiency, ability to pay one’s way’, while not a new term, was popular during the Gorbachëv era, as a contributory factor to a more effective economy. Зарабáтываемость ‘earning power’ and самоочищáемость ‘self-purification potential’ (of rivers) were recorded in the late 1980s, and конверти́руемость ‘convertibility’ was in frequent use in

the 1990s. Other examples include собираемость налогов ‘tax-collection rate’ (OZH-97) and раскрываемость ‘detection rate’:

... Россия с ее малоимущими органами правопорядка возглавляет список стран с высокой раскрываемостью преступлений. (*АиФ*, №23, 98)

... Russia with its cash-strapped forces of law and order heads the list of countries with a high rate of crime detection.

### 3.5.2 The suffix *-щина(a)*

#### 3.5.2.1 General

The suffix *-щина* has played an active word-formatory role throughout the twentieth century, usually conveying a pejorative nuance. Its heyday was in the 1920s, when forms numbered as many as 140 (Shaposhnikov, 1998: 91). The identification of *-овщина* as a separate derivative suffix (Danilenko, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 83) has simplified the process of deriving nouns from foreign roots, e.g.

полпотовщина ‘Pol Pot’s regime’

киссовщина, from the name of the pop group ‘Kiss’.

In the nineteenth century forms in *-щина* were often neutral, e.g. подёнщина ‘day-labour’, though pejorative nuances might be detected in those based on surnames, e.g. обломовщина ‘*Oblomovism*’ (lack of will-power, inactivity, as exemplified by the main character in I.A. Goncharov’s novel *Oblomov* of 1859). It is difficult, however, to judge to what extent a pejorative nuance is conveyed by the associations evoked by the name, and to what extent by the suffix. Thus, negative feelings are associated with ежовщина ‘*Ezhovshchina*’, of the mass repressions coordinated by N.V. Ezhov in 1937–38, while чертовщина ‘diabolism’ was widely used in the 1930s in criticisms of M. Bulgakov’s works. Чапаевщина ‘*Chapaevism*’, on the other hand, had a positive nuance.

Быть может, повесть Дм. Фурманова “Чапаев” следовало бы скорее назвать “чапаевщиной”, чем именем отдельного героя. (P.S. Kogan, *Дмитрий Фурманов*, quoted by Danilenko, in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 83)

Perhaps it would be better to call D. Furmanov’s story *Chapaev* ‘*Chapaevism*’, rather than after an individual hero.

### 3.5.2.2 Expansion of underlying stems

The range of underlying stems from which forms in *-щина* may be derived has expanded over recent decades, as have the connotations conveyed by the nouns: administrative shortcomings, regimes, attitudes and movements. According to Maksimov (1995: 222), the use of the suffix to denote socio-political trends is on the increase, whereas Dulichenko (1994: 277) considers that *-щина* typically denotes phenomena of the rejected past, while forms with *-изм* refer to aspects of present-day reality (e.g., *ельцинизм* 'El'tsinism'). Many forms continue to be based on surnames, e.g. *брéжневщина* 'Brezhnevism' and *ста́линщина* 'Stalinism' (also, in Zem-skaia, 1996b: 101, *ле́нинщина* 'Leninism'), both negative and more emotionally coloured than their counterparts in *-изм*. *Ста́линщина*, coined in the mid-1980s, has been used to denote any post-Stalinist manifestations of Stalinist policies:

Наложила отпечаток мертвечи́ны на наше сознание *ста́линщина*.  
(*Полит. образование*, №4, 89, cited in M)

Stalinism has imposed an imprint of spiritual stagnation on our consciousness.

A more generalised type of meaning is conveyed by *дедовщи́на* (*годковщи́на* in the navy, cited in LEV), a term used since the 1960s to characterise institutionalised brutality in the army, rampant during the Afghan War (1979–89). The word derives from *дед*, a recruit who has served one year in the armed forces and can engage in *дедовщи́на* on the strength of his seniority (the victim being a first-year soldier known, in jargon terms, as 'салабо́н'). The practice goes back several decades:

Есть документы, датированные 1924 годом, в которых уже отмечаются случаи пренебрежительного отношения начальников к своим подчинённым. А расцвет болезни — времена ста́линщины, ибо "*дедовщина*" — это глумление и издевательство над личностью.  
(*Полит. образование* №10, 89, cited in M)

There are documents dated 1924 which record instances of commanders' contemptuous attitude to their subordinates. And the high point of the malady is the period of Stalinism, for *dedovshchina* implies mockery and ridicule of the individual.

A more recent term, *андрéевщина* 'Andreevism', derives from the name of a chemistry teacher in Leningrad's Lensovet Technological Institute, Nina Andreeva, who on 13 March 1988 published the article "Не могу́ поступи́ться принци́пами" 'I cannot renounce my principles' in *Советская Росси́я* 'Soviet Russia', making a negative assessment of current ideological and political changes occurring in the USSR, paying tribute to



Stalin for Soviet successes in economics, technology and culture, and attributing post-Stalin economic decline to dalliance with foreign capitalism.

Pejorative nuances also adhere to nouns in -щина that denote organisational problems. Штурмовщина ‘production spurt’ described last-minute efforts under the Soviet central-planning system to fulfil the norm, while авральныйщина ‘work punctuated by constant rush jobs’ (from аврал! ‘all hands on deck!’) was similar in meaning. Догоняевщина (from догонять ‘to catch up’) referred to Soviet claims that the early five-year plans would enable the USSR to surpass the West in economic development, and to similar claims during N.S. Khrushchëv’s period as first secretary of the CPSU (1953–64). Deadjectival чрезвычайщина ‘emergency measures’ referred to steps taken by the government, initially under L.I. Brezhnev, to solve economic problems caused by inefficiency, mismanagement and poor planning (e.g. sending students and conscripts to gather in the potato harvest), then ‘to demands by conservatives that Gorbachëv use “extraordinary measures”, i.e. force, to deal with separatist republics and other problems’ (White, 1992: 79). Застойщина (Skliarevskaja, 1998: 248) also refers to the Brezhnev era and is a colloquial synonym of застой ‘stagnation’.

A relatively new type of formation describes attitude or obsession:

интерьерщина ‘mania for filling an apartment with decorative clutter’  
митингóвщина ‘mania for highly charged political rallies’.

Some examples date back to the 1960s:

Совсем страшно, когда эта конъюнктурищина, эта беспринципность становится нормой поведения . . . (Вопр. философии №2, 66, cited in NSZ-60)

It is a terrible thing when this pragmatic opportunism, this unscrupulousness becomes the behavioural norm . . .

### 3.5.2.3 Territorial meaning of -щина

While traditionally associated with the names of provinces in Ukraine and Belorussia – Кіевщина ‘Kiev Province’, etc. – by the 1960s -щина was also being used with the names of towns in other areas – e.g. Тіхвинщина (from Тіхвин ‘Tikhvin’ in Leningrad Province) – including some in -ск: Омщина from Омск ‘Omsk’. Most of the new forms made their first appearance in newspapers (Danilenko, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 83–4). The occasionalism Вашингтóнщина, based on Вашингтóн ‘Washington’ has been devised, seemingly, for humorous effect (Zemskaia, 1996b: 133).

### 3.5.3 The suffix *-изм*

#### 3.5.3.1 Trends and movements

The suffix has been productive in recent decades in denoting socio-political trends:

франкізм ‘Franco-ism’ (1960s)                      рейганізм ‘Reaganism’ (1980s).  
голлізм ‘Gaullism’ (1970s)

Брежневізм ‘Brezhnevism’, less emotive than брєжневщина, appeared after the Soviet leader’s death in 1982. Плюралізм ‘pluralism’, to which a critical nuance attached in the 1970s, acquired a positive connotation during perestroika:

Какой поистине мистический ужас вызвало поначалу слово “плюрализм”. Сегодня мы учимся не только произносить его, но и признавать выражаемую им норму демократического бытия. (Пр., 16.4.89, cited in M)

What truly mystical horror the word ‘pluralism’ aroused in the early days. But today we are learning not only to pronounce it but to acknowledge the norm of democratic reality that it expresses.

Forms in *-изм* have been created to describe movements: атлантизм ‘Atlantism’ (1960s), an ideological and political movement that favoured union in NATO and was tantamount to антисоветізм ‘anti-Sovietism’. Менеджерізм ‘managerism’ was condemned in 1973 as a ‘bourgeois theory’ based on the premise that a country is best run by the managerial classes. Необольшевізм ‘neo-Bolshevism’ and сепаратізм ‘separatism’ emerged in the late 1980s and early 1990s, both presented in a negative light: the former because it was associated with violent, unconstitutional methods; the latter because it was felt, prophetically, to threaten the break-up of the USSR:

... КПСС решительно против сепаратизма. (Пр, 11.12.90, cited in M)  
... The CPSU is definitely opposed to separatism.

Social and cultural movements are represented by формалізм ‘formalism’ (1920s and early 1930s, denoting the evaluation of an artistic work by its form rather than its content), вещьїзм ‘acquisitiveness’ (also вещьмáния), used since the 1970s to denote an excessive interest in material possessions and a concomitant lack of spiritual values (cf. Section 1.6.4), and хиппїзм ‘the hippy movement’ (1970s).

3.5.3.2 *Attitudes*

Attitudes expressed by forms in -изм range from служб́изм (1960s), of a zealous but mechanical discharge of one's duties, through наплеви́зм, the 'couldn't-care-less attitude' of the Brezhnev years, to вожди́зм 'leaderism' of the age of glasnost (Dulichenko, 1994: 277). This last was based on the theory that the Russian people favour government in the hands of one powerful individual. An interesting neologism of the late 1980s was васьки́зм, after Vas'ka, the cat in I. Krylov's fable *Ком и нóвар* 'The Cat and the Cook', who, left to catch mice, carries on eating pie and chicken, oblivious to the entreaties of the cook. The term was used (ведомственный и политический "васьки́зм" 'departmental and political 'vas'kizm') of officials who disregarded public opinion and the new demands of perestroika. Other coinages of the 1980s include имиджини́зм 'image-building' and фактографи́зм 'factographism' (the reporting of facts without appropriate analysis). The continuing productivity of the suffix is attested by forms such as трудоголи́зм 'workaholism', a product of the mid-1990s.

A special place in the series is occupied by наши́зм, based on the plural personal pronoun наши́ 'our'. It arose out of a TV programme in which the St Petersburg journalist Alexander Nevzorov reported on the confrontation in Lithuania in 1990–91<sup>3</sup> and defended those who opposed the break-up of the Soviet Union. The word became a kind of slogan used by those opposed to the beginnings of democracy in Russia (Dulichenko, 1994: 277–8).

3.5.4 *Verbal nouns in -ни(е), -к(а)*3.5.4.1 *General*

'Competition' between -ние and -ка relates largely, though by no means exclusively, to verbal nouns from verbs in -овать and -ировать (e.g. асфальти́рование/асфальти́ровка 'asphalting' from асфальти́ровать 'to asphalt'). Forms with -ка are more productive, especially in technical terminology, partly because a bookish nuance adheres to some verbal nouns in -ние, while those in -ка are stylistically neutral. In scientific terminology -ка tends to be more frequently used when both forms exist, e.g. па́йка/пая́ние 'soldering', and a number of forms in -ние have been supplanted by their counterparts in -ка: транспорти́рование 'transportation', still active in the 1920s, had made way for транспорти́ровка by the 1960s.

A major advantage of verbal nouns in -ка consists in their word-formatory potential, since many form adjectives in -чный and agent nouns in -щик/-щица:

мо́йка 'washing'

мо́ечное отде́ление 'washing compartment'

мо́йщик/мо́йщица 'washer'.

This potential for forming derivatives is not available in verbal nouns in -ние. The continuing productivity of -ка is thus supported by its stylistic neutrality, the force of analogy, a growing need for new formations and the suffix's potential for the creation of derivatives.

At the same time, well-established verbal nouns in -ние – выполнение 'fulfilment', etc. – remain unaffected. Furthermore, the existence of a form in -ка with a *concrete* meaning may strengthen the position of the equivalent verbal noun in -ние; compare, for example, опечáтка 'misprint' and опечáтывание 'sealing'. Moreover, most forms in -ка denote only *productive* processes – e.g. бетонирóвка (or бетонíрование) 'concreting' – while *non-productive* processes are usually expressed only by forms in -ние (e.g. всхлíпывание 'sobbing').

For more on this topic, see Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 145–54; Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 279–82.

#### 3.5.4.2 Recent verbal nouns in -ние and -ка

Verbal nouns in -ние and -ка recorded in recent dictionaries are formed in accordance with established patterns:

полевéние 'shift to the left', from полевéть 'to move left' (cf. округлéние 'rounding' from округлéть 'to become round')  
 выживáние 'survival' (cf. проживáние 'residing')  
 захлóпывание 'silencing by clapping' (cf. похлóпывание 'intermittent clapping')  
 отмывáние дéнег 'money-laundering' (cf. умывáние 'washing' and вымывáние):

Закон о государственном предприятии дал коллективам немало свободы и самостоятельности. Многие из них воспользовались этим для ускорения процесса “*вымывания*” дешёвого ассортимента и завышения цен на новые виды продукции . . . (Пр, 5.11.88, cited in M)  
 The state enterprise law gave the collectives not a little freedom and independence. Many of them took advantage of this to hasten the process of 'clearing out' cheap stock and hiking up prices on new lines . . .

Митинговáние, which has the form of a verbal noun from митинговáть 'to participate in, discuss at meetings' is defined as 'lengthy, emotional, pointless discussion':

Кончается период митингования, настало время практических дел. (Пр, 25.7.90, cited in M)

The time for hot air is over, and the time for action has arrived.



Like митинговáние, клонíрование ‘cloning’ has no alternative form in -ка. There are, however, analogues for such practice in the doublets баланси́ровка / баланси́рование ‘balancing’ and разбаланси́ровка / разбаланси́рование ‘destabilising’ (cited in M). Adherence to established patterns is also evident in verbal nouns in -ка:

перепры́жка ‘jump-off’ (cf. припры́жка ‘hop, skip’)  
 переигро́вка ‘replay’ (cf. сыгро́вка ‘coordination in playing’)  
 перестыко́вка ‘re-docking’ (cf. стыко́вка ‘docking’)  
 отбрако́вка (cf. брако́вка ‘rejection’):

Эту задачу можно существенно упростить, если руководствоваться критериями *отбраковки* фирм. (*Изв.*, 12.10.96)

This task can be greatly simplified if one is guided by the principle of the exclusion of firms.

One form illustrates a shift to -ка: гла́жка is a colloquial synonym of гла́жение, from гла́дить ‘to iron’ (forms in -ные relate to colloquial registers; see Tsyganenko, 1982: 96):

Скатерть только была из-под *глажки*. И сияла на круглом столе.  
 (K. Vanshenkin, *В океане*, cited in КОТ)

The table-cloth had just been ironed, and gleamed on the round table.

### 3.5.5 *Verbal and other nouns in -(из)ац(и)а*

#### 3.5.5.1 *General*

Forms in -(из)ация were coined throughout the Soviet period (for a comparison with those in -(из)ирование, see Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 282–5), denoting either mass supply (e.g. контейнериза́ция ‘containerisation’), or endowment with a particular quality or state (e.g. коллективиза́ция ‘collectivisation’). The meaning of supply is also rendered by forms in -фикация, mainly in the sphere of communications: телефика́ция ‘development of the television network’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 102–4). Note also the occasionalism in the following headline, which is a possible parody of Lenin’s dictum that communism is Soviet power plus electrification of the whole country.

Капитализм — это домофони́зация всей Москвы. (*АиФ*, №6, 98)  
 ‘Capitalism is the provision of all Moscow with entryphones’.

Many of the nouns derive from verbs in -(из)ировать, others from nouns; for example:

диспетчеризация from диспетчер 'traffic controller'  
 компьютеризация 'computerisation' from компьютер 'computer'.

Compare the following, which is derived from алкоголь 'alcohol':

В том, что очереди стали национальным позором, виновато не только резкое сокращение продажи вина и водки, но и чудовищная, десятилетиями копившаяся *алкоголизация* населения. (Пр., 23.12.88, cited in Voronina, 1993: 52)

It is not only the sharp reduction in sales of wine and vodka that is responsible for the fact that queues have become a national disgrace, but also the monstrous alcoholisation of the population, that has accrued over decades.

The presence of a number of processual nouns without verb correlates is a unique phenomenon in Russian. Most roots are of foreign origin, and only a few have native roots:

яровизация 'process of accelerating the growth and ripening of seeds'  
 большевизация 'bolshevisation' (also разбольшевизация 'liberation from  
 Bolshevik ideology'; Skliarevskaja, 1998: 529)  
 советизация 'Sovietisation', etc.

### 3.5.5.2 Forms in -(из)ация and -(из)ирование

When forms in -(из)ация and -(из)ирование coexist, the form in -ация may denote process *and* result, while that in -(из)ирование may denote process only. Thus, экранизация can denote the process of screening (подготовка к экранизации романа *Война и мир* 'preparation for the screening of *War and Peace*') and the finished product: экранизация романа *Война и мир* 'a film version of *War and Peace*'; however, экранизирование denotes the process only.

### 3.5.5.3 Developments since the mid-1980s

Nouns in -(из)ация have mushroomed since the mid-1980s, partly due to an expansion of linguistic contacts (mainly, though not exclusively English: деэтизация 'lessening of the role of the state' is based on French *état* 'state', глобализация 'globalisation' on German *Globalisation*), and reflecting economic, social, cultural and inter-personal links. The many forms which arose during the period 1988–93 denote concepts in:

- politics: плюрализация 'pluralisation'

- commerce:  
коммерциализация государственных предприятий 'commercialisation of state enterprises'  
либерализация цен 'freeing of prices'
- technology: роботизация производства 'the robotisation of production'
- social concerns: криминализация общества 'criminalisation of society'.

#### FORMS BASED ON ABSTRACT NOUNS

Forms in -(из)ация- based on *abstract* nouns constitute a growth point in modern Russian:

бюрократизация экономики 'bureaucratisation of the economy'  
инфантилизация молодежи 'infantilisation of young people'  
маркетизация 'marketisation'  
суверенизация 'the acquisition of sovereignty by former republics'  
демократизация 'democratisation', cf.:

Когда кое-кто выдвинул идею некоей "*капитализации*" нашего общества, то это сразу же вызвало очень бурную реакцию . . . (Пр., 6.11.89)

When some people advanced the idea for a kind of 'capitalisation' of our society, this immediately caused a furore . . .

#### FORMS WITH SLAVONIC ROOTS

Some forms have Slavonic roots:

зарплатизация 'conversion of income into salaries'  
рублевизация экономики стран СНГ 'rouble-isation of the economies of CIS countries'  
третьемиризация страны 'conversion of a country into a third-world state' (Zemskaja, 1996b: 109).

#### FORMS BASED ON NAMES

Some forms derive from personal names: кашпировизация всей страны 'Kashpirovisation of the whole country' (from A. Kashpirovskii, a faith-healer); cf.:

Очевидно, эпоха *церетелизации* московских памятников заканчивается . . . (КП, 29.11–5.12.96)

The period of the Tseretelisation of Moscow monuments is obviously

drawing to a close . . . (referring to the design of altar gates in Moscow's Cathedral of Christ the Saviour by the architect Tsereteli).

More frequently forms derive from place names:

“Балканизация” России нарушит полностью мировое равновесие сил . . . (КП, 18.10.90, cited in Voronina, 1993: 52)

The ‘Balkanisation’ of Russia will completely disrupt the global balance of power . . .

Forms derive especially from the names of:

- countries: финляндизация ‘Finlandisation’ (the achievement of independence through agreements with other states)
- continents: африканизация ‘Africanisation’
- faiths: исламизация ‘Islamisation’ and
- organisations: пентагонизация ‘Pentagonisation’.

Ferm (1994: 69–70) adds:

румынизация ‘Romanianisation’ (the process or fear of a *rapprochement* between Moldova and Romania)

панамизация ‘Panamanisation’ (the spread of dishonest businessmen in Russian business circles, dealing in financial affairs of national proportions)

украинизация ‘Ukrainianisation’ (the process of investing the population with Ukrainian national identity, also украинизация экономики, of the collapse of an economy which develops along Ukrainian lines):

. . . по убеждению экс-министра финансов, “украинизация” у нас на пороге. (Сез., 22.1.94, cited in Zemskaia, 1996b: 108)

. . . the former finance minister is convinced we are on the threshold of ‘Ukrainianisation’.

#### DERIVATIVES

Some forms have generated derivatives; thus, from приватизация ‘privatisation’ (now joined by реприватизация ‘reprivatisation’; Skliarevskaja, 1998: 545) there is приватизатор ‘privatiser’, and the puns прихватизация (from прихватить ‘to seize’) and презерватизация (from презерватив ‘condom’) (МН, 13.1.91, cited in Voronina, 1993: 53). Приватизация may be qualified by attributive adjectives, e.g. обвальная приватизация ‘wholesale privatisation’.

#### FORMS WITH THE PREFIX -ДЕ<sup>(1)</sup>

See also Section 2.3.2.1, p. 124.



An explosion of forms in де- + -изация, one of the 'new' phenomena enumerated by Maksimov (1995: 222), accompanied the dismantling of Communist institutions:

дэпартиза́ция 'removal of the influence of the Communist Party' (and its close synonym декоммуниза́ция)  
 де́номенклатуриза́ция 'dismantling of the *nomenklatura* system'  
 де́совети́зация 'de-Sovietisation'  
 де́сталиниза́ция 'de-Stalinisation'  
 де́централиза́ция 'decentralisation'  
 де́табуи́зация 'removal of ideological restrictions on the work of the creative intelligentsia'; cf.:

Такая *дефедерализация* характерна для национального развития в XX веке — вспомним распад Австро-Венгрии, распад Британской империи. (*Пр*, 6.12.90, cited in M)

Defederalisation of this kind is typical of national development in the twentieth century – one need only recall the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian and British empires.

V.M. Leichik has defined a subjective slant (positive or negative, depending on the speaker) as the most characteristic trait of new forms with prefix де- (Shaposhnikov, 1998: 101).

#### OTHER FORMS

Other concerns of the period were represented by:

экологиза́ция 'examination of problems from an ecological standpoint'  
 дебилиза́ция 'loss of the capacity to think independently' (and its close synonym манкуртиза́ция 'the elimination of independent thought')  
 вестерниза́ция 'Westernisation'  
 де́коллективиза́ция 'decollectivisation'.

Some but not all of the nouns have bi-aspectual cognate verbs; for example: де́полити́зация 'depoliticisation' and cognate де́полити́зиро́вать 'to depoliticise'. However, unlike earlier forms in which де- negated an extant phenomenon (e.g. милита́риза́ция 'militarisation', де́милита́риза́ция 'demilitarisation'), some of the new creations in де- had no such opposites, e.g. де́ленини́зация 'de-Leninisation' in the absence of ленини́зация (Zemskaja, 1996b: 113).

#### 3.5.6 The 'suffix' -инг

Although -инг is not a Russian suffix in the true sense of the word, since it

appears exclusively in loans from English and shows no sign of affixation to native Russian roots (an exception may be *сберба́нкинг* ‘savings banking’; Kostomarov, 1994b: 192), references to ‘-ing forms’ (“-инговые фо́рмы”; Sèshan, 1996: 49) imply that it can be interpreted as a bound morpheme. Loans from English such as *де́мпинг* ‘dumping’ and *ке́мпинг* ‘camping site’ are well established (for forms in the nineteenth century and 1920s and 1930s see Bobrova, 1980: 88), but by the 1980s, according to Bobrova (1980: 87), there were about 180 forms in -инг, by comparison with only 22 in Ushakov’s dictionary (1935–40). The advent of a market economy in Russia in the late 1980s and 1990s ushered in a spate of new forms. Sèshan (1996) refers to the perception that the forms represent ‘American linguistic expansion’.

### 3.5.6.1 *Categories of meaning*

Five principal semantic categories are affected (Sèshan, 1996: 47), namely:

- social-political:
  - и́мидж-ме́йкинг* ‘image-making’
  - ре́йтинг* ‘rating’;
- science and technology:
  - инбри́динг* ‘in-breeding’
  - скри́нинг* ‘screening’ (medical and political);
- sport:
  - кикбо́ксинг* ‘kick-boxing’
  - ке́рлинг* ‘curling’;
- everyday concerns: *шо́п(п)инг* ‘shopping’;
- the economy:
  - конса́лтинг* ‘consulting’,
  - франча́йзинг* ‘franchising’
  - мерча́ндайзинг* ‘merchandising’
  - контро́ллинг* ‘management control’
  - факто́ринг* ‘factoring’
  - ли́стинг* ‘listing’ (pre-sale check on securities), etc.; cf. also:

Биржа не может функционировать без целого комплекса сопутствующих финансовых учреждений — инвестиционных банков, брокерских и страховых компаний, контор по *клирингу*. (*Лен. пр.*, 3.11.90, cited in M)

The exchange cannot function without a whole complex of concomitant financial institutions – investment banks, broker and insurance companies, clearing houses.

Not all nouns in -инг are the exact equivalents of their English counterparts; thus, *тре́йдинг* ‘trading’, ostensibly a synonym of *торго́вля*, implies specifically trading in a free, especially an overseas, market. *Ма́ркети́нг* is

polysemantic, denoting (1) the study of the market and consumer demand; (2) marketing as an academic subject; and (3) a set of marketing recommendations. Мониторинг ‘electronic system for obtaining information on the state of the market’ can also be used in non-economic contexts; for example, ecological:

В письмах говорится также, что два из этих трёх компьютеров . . . будут использоваться . . . для мониторинга состояния окружающей среды. (*Изв.*, 18.10.96)

The letters also say that two of these three computers . . . will be used . . . for monitoring the state of the environment.

Some words in -инг have yet to be recorded in dictionaries:

Пока ждали жюри, мастера из салона “Три кита” объявили о начале показательного персинга. (*КП*, 29.11–5.12.96)

While they were waiting for the jury, specialists from the ‘Three Whales’ salon announced the beginning of a demonstration of piercing.

Одно из расслабляющих упражнений для глаз — пальминг. Накройте глазные впадины, не нажимая на глаза . . . (*Нед.*, №36, 96)

One of the relaxing eye exercises is palming. Cover your eye sockets without pressing on the eyes . . .

(Timofeeva (1995: 37–9) deals with сёрфинг ‘surfing’ and related forms.)

### 3.5.6.2 *Derivatives and declension*

Many nouns in -инг generate:

- derivative adjectives:
  - лидер среди пейджинговых компаний ‘a leader among paging companies’
  - лизинговый механизм ‘leasing mechanism’
  - шопинговая программа ‘shopping plan’;
- derivative verbs:
  - прессинговать ‘to put pressure on’ (in sport)
  - митинговать ‘to participate in mass meetings’;
- derivative nouns:
  - сёрфингист ‘surfer’
  - картингист ‘go-carter’.

In the absence of a derivative verb, paraphrase may be possible: проводить факторинг ‘to buy out an enterprise’s debts’. Some forms function as attributives in co-ordinated noun phrases:

лифтинг-крем от морщин ‘lifting cream for wrinkles’  
 шэйпинг-модель ‘body-building model’  
 скрининг-центр ‘screening centre’.

The nouns decline: всё для фитнесса и бодибилдинга ‘everything for fitness and body-building’ (Sèshan, 1996: 47–8).

Unlike English forms in ‘-ing’, the Russian forms have no verbal associations. With motivation supplied by context rather than a verbal underlay, the potential for -инг to be adopted as a genuine suffix is seriously inhibited.

### 3.5.7 The bound morpheme -гейт

See also Otin, 1996; Kostomarov 1994b: 179–82.

The infiltration by the employees of a Republican Party organisation of the Watergate Hotel, headquarters of the National Committee of the Democratic Party, on 17 June 1972, gave Russian a new bound morpheme, -гейт ‘political scandal’. Initially, “уотергейт” was enclosed in inverted commas when reference was to the affair or the hotel itself:

Дата рождения “Уотергейта” известна точно. (ИЗВ., 10.10.83, cited in Otin, 1996: 109)

The birth date of ‘Watergate’ is known precisely.

Inverted commas were, similarly, used when it achieved status as a generic noun:

... Американская публика как бы не замечает других, куда более серьёзных ... “уотергейтов”. (ЛГ, 13.7.83, cited in Otin, 1996: 110)

... The American public seems not to notice other, much more serious ... ‘Watergates’.

#### 3.5.7.1 Non-American contexts

At first, -гейт was used only in American contexts – киддигейт ‘Kiddygate’ (of nepotism among high officials in Washington) – but subsequently it moved outside America:

Джонсонгейт ‘Johnsongate’ (of the Canadian sprinter accused of taking drugs at the Seoul Olympics in 1988)

слупскгейт ‘Slupskgate’ (the discovery of listening devices in the headquarters of *Solidarność* in Słupsk, Poland, in 1989)

зелёный or боннский Уотергейт ‘Green or Bonn Watergate’ (an alleged attempt by the West German special services to denigrate a politician from the Green Party)

Иракгейт ‘Iraqgate’ (of financial help supposedly advanced to Iraq before the invasion of Kuwait)

Татрагейт ‘Tatragate’ (an ecological scandal involving the Tatra Mountains).



The best-known scandal was ирангэйт 'Irangate' in 1986–87 (of the secret supply of American arms to Iran and the transfer of the proceeds as military aid to Nicaragua, also known, after the Contra rebels, as контрастгэйт, иран-контрастгэйт and ирангэйт-контрас); also well-known was Чилийский ирангэйт 'Chilean Irangate' (of an illegal arms trade in Chile) and дунагэйт 'Dunagate' (from Дуна́й 'Danube'), of the bugging of members of the opposition in Hungary.

### 3.5.7.2 *Russian contexts*

Glasnost made it possible to use the new morpheme in a *Russian* context:

деревénский уотергэйт 'village Watergate' (of an attempt to compromise female neighbours by recording their conversations on tape)

чурбаногэйт 'Churbanovgate' (of Leonid Brezhnev's son-in-law, Iurii Churbanov, sentenced to twelve years in a labour camp in 1988 for bribe-taking on a massive scale)

янаевгэйт 'Ianaevgate' (of the scandal surrounding the election of Ianaev – spokesman for members of the anti-Gorbachëv *putsch* in 1991 – as vice-president; see Zemskaia, 1996b: 93).

### 3.5.7.3 *Structural issues*

There have been examples of haplology, as, arguably, in брифингэйт (брі́финг + гейт) 'briefing-gate'. Occasionally, гейт has appeared as an independent word: паути́на гейтов 'a web of political scandals', and has formed:

- adjectives: послеуотергэйтская Аме́рика 'post-Watergate America';
- agent nouns: уотергэйтцы 'participants in Watergate'; and
- diminutives: Есть уотергэйтты. А есть и уотергэйтики. 'There are Watergates. And there are minor Watergates.' (*Изв.*, 12.10.86).

As a bound loan morpheme -гейт is comparable to:

-дром 'testing, launching area' (дельтадро́м 'hang-gliding base')

-тека 'repository' (картоте́ка 'card-index') and

-он/-ан 'synthetic material' (капро́н 'capron') (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 223–30).

## 3.5.8 *Animate and agent nouns*

### 3.5.8.1 *The suffix -чик/-щик*

Since the 1920s -чик/-щик has occupied a dominant position in naming occupations (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 122–3), its status strengthened by a capa-

city to combine with a broad range of stems; for example, the names of organisations, as in аппара́тчик ‘member of Party or state apparatus’ (Lipatov 1987: 84; Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 124), and to create evaluative words such as конъю́нктёрщик ‘time-server’. The semantic overload, however, began to inhibit the suffix’s development in the meaning ‘practitioner of a profession’, especially since the suffix -(ов)ец was by now active in forming nouns that denoted membership of an organisation and had begun to encroach on the territory of -чик / -щик (thus, исполко́мщик ‘member of an executive committee’ was replaced by исполко́мовец). The position of -чик / -щик was further weakened by social change: occupations such as тракти́рщик ‘tavern-keeper’, галантере́йщик ‘haberdasher’ and фаэто́нщик ‘phaeton driver’ became redundant (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 124–5).

Despite this, in the 1930s and 1940s -чик/-щик remained dominant in denoting practitioners of practical occupations, as the programme of industrialisation envisaged by the first five-year plans demanded new technology and trained personnel to operate it. Use of the suffix was further encouraged by the emergence of an increasing number of words in -атор that denoted both operator *and* machine, creating an ambiguity that could be resolved by the affixation of -щик. Thus, перфо́ратор ‘perforator’ (object) contrasted with перфо́раторщик ‘perforator’ (person) (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 128; Danilenko, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1974: 75–6). This also had the advantage that feminine equivalents could be formed (перфо́раторщица from перфо́раторщик ‘perforator’), which was not the case with nouns in -тор. In some cases the status of -щик was strengthened by its place in a three-member pattern:

шлифо́вка ‘polishing’

шлифо́вочный ‘polishing’ (adjective)

шлифо́вщик/шлифо́щица ‘polisher’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 130).

By the 1950s, some of the work earlier performed by individuals had been taken over by machines. As a consequence, whereas in the 1930s and 1940s professions were named after the *productive process* carried out by the worker, many came to be named after the *machine*:

конве́йерщик ‘conveyor-belt operator’

экскава́торщик ‘excavator operator’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 132).

#### CURRENT USAGE

Few inanimate nouns in -чик/-щик have been coined since the 1960s, with exceptions such as автоотве́тчик ‘answerphone’ (1970s). Many animate nouns in -чик/-щик denote workers in various industries and services:

линейщик ‘electricity transmission engineer’  
 претензионщик ‘employee in customer complaints section’  
 твердотельщик ‘solid state physicist’  
 реакторщик ‘reactor expert’, etc.

Some have feminine equivalents – пультовщик/пультовщица ‘control panel operator’ – while others are feminine only – корзинщица ‘supermarket employee who stores shoppers’ bags and issues wire baskets’ and ротаторщица ‘duplicator operator’. Among nouns that reflect their time is (in a *Russian* context) пикетчик ‘picketer’ (1990); cf. also:

В какой городской столовой Брянска можно пообедать диетчику?  
 (Пр., 14.7.83, LEV)

Where in Briansk can a dieter have lunch in a city canteen?

The expressive nuance inherent in some words in -чик/-щик appears in many neologisms:

выступальщик ‘speechifier’                      саморекламщик ‘self-promoter’.  
 керосинщик ‘wino’

Some of the forms denote perpetrators of unlawful activities:

бюллетенщик ‘holder of a falsified sick certificate’ (1960s)  
 угонщик ‘vehicle thief’ (1970s)  
 отмывщик денег ‘money-launderer’ (1981);

cf. the pejorative nuance in:

*Нельзятчики* страшат: “Представляете, что будет, если . . .”. А что в самом деле будет? (Изв., 27.12.86)

The spoil-sports try to put the wind up you: ‘Can you imagine what will happen if . . .’. And what will really happen?

Others relate to dubious commercial practice – фарцовщик ‘black marketer dealing in the buying and selling of foreign goods’ (1950s–1960s), гамщик ‘teenager trading Soviet souvenirs for foreign chewing-gum, cigarettes, ball-point pens’ (early 1980s) – including activities of the unpopular co-operatives and their employees (from about 1986):

кооперативщик (for standard кооператор) ‘member of a co-operative’  
 (Dulichenko, 1994: 281)<sup>2</sup>

галантерейщик ‘member of co-operative engaged in the manufacture and/or sale of haberdashery’.

Others are political:

застойщик ‘supporter of the regime of the *zastoi* or stagnation period’  
 перестройщик ‘supporter of perestroika’ (used ironically in the late 1980s)  
 номенклатурищик ‘member of the *nomenklatura*’ (Maksimov, 1995: 217):

Появились частные фирмы с миллиардами на счетах, в их  
 правлениях сидят вчерашние *номенклатурищики* . . . (ЛГ 11.12.91)  
 Private firms have sprung up with billions in their accounts and former  
 members of the *nomenklatura* on their boards . . .

Перестраховщик ‘over-insurer’ has remained current since the 1930s, when  
 it was used of bureaucrats afraid to take responsibility, then, during the  
 Brezhnev era, of those wary of innovation, and latterly, since 1985, of those  
 too timid to support reform. Лимитá and лимитчики have been current  
 since the Brezhnev era, of country dwellers who take unprestigious jobs in  
 town in return for temporary city residence permits:

Сейчас население Москвы составляют в основном те, кого ещё  
 недавно презрительно именовали “*лимитой*” . . . (Оз., №14, 90, cited  
 in M)

The population of Moscow now consists in the main of those who were  
 until recently disparagingly called ‘*limita*’ . . .

The term was still in use in the mid-1990s, as a headline shows:

Я — *лимитчик* во втором поколении. (Нед., №36, 96).  
 I am a second-generation *limitchik*.

Forms in -чик/-щик continue to be coined:

дальнобóйщик ‘long-distance lorry-driver’  
 тести́ровщик ‘tester’  
 тусо́вщик ‘person who likes to hang out’, etc.; cf. also:

Чем допёк этот “*беспредельщик*” заказчиков убийства, Витёк точно  
 не знает, но догадывается. (АиФ, 4.3.98)  
 How this criminal had annoyed those who had contracted the killing  
 Vitëk does not exactly know, but he can guess.

Youth slang is responsible for forms such as рокнро́ллыщик ‘rock ’n’  
 roller’ and электро́нщик ‘electronic fan’ (Davie, 1998: 336–7, 216).



### 3.5.8.2 Other agent suffixes: current usage

See also Maksimov, 1995: 217–8.

#### THE SUFFIX -ЕЦ

Over recent decades, -ец has played its traditional role in combining with the names of:

- persons: ниноандреевец ‘supporter of Nina Andreeva’ (see also Section 3.5.2.2, pp. 213–14); and
- organisations and places:
  - недэлец ‘employee of *Неделя*’
  - детсадовец ‘kindergarten child’
  - чернобылец ‘victim of the Chernobyl’ disaster’ or ‘member of the Chernobyl’ rescue team’.

#### THE SUFFIX -ИСТ

The suffix plays a specialised role in denoting exponents of ideological trends:

ельцини́ст ‘El’tsin supporter’

проатланти́ст ‘supporter of NATO’ (1980); cf.:

Стремление к компромиссу, учёт всех здравых, приемлемых большинством идей . . . отделяет *центриста* от всех, прежде всего, от консерваторов . . . (*Изв.*, 20.11.90, cited in M)

An urge to compromise, consideration for all sensible ideas that are acceptable to most people . . . distinguishes the centrist from everyone else and first and foremost from conservatives . . .

Some recent forms have special connotations: правди́ст is (1) an employee of the newspaper *Правда*; (2) from the early 1980s, a writer who portrayed Soviet reality truthfully; (3) under glasnost, someone who brought objective information to the public. The suffix is also used to denote certain types of specialist, e.g. программист ‘computer programmer’. Уклонист ‘draft-dodger’ has expanded its semantic range from the earlier meaning ‘political deviationist’ (Ferm, 1994: 73).

However, -ист specialises mainly in naming sportsmen (and musicians: саксофонист ‘saxophonist’), with at least 18 new names recorded (mostly in the 1960s and 1970s), based on stems that denote:

- the name of a sport: гандболи́ст ‘handball player’;
- a vehicle: дельтапланерист ‘hang-glider pilot’;
- a style: кроли́ст ‘crawl-swimmer’;

- an implement or appliance: *батутѣст* ‘trampoliner’;
- an event: *раллѣст* ‘rally-driver’;
- an incident: *пенальтѣст* ‘penalty-taker’.

Some nouns in -ист (all from the 1960s) denoting a person with a hobby (хоббѣст) – e.g. филуменѣст ‘collector of matchboxes and their labels’ – fall into this category, as does кроссвордѣст ‘crossword compiler or solver’. The suffix is also used randomly:

металлѣст ‘heavy metal fan’

визажѣст ‘make-up artist’, etc. (For нашѣсты, see Section 3.5.3.2.)

#### THE SUFFIX -(В)ИК

Most neologisms in -вик have cognate adjectives with suffix -в-:

ценовѣк ‘employee of the State Pricing Commission’ (Госкомцѣн)

биржевѣк ‘stock-exchange operative’

тенеvѣк ‘shady businesssman’

силовики ‘those who work in the “power structures”’ (Zemskaja, 1996b: 105), or ‘heads of power ministries’ (Skliarevskaja, 1998: 584).

#### THE SUFFIX -(Н)ИК

The suffix is used to denote specialists in many areas:

солнечник ‘solar scientist’

ландшафтник ‘landscape gardener’

телевизионник ‘TV installer and repairer’ (cf. телевизионщик ‘TV employee’), etc.

Other nouns with suffix -ник reflect social realities, from целѣнники ‘virgin soil workers’ (1950s) to, in the mid-1980s:

колбасники ‘the “haves”’ (from колбаса ‘sausage’; cf. бесколбасники ‘the “have-nots”’)

державник ‘person who wants superpower status for the USSR’

государственник ‘person who gives priority to state interests’

суверенник ‘person who supported sovereignty for the republics’

рыночник ‘free marketeer’ (Dulichenko, 1994: 280).

Ferm (1994: 56) points to polysemy in forms such as бюджетник ‘employee of a budgetary organisation’, ‘someone (pensioners, students, the unemployed) receiving a grant’. Бесплатник is also polysemantic and means ‘supporter of

cost-free privatisation’, but also ‘child who gets free school meals, student who gets free tuition’ (Zemskaja, 1996b: 103–4).

Some forms reflect aspects of a corrupt system:

позвонóчник ‘someone appointed as the result of a telephone call’ (from звонóк ‘telephone call’ – also a pun based on позвонóчник ‘spine’)  
 пóлочники ‘film-makers whose films have languished in the archives, for fear of official censure’ (from пóлка ‘shelf’)  
 откáзник ‘refusenik’, of one (1) refused permission to emigrate or (2) who refuses to join the Party or dodges conscription:

Ещё недавно “отказников” можно было пересчитать по пальцам . . .  
 (См., 17.11.90, cited in M)

Only recently the number of ‘draft-dodgers’ could be counted on the fingers of one hand . . .

The term контрáктник ‘mercenary’ became common during the Chechen War:

На заработки в Чечню едут и матёрые контракники. (АиФ, №33, 96)  
 Seasoned mercenaries are also going to Chechnia for easy pickings.

Where women only are involved, the suffix -ница is used: декрétница ‘woman on maternity leave’. There have also been additions to the series of nouns in which -ница denotes ‘container’, all from the period of the 1960s to the 1980s, e.g. кассétница ‘cassette-holder’, cf.:

Пензенский дизельный завод освоил серийное производство портативных шашлычниц. (Соц. индустрия, 11.7.70; Kotelova, 1984b)  
 Penza diesel factory has begun to mass-produce portable barbecues.

### 3.5.9 *Clipped compounds in -к(a)*

#### 3.5.9.1 *General*

The so-called ‘clipped compounds’ or ‘univerbs’ (Russian унивёрбы) in -ка result from the contraction of adjective-noun phrases. These may be two-member, as in генерáлка from генерáльная репетиция ‘dress rehearsal’, or three-member, as in первíчка from первíчная партíйная оргaнизáция ‘primary party organisation’. They are widely used in colloquial and professional speech and are particularly common in the press, owing their prevalence to considerations of linguistic economy and expressiveness in the face of the prolixity of officialese.

Clipped compounds can form derivatives – анонóмщик ‘writer of anonymous letters’ from анонóмка ‘anonymous letter’ – and derive from nouns of all three genders:

капитálка from капитáльный ремо́нт ‘major overhaul’  
 áтомка from áтомная электростáнция ‘atomic power station’  
 многоэ́тажка from многоэ́тажное зда́ние ‘multi-storey building’ (Osipova, 1985: 75–6).

Traditionally, clipped compounds have denoted concrete objects: электри́чка ‘suburban commuter train’ from электри́ческий по́езд. Some are based on past participles: незаверше́нка ‘construction begun long ago but still unfinished’. They are not, however, normally formed from monosyllabic adjectival roots. Thus, while неотло́жка derives from неотло́жная по́мощь ‘first aid’, there can be no analogous formation from ско́рая по́мощь ‘first aid’ (Ianko-Trinitskaia, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 28–9). Откры́тка ‘postcard’ (1894, from откры́тое письмо́) is considered to be the first of the type in the modern age. It originated in Odessan dialect but by the 1920s had moved from non-standard to colloquial registers (Osipova, 1985: 78).

### 3.5.9.2 Polysemy

Some clipped compounds are polysemantic, especially when the adjectival component has the potential to combine with different types of noun. Thus, персона́лка means

‘personal car’ (from персона́льная маши́на)  
 ‘man-to-man marking’ (from персона́льная опе́ка) or  
 ‘personal computer’ (from персона́льный компью́тер).

In some cases polysemy arises out of metaphorisation. Thus, визи́тка ‘visiting card’ now also means ‘hall mark’ (of a firm or organisation, etc.).

### 3.5.9.3 Semantic categories

Clipped compounds denoting objects fall into a series of semantic categories:

- places: коммуна́лка ‘communal apartment’;
- clothing and footwear: дубле́нка ‘sheepskin coat’, кроссо́вки ‘trainers’;
- food and drink: овся́нка ‘oatmeal porridge’, минерáлка ‘mineral water’;
- roads: грунто́вка ‘dirt road’;
- newspapers: вече́рка ‘evening newspaper’;
- vehicles: аварíйка ‘recovery vehicle’;
- institutions: райо́нка ‘regional hospital’;
- professional parlance: щитови́дка ‘thyroid gland’, малолéтка ‘juvenile deliquent’, etc.



(For an extended categorisation, see Osipova, 1985: 76–8; and, for an analysis of various types of clipped compounds, see Ianko-Trinitaskaia, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 27–35.)

#### 3.5.9.4 *Abstract clipped compounds*

Clipped compounds from abstract forms represent a relatively recent development:

амора́лка ‘immoral behaviour, formal reprimand for such behaviour’  
напряже́нка ‘tense situation’  
загра́нка ‘foreign travel’, and so on.

A special group of words in -ловка denoting acquisition, compulsion or prohibition, are stylistically pejorative and tend to derive from verbs:

растащи́ловка ‘pilfering’  
запрети́ловка ‘tendency to impose bans’  
обяза́ловка ‘burdensome duty’:

Никакой *обязаловки*. Отец, кстати, не хотел, чтобы мы работали в цирке. (*Тр.*-7, 18–24.10.96)

No compulsion. Incidentally, father did not want us to work in the circus.

#### 3.5.9.5 *Recent formations*

Clipped compounds in -ка continue to be coined. Examples from recent decades (some already extant with other meanings: обезли́чка, late 1930s (USH) ‘system of work without personal responsibility’, 1980s ‘indirect sale of a car through a commission shop’) include:

открыва́лка ‘bottle opener’ (1950s)	безотхо́дка ‘effluent-free technology’
глуши́лка ‘jamming’	лока́лка ‘local purification’ (1980s)
малогабары́тка ‘small apartment’ (1960s)	со́тка from со́товый телефо́н ‘mobile phone’ (mid-1990s):
гимала́йка ‘climbers’ tent’ (1970s)	
америка́нка ‘fast-food restaurant’	
многопарты́йка ‘multi-party system’	

Портрет человека с “*соткой*” в нашем сознании уже определился. Это московские деловые люди — банкир, бандит, персонаж шоу-бизнеса, политик. (*Нед*, №37, 96)

A portrait of a man with a mobile phone is already defined in our consciousness. They are Moscow businessmen – bankers, bandits, show-business personalities, politicians.

Сóтка seemingly constitutes an exception to the rule that clipped compounds are not formed from monosyllabic adjectival roots.

### 3.5.10 The adjectival suffixes -н-, -ов- and -ск-

#### 3.5.10.1 Productivity of the suffix -ов-

##### NEW FUNCTIONS

Modern Russian is characterised by an increase in adjectives with the suffix -ов-/ев- which express new relationships between adjectives and nouns. Thus:

шумный ‘noisy’ is supplemented by шумовой ‘noise’ (шумовое загрязнение ‘noise pollution’)  
 грязный ‘dirty’ by грязевой ‘mud’ (грязевая ванна ‘mud-bath’)  
 вкусный ‘tasty’ by вкусовой ‘taste’ (вкусовые органы ‘taste buds’)  
 пыльный ‘dusty’ by пылевой ‘dust’ (пылевые частицы ‘dust particles’), etc.

In recent decades, -ов-/ев- have also been used to form adjectives from technical or semi-technical terms in -ик, -ца, etc.:

пыльцевой from пыльца ‘pollen’  
 шариковый from шарик ‘ball’, as in шариковая ручка ‘ball-point pen’  
 (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 107–8).

The suffix -ов-, previously not used to derive relative adjectives from the names of persons (a function usually performed by the suffix -ск-: мужской ‘male’, etc.), has also been active in forming adjectives from nouns denoting young persons (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 109):

малышóвый from малыш ‘kid’  
 близнецо́вый from близне́ц ‘twin’  
 подро́стковый from подро́сток ‘adolescent’ (подрóстковые велосипéды ‘teenagers’ bicycles’)  
 мальчи́кóвый from ма́льчик ‘boy’ (мальчи́кóвые боти́нки ‘boys’ shoes’);

cf. also, from ползунóк ‘toddler’:

В ползунковой группе у нас четыре Наташи. (А. Барто, *Записки детского поэта*, cited in КОТ)

We have four Natashas in the toddlers’ group.

The suffix is also widely used to form adjectives from nouns in a number of other semantic categories:

- synthetic materials: нейлоновый 'nylon' (1950s): полиэтиленовый 'polyethylene' (1960s), кримплёновый 'crimplene' (1970s); cf. also:

И юноши, и девушки предпочитают костюмы из джинсовой ткани . . . (Нед., 1973, cited in KOT)

Young men and girls alike prefer suits made from denim material . . .

- other substances and materials:  
 плексигласовый 'plexiglass' (1950s)  
 силиконовый 'silicon'  
 тефлоновый 'teflon' (1960s); cf. also:

Пенициллиновые капли не помогают ни от насморка, ни от простуды. (ЛГ, №12, 73, cited in Kotelova, 1984b)

Penicillin drops are no good either for a head cold or a chill.

- nouns in -инг (see also Section 3.5.6):

Лизинговая фирма, например, покупает для вас оборудование или сдаёт вам в пользование, оставаясь его владельцем. (Пр., 13.4.90, cited in M)

A leasing firm, for example, buys equipment for you or leases it to you while continuing to own it.

- many relatively recent loans:  
 стрессовый 'stressful', as in стрессовый момент 'moment of stress' (1960s)  
 пинг-пóнгóвый 'ping-pong' (пинг-пóнгóвый мячик 'ping-pong ball'; пинг-пóнгóвая дипломáтия 'ping-pong diplomacy')  
 бигбýтовóй 'big-beat' (бигбýтовóвые рýтмы 'big-beat rhythms')  
 голевóй 'goal' (1970s):

Сколько сил, нервов, энергии тратится на то, чтобы создать у ворот противника голевую ситуацию. (КП, 74, cited in KOT)

How much effort, nerve and energy goes into creating a situation in your opponent's goal mouth.

Most of the adjectives are based on foreign roots, but a number are indigenous. Many are not new, but all appear in combinations representative of their age:

спýтниковая связь 'satellite communication' (1960s)

фирмóвая одéжда 'foreign clothes' (фирмóвый is a jargon word based on фирмá/фýрма, a 1960s slang word denoting high-quality foreign goods) (1970s)

бло́ковое мышле́ние ‘tunnel vision’ (in the Gorbachëv era, of a set of ideas favoured for uncritical, ideological reasons)  
 болева́я то́чка ‘sore point’ (during glasnost, of a problem previously hushed up by the government)  
 силово́е ми́нистры ‘power ministers’ (ministers of the Army, KGB and Ministry of Internal Affairs)  
 ценово́й from це́на ‘price’, usually associated with the market reforms implemented under Egor Gaidar:

Одно дело соглашение республик об отказе наносить друг другу ущерб односторонними действиями, и другое — договориться воссоздать в Москве ядро власти, откуда снова будут делить валюту, определять денежную и *ценовую* политику. (КП, 26.10.91)  
 An agreement by the republics not to damage each other by unilateral actions is one thing, and it is quite another to agree to restore a power centre in Moscow from which currency will again be shared out and monetary and pricing policy determined.

Шо́ковая тера́пия ‘shock therapy’ was used of measures taken to revive the economy in the late 1980s and early 1990s, including price rises and inflation. Рискóвый ‘daring, audacious’ is synonymous with рискóванный in the meaning ‘risky’ (рискóвая/рискóванная рабóта ‘risky work’), but only рискóвый is possible with the names of people – рискóвый о́тец ‘father who takes risks’ – and only рискóванный in the meaning ‘*risqué*’ – рискóванная шу́тка ‘*risqué* joke’, рискóванное пла́тье ‘daring dress’. Factors which explain the popularity of рискóвый include (1) the productivity of the suffix -ов-; and (2) the fashion in modern Russian for shorter words with a colloquial nuance (Kostomarov 1994b: 67–8).

### 3.5.10.2 The suffix -ск-

The suffix -ск- continues to be used to derive adjectives from the names of persons:

спíкерский ‘speaker’s’  
 лесб́ийский ‘Lesbian’ (adjective)  
 тинéйдже́ровский ‘teenager’s’  
 нуворíшский from нуворíш ‘*nouveau riche/nouveaux riches*’  
 горбачёвская перестро́йка ‘Gorbachëv’s perestroika’  
 дíлерское соглаше́ние ‘dealers’ agreement’  
 ба́йкерское движе́ние ‘bikers’ movement’  
 диза́йнерский from диза́йнер ‘designer’  
 ха́керский from ха́кер ‘hacker’.



### 3.5.10.3 *The suffix -н-*

The suffix -н- has fulfilled an equally traditional function in forming relative adjectives:

валютный бар 'hard-currency bar'  
застойные годы 'years of stagnation'

including some with compound suffixes:

таблóiдный формат 'tabloid format'  
мафиóзный 'relating to the mafia';

cf., from конвёрсия 'conversion':

... российская сторона согласилась на инспекцию своих  
конверсионных предприятий (*Изв.*, 12.10.96)

... the Russian side agreed to an inspection of enterprises engaged in  
conversion [from military to civilian production].

### 3.5.10.4 *Secondary adjectives in -н-*

An innovatory feature of modern Russian is the series of secondary adjectives derived from de-adjectival abstract nouns in -ость: вла́жностный 'reflecting the degree of moisture' (вла́жностный "портрёт" полéй 'a moisture "profile" of the fields') from вла́жность 'moisture'. Such adjectives differ in meaning from their primary cognates (cf., for example, вла́жный 'moist'). They are based both on abstract nouns such as

устáлость 'fatigue' (устálostные трéщины 'cracks caused by metal fatigue')  
веро́ятность 'probability' (веро́ятностные категóрии 'probability categories')

and on nouns denoting substances: жéдкость 'liquid' (жéдкостная обрабо́тка 'liquid processing', cf. жéдкое тóпливо 'liquid fuel'), etc. Some forms are non-technical: цéнностный from цéнность 'value', as in цéнностные критéрии 'assessment criteria' (cf. цéнный 'valuable'). There is also potential for the creation of nouns derived from secondary adjectives: ли́чностность 'personal touch' (compare ли́чный 'personal', ли́чность 'personality'). Some of the secondary adjectives are based on nouns in -ота:

частóтный 'frequency' as in частóтный словáрь 'frequency dictionary' (cf. частотá 'frequency')

мерзлѳтнѳй ‘relating to frozen ground’ (cf. мерзлѳтá ‘frozen conditions of ground’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 2: 109–12, Danilenko, cited in Muchnik and Panov 1964: 66–7).

## Notes

- 1 Note that видео- has no full-adjectival counterpart.
- 2 Co-operatives were businesses owned and operated by private entrepreneurs who were resented by the public for their exorbitant prices, for charging for services that had hitherto been free – such as medicine and schooling – creating scarcities in state shops and displaying ostentatious wealth. They were abolished after the miners’ strike of the summer of 1991; see Holmes, 1997: 273.
- 3 At least 14 people were killed in Vilnius on 12–13 January 1991 during clashes between peaceful protesters and Soviet troops, following the Lithuanian declaration of independence in 1990; see Holmes, 1997: 111.

## 4 Grammatical processes

### 4.0 Introduction

Of all linguistic processes, grammatical change proceeds at the slowest pace. However, a momentous social or political event may accelerate change. One such event was the declaration of independence by Ukraine following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. This led to uncertainty and controversy over the preposition – в or на? – to be combined with the word Україна ‘Ukraine’, which alone of all the Soviet Socialist Republics had been used with на (felt by some Ukrainians to be demeaning) throughout the Soviet period (see Section 5.7.2).

Meanwhile, the availability of new information and communicative technology has expanded the use of по + dative case:

— Итоговый список — депутатов, помощников, прессы — мне прислал *по факсу* Селезнёв. (КП, 20–27.2.98)

Seleznev sent me the aggregate list of deputies, assistants and press representatives by fax.

The following is also new: бродить (or полáзить; Skliarevskaia, 1998: 273) по Интернету ‘to surf the Internet’ (МК, 29.9.97) – but в Интернетe/в Internet ‘on the Internet’ (note the use of Roman script in the Russian text):

Налоговый кодекс будут обсуждать *в Интернете*. (Изв., 28.5.97)

The tax code will be discussed on the Internet.

This use of в is possibly by analogy with *В сети Интернет*:

В сети Интернет происходит оживлённый обмен мнениями. (МН, 31.5–7.6.98)

A lively exchange of opinions is occurring on the Internet.

The burgeoning of TV companies in Russia has led to an increase in the use of на телевидении as a synonym of по телевидению ‘on TV’. Earlier, на телевидении denoted (and still denotes) a professional milieu, while по

телевидению/телевизору 'on TV' referred to TV exclusively as a medium; compare the next two examples:

Но я много лет работаю на *Российском телевидении*. (КП, 28.11–5.12 97)

But I have worked for many years on Russian television.

Я видел *по телевидению*, как чеченский дэгэбэшник [ДГБ — Департамент государственной безопасности Ичкерии 'Department of State Security of Ichkeriia'] показывал братскую могилу. (КП, 25.7–1.8.97)

I saw on television a Chechen DGB man displaying a fraternal grave.

The following also occur: по ТВ 'on TV', по РТР 'on RTR', по кабельному телевидению 'on cable TV', etc.; and, with на:

Большое внимание уделяется рекламному обеспечению кампании на ТВ и её финансированию. (ИЗВ., 30.8.96)

Much attention is paid to advertising the campaign on TV and financing it.

Also:

на нашем ТВ 'on our TV'

на REN-TV и НТВ 'on REN-TV and NTV'

на Российском телевидении 'on Russian TV'

на ОРТ 'on ORT'

на Питерском телевидении/ТВ 'on St Petersburg TV'

на орловском коммерческом телевидении 'on Orël commercial TV'

на мексиканском телевидении 'on Mexican TV'.

По and especially на are also used with канал 'channel':

на канале "Мир кино" 'on the channel "The World of Cinema"'

на телеканале ТВ-6 (or на ТВ-6) 'on channel TV-6', etc.

Other factors also affect prepositional usage. Thus, Shaposhnikov (1998: 78, 81–2) comments on the predilection shown for the preposition по + dative, especially in ruling circles and their representatives' oral statements:

дйлер по мягким валютам 'dealer in soft currencies'

переговóры по кашмйрской проблемé 'talks on the Kashmir problem', etc.

(see also Section 6.3.1), as well as a tendency to use constructions with вокруг which began in the 1970s and now characterises almost all styles –



ситуация *вокруг* Руцкого ‘the situation surrounding Rutskoi’ – as well as constructions with *относительно* (instead of *о* + prepositional case):

Информируют относительно введения . . . заграничных паспортов нового образца. (*Ивановская газета*, 15.7.95)

There is news of the introduction . . . of new-style foreign passports.

Kostomarov (1997: 248) records a new (or newly activated) function for the preposition *от* in indicating the source of advertised goods:

мода от Кардена ‘fashions from Cardin’

ручки от Parker ‘pens from Parker’.

Even during a period of major social upheaval such as the decade and half after 1985, however, the basic grammatical structure of the language has remained fundamentally unimpaired. Nevertheless, there have been developments in grammatical usage and a number of them are dealt with here. This chapter comprises three sections. Section 4.1 reviews elements of analyticity in modern Russian, and some issues involving gender and number; Section 4.2 describes replacement or alternative forms; and Section 4.3 considers changes in the use of the plural number.

## 4.1 Analyticity

The term ‘analytical languages’ is usually applied to Indo-European languages that have lost their case system. Russian is highly inflected, containing only isolated analytical elements. However, in discussing the inter-play between social factors and grammatical trends in the development of modern Russian, Panov (1968, Vol. 3: 11) wrote: ‘One of the most definite [trends] is the urge towards analyticity.’ Thirty years later, Graudina (1998: 45) notes an increased tendency towards indeclinability in the media, especially in advertisements:

С *Москва-тур* на Красное море! ‘With Moscow-Tours to the Red Sea’  
По заказу *ТВ-Центр* ‘Ordered by TV-Centre’.

### 4.1.1 Analyticity in nouns

#### 4.1.1.1 Indeclinable loans

Since loan-words in -ао, -е, -и, -о, -оа, -у, -уа, -ю (as well as some feminines ending in a consonant: мадам ‘madam’, мисс ‘miss’) do not decline, their relations with other words are expressed syntactically:

он располагáет *неопрóвержимым* áлиби 'he has a water-tight alibi'  
 он обратíлся к *извéстному* импрессáрию 'he appealed to a well-known  
 impresario', etc. (Shvedova, 1990: 179, 221).

Often, gender, case and number of an indeclinable noun are indicated by an attributive adjective:

... судья Гамеев не назначил *очевидный* пенальти в ворота  
 "Спартак" ... (КП, 12.5.96)  
 ... referee Gameev did not award an obvious penalty against 'Spartak' ...

Compare:

доноси́лись звúки *старíнных* тáнго 'the sounds of ancient tangos carried'  
*Лóндонская* Грóвенор-сквéр 'London's Grosvenor Square' (сквер, a homo-  
 num of masculine сквер 'small public garden', is feminine here by analogy  
 with плóщадь 'square').

Elsewhere, meaning is implied by context, for example, the instrumental singular status of *фиáско* in:

Первое её возвращение на лёд 15 марта обернулось *фиаско*. (КП,  
 18–25.7.97)  
 Her first return to the ice on 15 March ended in fiasco.

Of new undeclined nouns, *мафиóзи* 'mafioso' (also *мафиóзо*) is among the most significant:

Пресс-атташе префектуры назвал этот беспрецедентный шаг  
 "актом доброй воли" со стороны патриотично настроенных  
*мафиози*. (АиФ, №6, 98)  
 The press attaché at the prefecture called this unprecedented step an 'act  
 of goodwill' on the part of the patriotically inclined mafiosi.

Plural-only *папара́цци* 'paparazzi' is also indeclinable:

... под вспышками готовых на всё *папарацци*. (АиФ, №20, 98)  
 ... under the flash-bulbs of the paparazzi, who are ready for any  
 contingency.

Shaposhnikov (1998: 64–5) records a hesitancy in the gender of some indeclinable loans. Thus, *Баýнти* 'Bounty' (chocolate bar) and *нóу-хáу* 'know-how' are neuter, though not consistently. Of the animate loans recorded in Skliarevskaja (1998), *прóфи* 'pro', *крупье́* 'croupier', *кутюрье́* 'couturier' and *яппи* 'yuppie' are masculine, and *хиппи* 'hippy' is masculine

or feminine. Фло́ппи ‘floppy disk’ is masculine, пéпси (shortened from пéпси-ко́ла) feminine, ка́зино ‘casino’ and прáйвеси ‘privacy’ neuter; makes of car are either masculine (Поршé ‘Porsche’) or feminine (Ренó ‘Renault’, Ауди ‘Audi’, Вóльво ‘Volvo’), perhaps by analogy, respectively, with автомоби́ль or маши́на ‘car’<sup>1</sup>.

Мисс ‘miss’ retains its indeclinability in the new meaning ‘beauty queen’:

... одно из призовых мест “Мисс Южной Африке” точно обеспечено. (КП, 28.11–5.12.97)

... ‘Miss South Africa’ is definitely guaranteed a medal position.

Гёрл-фрэнд ‘girl friend’ and the occasionalism ко́лл-гёрл ‘call-girl’ do not decline either, perhaps by analogy with мада́м and мисс:

... выяснилось, что он пользуется услугами вашингтонской ко́лл-гёрл — девушки, которую заказывают по телефону ... (АиФ, №6, 98)

... it turned out that he was using the services of a Washington call-girl, a girl that you order over the phone ...

Мис́тер ‘mister’, otherwise declinable, appears to be moving towards indeclinability in its new meaning, certainly in the instrumental case:

В 1965 году он стал “мис́тер Европа” ... (КП, 27.9–4 1996)

In 1965 he became ‘Mister Europe’ ...

#### 4.1.1.2 Letter abbreviations

##### LETTER ABBREVIATIONS ENDING IN A VOWEL

This type of letter abbreviation does not decline:

При ИСАА [Институте стран Азии и Африки] организован институт практического востоковедения. (КП, 11–18.7.97)

An institute of practical Eastern studies has been attached to the Institute of the Countries of Asia and Africa.

Gender and number are usually determined by the central noun. Nouns may be:

- masculine:
  - роно́ ‘local education authority’ (райо́нный *отдел* наро́дного образова́ния)
  - НЛО (неопо́званный лета́ющий *объект*) ‘UFO’;

- feminine:  
ГНИ (Госуда́рственная нало́говая инспе́кция) ‘State Tax Inspectorate’  
ЮВА́ (Ю́го-Восто́чная А́зия ‘South-East Asia’);
- neuter:  
ТЯ́О (такти́ческое я́дерное ору́жие) ‘tactical nuclear weapon’  
НА́ТО ‘NATO’ (a loan abbreviation comprising cyrillicised Roman initials, assigned neuter gender in Alekseev *et al.*, 1977, but *feminine* in *Изв.*, 23.5.97 (by analogy with организа́ция ‘organisation’):  
... НАТО *обязалась* без согласия России ничего не предпринимать.  
... NATO has undertaken to take no steps without the agreement of Russia; or
- plural: СМИ ‘mass media’ (*срédства* ма́ссовой информа́ции).

## LETTER ABBREVIATIONS ENDING IN A CONSONANT

Letter abbreviations ending in a consonant in which the central noun is feminine do not decline:

ГЭС (гидроэлектри́ческая ста́нция) ‘hydro-electric power station’ (which, however, *could* decline in the 1920s; see Shmelëv and Glovinskaia, 1996: 111)

РАН (Росси́йская акаде́мия нау́к) ‘Russian Academy of Sciences’:  
рабо́тники *РАН* ‘employees of the Russian Academy of Sciences’.

Abbreviations consisting exclusively of consonants do not decline either, irrespective of gender:

экипа́ж БТР (бронетранспорти́ра) ‘crew of an armoured personnel carrier’  
опла́та в СКВ (свободо́но конверти́руемой валюте) ‘payment in convertible currency’  
переда́чи ТСН (телевизио́нной слúжбы новостéй) ‘Television News Service broadcasts’:

Количество купленных ПК [персональных компьютеров] превысит число купленных телевизоров. (Skliarevskaja, 1998: 465)

The number of personal computers purchased will exceed the number of television sets purchased.

Some masculine and neuter letter abbreviations ending in a consonant do not decline in *official* styles; thus, МИД ‘Ministry of Foreign Affairs’ (Министе́рство иностра́нных дел), masculine despite neuter central noun, is undeclined in strict official styles but may decline in colloquial registers.



There is still variation in the press between declension and non-declension, as the next two examples show:

Арестованный в апреле английский “крот” Платон Обуков работал в *МИДе*. (*МК*, 11.9.96)

The English ‘mole’ Platon Obukov, who was arrested in April, worked for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Были случаи, когда точки зрения *МИД* и Министерства обороны не совпадали. (*Изв.*, 23.5.97)

There have been cases when the points of view of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Ministry of Defence did not coincide.

The process of drawing into the declension system abbreviations ending in a consonant and with the phonetic appearance of a masculine noun began in the 1920s, and has not yet been completed (Graudina, 1980: 162). Thus, ЖЭК ‘housing office’ (жилищно-эксплуатационная контора) is undeclined in official contexts, especially when combined with a numeral (решения ЖЭК-20 ‘decisions of housing office No. 20’), but declines as a masculine noun in colloquial speech: инженеры *жэков* района ‘engineers of the region’s housing offices’. МИГ ‘Mig fighter’ may decline – реактивные *МИГи* ‘jet-propelled MIGs’ – though not usually when a code number is appended: советские *МИГ-9* ‘Soviet MIG-9s’.

In the press, many letter abbreviations ending in a consonant decline, especially those with a masculine central noun:

... И всё-таки *МОКу* [*МОК* — Международный Олимпийский комитет ‘International Olympic Committee’] требуется свежая кровь. (*КП*, 1–8.8.97)

... And yet the International Olympic Committee needs new blood.

Теперь в *ЦУПе* [*ЦУП* — центр управления полётом] ломают головы, как неисправности починить. (*КП*, 27.6.97)

Now at Flight Control they are racking their brains over how to repair the faults [in the ‘Mir’ space station].

However, non-declension may be a sign of a relatively new form; thus, МРОТ ‘minimal wage’ (Минимальный размер оплаты труда) is indeclinable (Skliarevskaja, 1998: 390, 402); cf. also:

Методы генной инженерии позволяют ввести в организм такие устойчивые к воздействию *ВИЧ* [*ВИЧ* — вирус иммунодефицита человека] клетки. (*з*, 28.10.97)

The methodology of genetic engineering allows such HIV-resistant cells to be introduced into the organism.

Compare also (in Sergeev, 1990a: 154–5) the declension and non-declension of СПИД in the following two examples:

... заразиться СПИДом в парикмахерском кресле. (ЛГ, 22.3.89)  
 ... to contract AIDs in the barber's chair.

В австрийской столице завершился первый международный конгресс неправительственных организаций, изучающих проблемы СПИД и методы противодействия этому заболеванию. (Тр., 5.3.89)  
 The first international congress of non-governmental organisations studying problems of AIDs and methods of countering the ailment has concluded in the Austrian capital.

#### 4.1.1.3 First names and surnames

##### MALE AND FEMALE FIRST NAMES AND SURNAMES

Male and female first names and surnames, mainly foreign, ending in -o, -e, -и, -ы, -у, -ю, stressed -а/-я or -а preceded by a vowel do not decline:

пъёсы Жана Кокто́ ‘the plays of Jean Cocteau’  
 “Рѣмские расказы” Альберто Моравѣа “‘The Roman Tales’ of Alberto Moravia’  
 романы Алекса́ндра Дюма́ ‘the novels of Alexandre Dumas’.

Foreign names in unstressed -а may decline: бесе́да с А. Ва́йдой ‘a conversation with A. Wajda’ (Shvedova *et al.*, 1982, Vol. 1: 506), but cf. non-declension of the surname in:

Последний [фильм] ..., с Кеннетом Бранна, изображающим учёного Франкенштейна ... (КП, 5–12. 9. 97)  
 The latest [film] with Kenneth Branagh playing Dr Frankenstein.

##### RUSSIAN, UKRAINIAN AND BELORUSSIAN SURNAMES

Russian, Ukrainian and Belorussian surnames in -ко (e.g. киносту́дия ймени А.П. Довже́нко ‘the A.P. Dovzhenko film studio’) and surnames in -ых/-их (карти́ны М.М. Черемны́х ‘M.M. Cheremnykh’s paintings’), which have the form of petrified genitive plurals, do not normally decline; those in -ых/-их *may* decline in colloquial styles, but only of males: с Черемныхо́м ‘with Cheremnykh’ (Shvedova, 1990: 179). Names in -ово (Дурново́ ‘Durnovo’) and -аго (Жива́го ‘Zhivago’), both seemingly deriving from the

genitive singular, are also indeclinable. Names in -(ен)ко tend to remain undeclined:

Стоит отметить, что и для Лукашенко действия Шеремета были только поводом. (*Итоги*, 28.10.97)

It is worth noting that for Lukashenko too Sheremet's actions were only a pretext.

However, they may decline in colloquial registers and in literary styles: У Петра *Василénки/Василénка* 'at Pëtr Vasilenko's place'. Graudina, Itskovich and Katlinskaia's recommendations (1976: 152) are: (1) non-declension is preferable in official styles; (2) either declension or non-declension is acceptable in literature and standard colloquial styles; (3) only *feminine* declension is acceptable, not neuter (i.e. genitive *Василénки* rather than *Василénка*).

#### WOMEN'S FIRST NAMES AND SURNAMES

Women's first- and surnames ending in a consonant do not decline: пёсни Э́дита́ Пиа́ф *'Edith Piaff's songs'*.

#### HOMOGRAPHS OF COMMON NOUNS

Surnames which are homographs of common nouns (Жук 'Zhuk', Дрозд 'Drozd') may remain uninflected (possibly to distinguish them from common nouns such as жук 'beetle' and дрозд 'thrush'), but are more likely to decline: под руковóдством трéнера С. Жукá (Жук) 'under the guidance of coach S. Zhuk'.

#### 4.1.1.4 Geographical names

##### FOREIGN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES ENDING IN A VOWEL

Foreign geographical names ending in a vowel do not decline – Миссýри 'Missouri', Онтáрио 'Ontario', etc. – except for those ending in -ы (фестивáль в Кáннах 'festival in Cannes'), and for names in -а if well known or in the former Soviet Union: в Женéве 'in Geneva', в Алмá-Атé 'in Alma-Ata' (Shvedova *et al.*, 1982, Vol. 1: 506). Japanese place-names in -а do not decline consistently; thus, little-known Japanese place-names such as Камáкура 'Kamakura' do not decline, but Óсака 'Osaka' sometimes declines:

Мастера советского балета выступят также в Осаке. . . (*Тр.*, 29.7. 82, cited in Barandeev, 1989: 75)

The virtuosos of the Soviet ballet will also perform in Osaka . . .

However, Хиросі́ма ‘Hiroshima’ always declines: трагеді́я Хиросі́мы ‘the tragedy of Hiroshima’ (Shvedova and Lopatin, 1990: 181). Monosyllabic toponyms in -а do not decline (Спа ‘Spa’), nor do place names ending in vowel + а:

Само́а ‘Samoa’

Бразі́ліа ‘Brasilia’

Никара́гуа ‘Nicaragua’ (Barandeev 1989: 78).

#### PLACE NAMES IN -ОВО/-ЕВО/-ИНО/-ЫНО

Place names in -ОВО/-ЕВО/-ИНО/-ЫНО have traditionally been declined in popular speech and in literature:

... я узнал, что Бунин бывал в *Кропотове* ... (К. Paustovskii, cited in Rakhmanova and Suzdal'tseva, 1997: 335)

... I learnt that Bunin had frequented Kropotovo ...

They first appeared in undeclined form in the language of geographers, topographers and military personnel, where declension might mask the identity of a place. It is only in the Soviet period that non-declension became a realistic option, with each succeeding generation less likely to decline such names (Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 56–61). The trend not to decline was continued in official military communiqués during the Great Patriotic War (1941–5), but in relation to *all* place names where ambiguity might occur (see Panov 1968, Vol. 3: 57; Wade 1992: 78 [2]): овладеть *Пóтсдам* и юго-западной частью *Берлі́н* ‘to seize Potsdam and the SW portion of Berlin’, from a report of 1945. In the late 1990s, undeclined forms of place-names in -ОВО/-ЕВО/-ИНО/-ЫНО appear in professional and colloquial registers and in the press:

телеба́шня в *Оста́нкино* ‘the television tower in Ostankino’

мы отды́хали в *Абра́мцево* ‘we holidayed in Abramtsevo’.

The older generation and professional philologists are more likely, the younger generation less likely, to decline these names, non-declension being supported by non-declension of foreign names in -о (Толéдо ‘Toledo’, etc.) (Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 139). Sometimes undeclined and declined forms appear in different issues of the same newspaper; cf.:

В 1982 году я встречал в *Шереметьево-2* сборную команду Советского Союза по волейболу ... (КП, 5.6.90)

In 1982 I met the Soviet volleyball team at Sheremet'evo-2 ...

За границу улета́ли не из *Шереметьева-2*. (КП, 12.6.90)

They were not flying out from Sheremet'evo-2.



Declension is not recommended:

- 1 where the name is in apposition to a generic term: к деревне *Бёлкино* 'towards the village of Belkino';
- 2 where the place name is based on a proper name: из *Лёрмонтово* 'from Lermontovo';
- 3 in spoken and professional registers: от *Порóнино* 'from Poronino';
- 4 where there might be confusion with another place name, cf. в городе *Пушкино* 'in the town of Pushkino', but в городе *Пушкине* 'in the town of Pushkin'.

Shvedova *et al.*, 1982, Vol. 1: 507 acknowledge a trend towards non-declension in colloquial, professional and journalistic registers, and Il'ina (in Zemskaja, 1996b: 332–3) reinforces this with extensive quotations over the period 1991–4:

Дмитрий Холодов будет похоронен в *Кунцево*. (headline in *Изв.*, №203, 94)

Dmitrii Kholodov will be buried in Kuntsevo.

Сегодня утром во *Внуково* была совершена попытка угона самолёта. (an example from television 1994)

An attempt was made this morning to hijack an aircraft at Vnukovo.

Il'ina concludes that non-declension is gradually attaining dominance in the mass media. Nevertheless, a perusal of the press and popular fiction shows that while non-declension remains the norm when place names in -ово/-ево/-ино/-ыно are in apposition (first example), declension remains a firm option for free-standing place names (second example):

— Происходило это в городе *Сталино* — нынешнем *Донецке*, в 1944 году. (*Тр.*-7, 18–24.10.96)

'This was happening in the town of Stalino – now Donetsk, in 1944'.

... практически все магазины построены на городских окраинах (в *Митине*, *Бутове*, *Новопеределкине*, *Новокосине*). (*Итоги*, 28.10.97)

... practically all the shops have been built on the outskirts of the city (in Mitino, Butovo, Novoperedelkino, Novokosino).

#### 4.1.1.5 Zero genitive plural

The zero genitive plural in certain categories of noun (measurements, nationalities, fruits, vegetables) has been a growth point in modern Russian. Most nouns in these categories tend to appear mainly in the plural, with the singular being the marked form. Zero genitive plurals appear in the main after

numerals or quantitative adverbs and pronouns, but sometimes also in other contexts:

показáния ампéр ‘ampere readings’

компóт из апельсýн ‘orange compote’ (Graudina, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 194); cf.:

Она коротко стриглась, читала прозу Цветаевой и недолюбливала грузин. (Dovlatov, 1996b: 98)

She had her hair cut short, read Tsvetaeva’s prose and disliked Georgians.

#### ELECTRICAL AND OTHER UNITS OF MEASUREMENT

The first electric units of measurement (вольт ‘volt’, ампéр ‘ampere’, кулóн ‘coulomb’) had been adopted at an international conference held in Paris in 1881; ватт ‘watt’ was introduced in 1889, and мáксвелл ‘maxwell’, гáусс ‘gauss’, эрстéд ‘oersted’ much later, in 1930. In Russia the new terms had been officially confirmed between 1909–13, though they had been used in the journal *Электрýчество* ‘Electricity’ since the 1880s; in this journal they were used with genitive plurals in -ов (e.g. 200 вóльтов ‘200 volts’). By the 1920s, however, within one generation of physicists, the zero genitive plural had replaced the genitive plural in -ов (Graudina, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 211–12). In the 1880s zero forms had constituted no more than 8.7% of genitive plurals recorded, but by the first decade of the twentieth century this had risen to 99.8%.

The commonest unit, вольт ‘volt’, made the swiftest transition to a zero genitive plural. Less-used units such as кулóн ‘coulomb’ and гáусс ‘gauss’ retained genitive plural -ов longer, and ом ‘ohm’ retained it longest, perhaps because a disyllable was more euphonious than a monosyllable. The zero variants first appeared more frequently in notices, advertisements and reports of meetings, making it appear likely that they came into written Russian via oral registers (Graudina, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 217–9).

The zero ending is now invariably used with numerals; the following examples are from Rakhmanova and Suzdal’tseva, 1997: 326):

... естественный радиационный фон составляет обычно 15–20 микроpентген в час ... (КП, 12.5.90)

.. the natural radiation background usually constitutes 15–20 micro-Röntgens per hour ...

... добыча алмазов должна была превысить в 1965 г. 500 тысяч карат (За руб., 21.1.66)

... the mining of diamonds should have exceeded 500,000 carats in 1965.

## UNITS OF MEASUREMENT THAT TAKE A ZERO GENITIVE PLURAL

In non-numerical contexts -ов is now the norm: введение амперов 'the introduction of amperes'. The following take a zero suffix in the genitive plural in numerical contexts (including compounds in гекто- 'hecto-', микро- 'micro-', милли- 'milli-', мего-/мега- 'mega-', кило- 'kilo-'):

ампéр 'ampere'	гран 'grain'
бит 'bit'	децибéл 'decibel'
бар 'bar'	кара́т 'carat'
ватт 'watt'	микрóн 'micron'
вольт 'volt'	ньютóн 'newton'
га́усс 'gauss'	ом 'ohm',
герц 'hertz'	рентгéн 'Röntgen'
грамм 'gramme'	эрг 'erg'.

Zero genitive plural only (with no variant in -ов) is recommended for comparatively new units of measurement such as бит 'bit', микрóн 'micron' and рентгéн 'Röntgen', децибéл 'decibel', since the zero variant was well established by the 1920s (Graudina 1980: 140); cf.:

... 16 Мбайт памяти, CD-ROM, 810 Мбайтный жёсткий диск ...  
(*Иед*, №38, 96)  
... 16 megabytes of memory, CD-ROM, 810 megabyte hard disk ...

## ГРАММ AND КИЛОГРАММ

Грамм 'gramme' and килогра́мм 'kilogramme' occupy a special place in the series, appearing with genitive plural ending -ов in written Russian:

В знаменитой франкфуртской церкви Св. Павла ... сорвался колокол весом 1810 килограммов. (*Изв.*, 23.5.97)  
A bell weighing 1,810 kilograms ... fell from the belfry of the famous Frankfurt Paulskirche.

This is not, however, always the case in less-strictly edited contexts – such as verse, notices, labels, menus, etc. – where the zero variants грамм and килогра́мм are used; this is the form that dominates colloquial language.

## NATIONALITIES

The genitive plural of nouns denoting membership of certain nationalities has not yet stabilised. Ozhegov and Shvedova (1997) assign zero genitive plural to:

грузи́н 'Georgian'  
 буря́т 'Buryat'  
 башки́р 'Bashkir'  
 мордв́ин 'Mordvinian'  
 осети́н 'Osetin'

румы́н 'Romanian'  
 туркме́н 'Turkmenian'  
 цыга́н 'gipsy'  
 ма́дьяр 'Magyar'

(i.e., genitive plural грузи́н, буря́т, etc.), and -ов to

калмы́к 'Kalmuck'  
 кирѓиз 'Kirghizian'  
 монго́л 'Mongolian'  
 тадж́ик 'Tadzhik'

узбе́к 'Uzbek'  
 хорва́т 'Croat'  
 каре́л 'Karelian'

(i.e., genitive plural калмы́ков, кирѓизов, etc.). (See also Shvedova, 1990: 174; Shmelëv and Glovinskaja, 1996: 140; Rakhmanova and Suzdal'tseva, 1997: 325–6.)

#### OTHER CATEGORIES

Other masculine nouns that take a zero genitive plural are sub-categorised as follows:

- foot- and leg-wear:  
 боти́нки – genitive plural боти́нок 'shoes', etc.; cf.:  
 ... на ногах вместо бывших баскетбольных кед чудовищные опорки. (Kunin 1994: 248)  
 ... enormous down-at-heel shoes on his feet instead of the former basketball trainers.
- names of military personnel:  
 партиза́н 'partisan'  
 солда́т 'soldier', etc.
- the names of certain fruits and vegetables, in unofficial and colloquial registers:  
 абрикóс 'apricot'  
 апельси́н 'orange', etc.

See Panov, 1968, Vol. 1: 81–3.

### 4.1.2 Indeclinable adjectives and other attributive forms

#### 4.1.2.1 Adjectives of the type бе́же 'beige'

Indeclinable adjectives of this type are mostly of foreign origin and describe style or colour, as well as some other features:



ампір 'Empire style'

апáш 'apache'

апликé 'appliqué'

барóкко 'baroque'

беж 'beige'

бемóль 'flat'

бордó 'dark red'

брýтто 'gross'

джерсі 'jersey'

какáо 'cocoa'

клёш 'flared'

марéнго 'black flecked with grey'

рококо́ 'rococo'

мóкко 'mocha'

люкс 'de luxe'

ма́кси 'maxi'

мíди 'midi'

мíни 'mini'

модéрн 'modern(ist)'

нётто 'net'

пик 'peak'

плиссé 'pleated'

реглáн 'raglan'

рётро 'retro'

sóло 'solo'

суахíли 'Swahili'

фри 'fried'

ха́ки 'khaki'

хíнди 'Hindi'

цунáми 'tsunami'

экстра 'extra'

электрíк 'electric blue'

эсперáнто 'Esperanto'

etc. (Shvedova, 1990: 221, 239).

Many are postpositive:

рубáшка апáш 'apache shirt'

вышивкa апликé  
embroidery'

вес брýтто 'gross weight'

юбка мíни 'mini-skirt' (also  
мíни-юбка)

стиль модéрн 'modernist style'

рукава́ реглáн 'raglan sleeves',  
картофель фри 'French fries'

часы́ пик 'rush hour'

словáрь эсперáнто 'Esperanto  
dictionary';some prepositive: ко́ми литератýра 'Komi literature', урдý язы́к 'Urdu';  
and others hyphenated:

брю́ки-клёш 'bell-bottomed trousers'

гала́-конце́рт 'gala concert'

какáо-порошо́к 'cocoa powder'.

All function only as attributives – пальто́ марéнго 'black coat flecked with grey', в костю́ме ха́ки 'in a khaki suit' – and a few have synonymous full adjectival synonyms: беж and colloquial бежевы́й 'beige', бордó and demotic бордо́вый 'dark red', гротéск/гротéскный 'grotesque'. Some indeclinable adjectives reflect specialist terminology. Thus, specialist пальто́ деми(сезо́н) 'light overcoat for spring and autumn wear' and neutral демисезо́нное пальто́, бельё́ трико́ 'stockinet underwear' and трикота́жное бельё́, рубáшка пикé 'piqué shirt' and пикéйная рубáшка. Some double as indeclinable nouns:

костю́м из дже́рси ‘Jersey suit’

мо́да на ма́кси ‘fashion for maxi clothes’

говори́ть на ко́ми ‘to speak Komi’ (Shvedova, 1990: 239, Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 107–8).

The tendency to prefer an ‘adjectivalised word’ to a standard adjective may be explained by the difficulty of forming adjectives from certain nouns – for example, урду́ ‘Urdu’ and хинди́ ‘Hindi’ – and by a trend towards linguistic economy. The status of the adjectives is illustrated by their pairing with standard adjectives: ма́те́рия кра́сная и элеќтрик ‘red and electric blue material’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 107). Some have expanded their spheres of usage; for example:

дни пик ‘peak days’

сезо́н пик ‘peak season’ (based on *часы́ пик* ‘rush hour’);

магази́н-моде́рн ‘up-to-date shop’

моде́рн-ба́лёт ‘modern ballet’

моде́рн-музе́й ‘modern museum’ (based on *стиль моде́рн* ‘modernist style’);

экспре́сс инфо́рмация ‘express information’

экспре́сс ана́лиз ‘express analysis’

экпре́сс-лабора́тория ‘express laboratory’ (Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 109–10).

#### 4.1.2.2 Grammatical autonomy of adjectives of the type: авиа-

See also Section 3.1.1.

‘Analytical’ adjectives of this type (compounds in пром- ‘industrial’, etc.) preserve their autonomy to the extent that they can be detached from the noun they qualify (e.g. ча́сти ‘units’ as in мото́части ‘motorised units’) and combine with particles: Где сто́яли мото-то́ эти ча́сти? ‘Now where were those motorised units stationed?’. Additionally:

- they retain independent stress, with *o* not reduced in профе́собра́ние ‘TU meeting’ ([prof], not [prəf]);
- в remains unvoiced (as at the end of a word) in гла́врыба́ ‘main fisheries administration board’ ([glaf] not [glav]); and
- ф and т remain unvoiced before voiced б and д in профе́биле́т ‘trade-union card’ ([prof], not [prov]) and пар́тдисци́пли́на ‘party discipline’ ([part], not [pard]).

Unlike compound nouns, which have only one stress (бе́нзово́з ‘petrol carrier’), nouns containing analytical adjectives take a secondary stress on the adjective (бе́нзоба́к ‘petrol tank’), a characteristic of independent words. (See Panov 1968, Vol. 3: 119–20, 122–3.)

4.1.2.3 *Postpositive indeclinable attributes*

A productive construction in modern Russian involves postpositive indeclinable attributive nouns denoting points on a route or participants in a process:

ракéта “Земля-Земля” ‘ground-to-ground missile’

диалóг “Бонн-Вашингтóн” ‘Bonn-Washington dialogue’ (Shvedova *et al.*, 1982, Vol. 2: 59).

The construction originated in the need in pre-Revolutionary Russia to designate sectors of railway line – Уч. [участок] Знáменка — Елисаветгráд ‘Znamenka–Elisavetgrad sector’ (1907; Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 259) – compared with the previously more explicit: прямóе сообщéние Варшáвы с Москвóй ‘direct communication between Warsaw and Moscow’. At the same time, more dependent words were being drawn into the construction:

с маршрутом — С. Петербург — Вологда — Вятка — Томск — Барнаул (1914)

with the itinerary St Petersburg – Vologda – Viatka – Tomsk – Barnaul.

The construction was also found in chess circles at the end of the nineteenth century – Пáртия 2-ая: . . . Стéйниц — Чигóрин ‘Second game: Steinitz–Chigorin’ (1892) – though constructions involving a preposition were commoner: матч . . . между М. Чигóриным и В. Стéйницем ‘a match between M. Chigorin and V. Steinitz’.

The range of the construction was further extended after the October Revolution – пóезд Батúми — Москвá ‘the Batumi–Moscow train’ – broadening to include other means of communication – телефон Нíжний — Вáтка ‘the Nizhnii–Viatka telephone line’ – as well as political contexts: ось “Берлín—Мадри́д” ‘“the Berlin–Madrid” axis’. Since then an increasing number of attributives have been drawn in, especially the names of people, teams, towns and countries:

отношéния “учíтель — учeníк” ‘teacher–pupil relations’

космíческая телепереда́ча Владивостóк — Москвá ‘Vladivostok–Moscow satellite TV transmission’

росси́йские па́ры Гришúк — Пла́тов и Крылóва — Овся́нников ‘the Russian pairs Grishuk and Platov, and Krylova and Ovsiannikov’; cf.:

Арон . . . помчал по городу так, будто хотел выиграть первый приз всемирного ралли “Пари́ж — Дакар”. (Kunin, 1994: 36)

Aron . . . tore off through the town as if he intended to win first prize in the international ‘Paris–Dakar’ rally.

A further development denotes relations between objects – аппара́т “иску́сственное се́рдце — лёгкие” ‘an artifical heart–lungs machine’ – and

the construction achieves complete autonomy when the attributive functions as subject, without dependent nouns: Впередí [пáра] Белоúсова—Протопо́нов 'Belousova and Protopopov are ahead'.

### 4.1.3 Bi-aspectual verbs

Bi-aspectual verbs (verbs whose imperfective and perfective aspects are represented by one verb form) include (1) a small group of about 50 verbs of Russian/Church Slavonic origin, e.g.:

велéть 'to order'	казнítь 'to execute';
венча́ть 'to crown, marry'	

and (2) several hundred verbs with the suffixes -ирова(ть), -изирова(ть) and a number in -ова(ть):

трансли́ровать 'to relay'	иссле́довать 'to investigate', etc.;
активизи́ровать 'to activate'	

as well as verbs in -фици́ровать:

радиофици́ровать 'to supply with radio communication'.

The earliest of the verbs of type 2 date back to the nineteenth century. Before the Revolution they were few in number and specialist in meaning:

телеграфи́ровать 'to telegraph'	гаранти́ровать 'to guarantee', etc.,
атакова́ть 'to attack'	

However, an explosion of forms occurred subsequently:

национализи́ровать 'to nationalise'  
экспроприи́ровать 'to expropriate'  
индустриализи́ровать 'to industrialise'  
революционизи́ровать 'to revolutionise'  
демократизи́ровать 'to democratise'  
коллективизи́ровать 'to collectivise', and so on.

A few had native roots:

советизи́ровать 'to Sovietise'	военизи́ровать 'to militarise',
большевизи́ровать 'to bolshevisе'	

which was a factor that confirms the growth in productivity of this type of verb formation. Forms in -фици́ровать, denoting the supply of various services, were particularly productive:



электрифици́ровать 'to supply with electricity'

газифици́ровать 'to supply with gas'

кинофици́ровать 'to supply with cinema'.

The interpretation of these verbs depends on context. Compare the next two examples:

Комиссия *неоднократно обследовала* [imperfective] этот объект и предупреждала о возможности неполадок.

The commission investigated this site repeatedly and warned of the possibility of defects.

Комиссия *обследовала* [perfective] этот объект и предупредила о возможности неполадок.

The commission has investigated this site and has warned of the possibility of defects.

Compare also the next two examples:

В течение первого периода ему *неоднократно приходилось парировать* [imperfective] опасные броски.

During the first period he had repeatedly to parry some dangerous shots.

На последней минуте сильный удар Иванова *парировал* [perfective] вратарь.

In the final minute the goal-keeper parried a hard shot from Ivanov. (Shvedova and Lopatin, 1990: 268).

A need for greater precision has led to the creation of prefixed perfectives for a number of bi-aspectuals:

*проигнорированы* факты 'the facts have been ignored' (*Пр*, 26.3.87)

*профинансировать* изготовление для каждого депутата нагрудного знака 'to finance the manufacture of a lapel badge for each deputy' (*Веч. М.*, 24.2.95);

cf. the following participial usage, even though bi-aspectuals should be capable of expressing both imperfective *and* perfective meanings:

... в случае страшной эпидемии заказ на вакцину будет *профинансирован*. (*КП*, 28.11–5.12.97)

... in the case of a terrible epidemic the order for vaccine will be financed.

The following prefixes are particularly common in creating new perfectives from loan verbs in -ировать:

- с-:      скоординировать 'to co-ordinate'  
         спакетировать 'to package'  
         спрогнозировать 'to forecast';
- от-:    отпарировать 'to parry'  
         отреставрировать 'to restore'  
         отрекламировать 'to advertise';
- про-:   протестировать 'to test'  
         пробойкотировать 'to boycott'  
         пролоббировать 'to lobby':

Эти ассигнования . . . были *пролоббированы* заранее. (*Изв.*, 1994, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 96)

These allocations . . . were lobbied for in advance.

Some of the perfectives have been in existence for several decades:

застенографировать 'to take down in shorthand'  
сконструировать 'to design'  
проинформировать 'to brief'  
отрегулировать 'to regulate', etc. (Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 101).

Not all the new perfectives appear in OZH-97, e.g. *спрогнозировать* 'to forecast', *протестировать* 'to test'. Others, such as

*прореагировать* 'to react'  
*проконтролировать* 'to control' and  
*проинструктировать* 'to brief'

do appear; cf., in popular fiction:

. . . а завтра позвони мне на работу, я тебя *проинструктирую*, что и как надо делать. (Marinina, 1997: 121)  
. . . and tomorrow ring me at work, I'll brief you on what to do and how to do it.

Проиндексировать 'to index' (prices, etc.) appears in Skliarevskaja (1998: 515).

The popularity of про- and от- as perfective prefixes extends to other verbs; for example: *проплатить* (as in *проплачено* всё на полгода вперёд 'everything has been paid six months in advance', in *КП*, 28.11–5.12.97), for standard *заплатить* or *уплатить*; *отксерить* 'to photocopy'<sup>2</sup> (but *факсить* 'to fax', perfective *факсануть*: *Факсани́ это письмó* 'Fax this letter').

## 4.2 Replacements and alternatives

A number of changes in modern Russian morphology and syntax – some of which are very new, others being the result of decades of development – can be categorised as follows.

### 4.2.1 *Accusative case after negated transitive verbs and some other forms*

Standard usage after negated transitive verbs involves a continuum ranging from meanings dominated by the *genitive* case:

generalised statements	with abstract nouns
after compound negatives	after gerunds
after the emphatic negative	with <i>это</i> ‘this’
particle <i>ни</i>	after verbs of perception

to meanings dominated by the *accusative* case:

with a specific object  
 when the object is a person  
 when part of the sentence other than the verb is negated, and so on (Wade, 1992: 94–6).

Contemporary formulations on the subject tend to be circumspect. Miloslavskii (1987: 218) regards the genitive as ‘preferable’ in written styles; Shvedova (1990: 163) also advocates genitive government, as do Rakhmanova and Suzdal’tseva (1997: 310). In practice, the conventions are sometimes applied erroneously and ‘hyper-correctly’ in the press:

Дело в том, что многие, идущие в политику, недооценивают *одной очень важной вещи* [for standard одну очень важную вещь]: иерархия власти очень велика . . . (*АиФ*, №18, 96)

The point is that many people going into politics underestimate one very important factor: the hierarchy of power is substantial.

In the following example, genitive and then accusative plural after the negated verb suggests uncertainty on the part of the writer:

М-да, губернатор не читает *газет*, депутаты — *федеральные законы*. (*Изв.*, 23.5.97)

Mm-yes, the governor does not read the newspapers, or the deputies the federal laws.

Some accusative usage is non-standard and may be a harbinger of radical change:

Как всякий компромисс, он не устраивает ни *одну* [for standard одной] из этих сил. (*ИЗВ*, 24.5.97)

Like every compromise, it does not suit any of these [political] forces.

Формат APS — снимайте на плёнку, *которую* [for standard которой] не видно (*КП*, 29.11–5.12.96)

ARS [photographic system] size – photograph onto film that is not visible.

The following example of genitive case after a ‘false negative’ (see Wade, 1992: 95) also infringes the norm:

... появление серьёзнейшего документа, связанного с российской стратегией в XXI веке, не может не вызвать *интереса*. (*МН*, 31.5–7.6.98)

... the appearance of an extremely serious document associated with Russian strategy in the twenty-first century, cannot but arouse interest.

#### 4.2.2 Genitive *-al-я* versus *-y/-ю*; the partitive accusative

The genitive singular in *-y/-ю*, though declining in frequency (with the most drastic recession in written styles relating to the second half of the 1930s; Graudina 1980: 24), is still used, mainly in colloquial Russian, of the names of substances governed predominantly by transitive *perfective* verbs:

купить *табаку́* ‘to buy some tobacco’

положить *чесноку́* ‘to put in some garlic’

добавить *сахару́* ‘to add some sugar’, etc. (Shvedova, 1990: 167; Graudina, 1983: 38).

The commonest occurrence of the genitive in *-y/-ю* relates to *diminutives*:

*лучку́* from *лучо́к*, diminutive of *лук* ‘onions’

*кефи́рчику* from *кефи́рчик*, diminutive of *кефи́р* ‘kefir’ (a yoghurt drink), etc.

and to set phrases such as *напустить смра́ху* ‘to strike fear into’ (Graudina 1983: 38). In partitive meaning, it is found most characteristically in constructions with *verbs* (*налить кипятку́* ‘to pour some hot water’), then in constructions denoting *measure* (*мало чесноку́* ‘not much garlic’) and least frequently in combination with *nouns* (*пачка сахару́* ‘a packet of sugar’) (Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 122).



In constructions involving verbs, however, especially in colloquial registers, the *accusative* is now progressively replacing the genitive in partitive meaning, thus, with the genitive:

выпей *воды́* 'drink some water'  
принеси́ *молока́* 'bring some milk'

but also, with the *accusative*:

купить *цветы́* 'to buy some flowers'  
привезти́ *сухарю́* 'to bring some rusks' (Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 34).

Though partitive *-y/-ю* is still relatively common in food shops, many shoppers favour laconic speed modes, conveying essential information with a minimum of words and inflection: *Петрушка сто, сельдерюшка двести* 'Hundred grams of parsley, two hundred of celery'; *Лук килограмм* 'Two pounds of onions', etc. (Panov, 1968, Vol. 3: 198–9). The genitive in *-y* is associated predominantly with everyday lexis: *виноград* 'grapes', *бензין* 'petrol', *чай* 'tea'; etc. (for a categorisation, see Shvedova *et al.*, 1982, Vol. 1: 486–7).

#### 4.2.2.1 *Tendencies for change*

Two tendencies are thus apparent in modern Russian. The first relates to the progressive replacement of *-y/-ю* by *-a/-я* in the partitive genitive. The second relates to the replacement of the partitive genitive by the accusative.

##### THE PROGRESSIVE REPLACEMENT OF *-y/-ю* BY *-a/-я* IN THE PARTITIVE GENITIVE

This process is far from complete, as contemporary sources show; *-a/-я* is commoner with receptacles:

... принял предложение выпить чашку *чая* '... he accepted the offer of a cup of tea' (Silkin, 1997: 63)  
огромная тарелка *сына* (*КП*, 5–11.12.97);

but with *-y/-ю* also possible:

А когда ты мне пузырёк *коньяку* отдашь? 'And when will you give me back the phial of brandy?' (Kunin, 1994: 94)

Высыпали туда пачку *чая* 'They poured a packet of tea into it' (Dovlatov, 1996b: 162).

As already noted, partitives in -y/-ю are more commonly found with *verb* constructions:

... проводница придёт предложить чаю 'the guard will come and offer tea' (Silkin, 1997: 7)

Де Ниро ... захотел коньяку 'De Niro ... wanted some brandy' (КП, 1–8.8.97)

— Вера, дай одеколону! 'Vera, give me some eau de cologne!' (Dovlatov, 1996a: 116).

However, partitive -a/-я is also not unknown with verb constructions:

А ведь сколько я перетаска́л им ча́я ... 'And yet how much tea ... I nicked for them' (Dovlatov, 1996b: 163).

Наро́ду, from наро́д 'people', is still commoner than наро́да in partitive meaning, both in authorial narrative and in dialogue, respectively, as the next two examples show:

Наро́ду в ресторане заметно прибавилось. (Dovlatov, 1996a: 111)  
The number of people in the restaurant had markedly increased.

А почему он, кстати, один в купе ехал — немного наро́ду в тот день у вас до Москвы было? (Silkin, 1997: 65)  
And incidentally, why was he alone in the compartment? Didn't you have many people in the Moscow train that day?

#### THE REPLACEMENT OF THE PARTITIVE GENITIVE BY THE ACCUSATIVE

The second trend is for the partitive genitive to be replaced by the accusative, thus disrupting the traditional dichotomy whereby the accusative denotes the whole (он выпил *молоко́* 'he drank the milk') and the genitive part of the whole (он выпил *молока́* 'he drank some milk'). Miloslavskii (1987: 218) also recommends the *accusative* in partitive meaning after verbs, when there is a choice between, say:

пошли́ *де́ньги* and пошли́ *де́нег* 'send some money'  
принести́ *спички* and принести́ *спичек* 'to bring some matches'.

This substitution is taking place in *all* nouns that denote substances. Thus, alongside partitive *genitives* such as:

Выпейте *портвейна*. 'Drink some port.' (Dovlatov, 1996b: 118)  
Что тебе налить, "*Метаксы*" или "*Смирновской*"? 'What can I pour you, "Metaxa" or "Smirnoff"?' (Kunin, 1994: 217)

... мы ... спросили у Тонечки *бормотухи* ... 'we ... asked Tonechka for some plonk ...' (Dovlatov, 1996a: 198)

one also finds examples of the 'partitive *accusative*':

Капитан ... заказал *вино* и шницель. 'The captain ... ordered some wine and a schnitzel.' (Dovlatov, 1996b: 119)

Я достал *папирасы*, закурил. 'I got out some cigarettes, lit up.' (Dovlatov, 1996a: 6)

Бензин купил ... "Москвич" без бензина не ходит! 'I bought some petrol ... The "Moskvich" won't run without petrol!' (Kunin, 1994: 49).

Though the process is not complete, the replacement of partitive -y/-ю by -a/-я and, in parallel with this, the replacement of the partitive genitive by the accusative case – albeit almost exclusively in combination with verbs – has reached an advanced stage.

#### 4.2.3 *Саму/самоё*

Of the two singular accusative forms of the feminine emphatic pronoun *самá* 'self', *самý* and *самоё* (the latter probably influenced by *её* 'her', accusative of *она́* 'she'), *самý*, considered to be 'wrong' in V. Dolopchev's dictionary of 1909 (Graudina, 1980: 14), is now the preferred form, bringing the pronoun into line with the feminine accusative of other pronouns (*эту́* 'this', *на́шу* 'ours', etc.). *Самоё* is regarded as obsolescent and bookish, but survives in the set expression *самоё себя́: презира́ть самоё себя́* 'to despise oneself'; cf.:

... астма по тяжести течения превзошла *самоё себя́*. (*АиФ*, №21, 97)  
... in degree of severity asthma has surpassed itself.

Il'ina traces the evolution of the accusative of *самá*, from an exclusive preference for *самоё* in the third edition of Ozhegov's dictionary to Shvedova *et al.* (1982, Vol. 1: 552), who categorise *самоё* as 'obsolescent', while conceding that it is still used in written registers (Il'ina, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 334).

*Самý* is now dominant in the media, both of inanimate and animate objects:

*Саму* пресс-конференцию премьер провёл энергично ... (*ИЗв.*, №22, 94)

The premier conducted the press conference itself in an energetic fashion ...

Тем не менее вопрос о семейном счастье, похоже, всерьёз начинает беспокоить и *саму* певицу. (*ИЗв.*, №180, 94)

Nevertheless, the question of family happiness is apparently also beginning to give serious concern to the singer herself.

Мы думаем о влиянии экологии на . . . *саму* природу. (from the radio)

We are thinking of the influence of ecology on . . . nature itself.

Пострадавших нет, не считая *саму* Латвию. (Il'ina, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 334–5)

There are no casualties, except for Latvia itself.

#### 4.2.4 Noun co-ordinates in which the qualifier precedes the item qualified

In Russian noun co-ordinates the qualifier normally *follows* the item qualified:

вагóн-ресторáн 'restaurant car'

заку́сочная-автомáт 'café with vending machines'

ракéта-носíтель 'carrier rocket'.

Exceptions include:

áльфа-вóлны 'alpha waves'

конфе́ренц-за́л 'conference hall'

яхт-клуб 'yacht club'; Wade, 1992: 81.

Since the mid 1980s or so, however, many noun co-ordinates have appeared in which, partly under English influence, the qualifier *precedes* the item qualified. Where the qualifier is a proper name – as in *Горбачёв-фонд* 'Gorbachëv Fund' or *Дягилев-центр(ь)* 'Diaghilev Centre' – the new construction replaces the previous standard style: фонд имени М.С. Горбачёва/фонд Горбачёва/Горбачёвский фонд. The new word-formatory type also affects foreign place names:

*Га́рвард-университéт* 'Harvard University' (for Га́рвардский университет)  
*Пенсильва́ния-авеню́* 'Pennsylvania Avenue'.

This has come about partly through calquing by Russian *émigré* writers living in America, e.g. *шоу-биз́нес* 'show business', *секс-комме́рция* 'sex trade', *салáт-ба́р* 'salad bar' in the work of V. Aksënov.

English origin is assumed in co-ordinates such as *топ-моде́ль* 'top model', *тра́ст-фонд* 'trust fund' and *о́фис-ме́неджер* 'office manager', especially when Roman script is used:



*know-how-центр* 'know-how centre'  
*multimedia-системы* 'multimedia systems'.

Others have evolved on Russian soil, based on English components:

*шоп-тур* 'shopping trip'  
*трэвел-чэки* 'travellers' cheques' (for earlier *дорожные чэки*)

or comprising hybrids:

*бит-поколение* 'beat generation'  
*гей-тусовка* 'gay get-together'  
*интим-услуги* 'intimate services'  
*штрих-код* (from *штриховой код*) 'bar code'

(Kostomarov, 1994b: 201–4; 1997: 251–8; see also Kostromina, 1992).

#### 4.2.5 *Cardinal and ordinal numerals*

The role of the numeral has increased in modern Russian due to developments in mathematics, physics and cybernetics, and to the use of numerals as coded determinants:

*алгол-60* 'Algol-60'  
*уран-235* 'uranium-235'  
*станция Зонд-3* 'space station Zond-3', etc.

The process has been accelerated by diversification procedures in industry and the need to name new models of

- aircraft: *ИЛ-18* 'IL-18';
- cars: *ЗИЛ-164А* 'ZIL-164A'; and
- space ships: *Восход-2* 'Voskhod-2'.

The new system of naming has been widespread in the press and technical journals since the 1950s and 1960s, subsequently finding its way into general use. In the process, the cardinal numeral has forfeited its specific quantitative meaning, acquiring a function close to that of a postpositive analytical adjective (*Лунá-1* 'Luna-1', *Лунá-2* 'Luna-2', etc.).

A further development has involved the replacement of ordinal by cardinal numerals in numbering addresses, trains and so on. At the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries ordinal numerals were used in this type of construction:

дом *но́мер пе́рвый* 'house number 1'  
пала́та *но́мер шеста́я* 'ward number 6'.

By the 1920s there was still some hesitancy in usage, but now the cardinal numeral – as in дом *но́мер оди́н* 'house number 1' – is dominant (Graudina, 1980: 238–9), except in varieties of specialist language, e.g. pilots' professional jargon: МиГ-*девя́тый* 'MiG-9'.

Since *но́мер* itself implies a number in a series, ordinal numerals could be considered superfluous. Meanwhile, *но́мер* can now be omitted in numbering – кварти́ра *два́дцать шесть* 'flat 26' – but usage is sometimes arbitrary: ко́мната *сто пе́рвая* or ко́мната *сто оди́н* 'room 101'. Cardinals regularly denote the numbers of houses, flats, post offices, trains, carriages, seats and tickets on public transport, sizes of footwear, suits and other clothing, telephone numbers. However, the ordinal is still sometimes possible:

Ты не знаешь, Габдрахмановы в сорок второй квартире живут?  
(Marinina, 1997: 206)

Do you know if the Gabdrakhmanovs live in flat no. 42?

Furthermore, the use of an ordinal numeral to designate a large number (па́спорт №558810 'passport number 558810') or a number involving a fraction: Волхо́нка, дом 18/2 'Volkhonka no. 18/2' is impossible, or at best difficult (Ianko-Trinitskaia, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 309; see also Wade, 1992: 206–7, 217).

The predominance of cardinal numerals is thus affected by a number of factors, including the influence of *official styles*, where in the interests of economy figures are preferred to words, and *postpositive location*, not a usual position for an ordinal, which normally appears *before* the noun: *12-е* отде́ление мили́ции 'police station no. 12' (Ianko-Trinitskaia, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 310); cf.:

Выяснилось, что он стрелял из пистолета 40-го калибра . . . (КП, 18–25.7.97)

It emerged that he was firing a 40-calibre pistol . . .

In train parlance, ordinals are still widely used, on the evidence of V. Silkin's *Рабо́та для негодя́ев* 'Work for Scoundrels', which is set largely on board a train:

деся́тое ме́сто 'seat ten'  
четы́рнадцатый ваго́н 'carriage number 14'  
шесто́е купе́ 'compartment six'; cf.:

Он ехал в пятом купе, на девятнадцатом месте. (Silkin, 1997: 64)  
He was travelling in compartment no. 5, seat 19.

However, usage may still vary:

— Место *двадцать четыре*, — сказала молоденькая проводница . . .  
(Silkin, 1997: 5)

‘Seat number 24,’ said the extremely youthful guard.

Пёрвый нóмер ‘first class’, used in the nineteenth century to denote the high degree of a quality (positive or negative: тунейдец *пёрвого нóмера* ‘an out-and-out sponger’) has made way for нóмер один ‘the most important’. Its original military connotation is retained in:

Столица . . . находилась, как говорят лётчики, в *готовности номер один*, то есть в любую минуту могла подняться на борьбу с врагом.  
(B. Polevoi, quoted by Ianko-Trinitskaia, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 307)

The capital . . . as pilots say, was on high alert, ready to rise against the enemy at a moment’s notice.

The phrase is now widely used in politics:

Чубайс оставался для Бориса Ельцина фигурой *номер один* ‘Chubais remained for Boris El’tsin the number one figure’ (з, 28.10.97)

. . . пал бастион “*Известий*”, ежедневной газеты №1 . . . ‘a bastion of *Izvestiia*, daily paper No. 1, has fallen’ (з, 28.10.97)

. . . коммунист №1 сгустил краски ‘communist №1 [Gennadii Ziuganov] laid it on thick’ (*КП*, 5–11.12.97); cf.:

Борец за чистоту русского языка, *большевик номер один* Ульянов . . .  
(*КП*, 11.7.97)

Champion of the purity of the Russian language, Bolshevik Number 1 Ul’ianov [Lenin] . . .

Compare also the following heading, referring to the 1989 miners’ strike in Vorkuta:

Забастовка номер один ‘No. 1 strike’ (*АиФ*, №22, 98).

#### 4.2.6 *Transitive verbs used intransitively*

Some verbs that traditionally take a direct or indirect object are being used intransitively. Переживать ‘to worry’ is well established in this function – Поссóрился с женой, тепёрь *переживает* ‘He had a row with his wife, and now he’s ruining it’ (cited in OZH-97) – and it has been joined by:

- наруша́ть ‘to infringe’: Граждани́н, не *наруша́йте*! ‘Citizen, don’t overstep the mark!’ (OZH-97 [‘demotic’]);
- защища́ть ‘to defend’: *защища́ть* от инфля́ции ‘to guard against inflation’;
- соответство́вать ‘to correspond’: кандида́т *соответствует*, что́бы его́ избра́ть ‘the candidate is worthy to be elected’;
- bi-aspectual демонстри́ровать ‘to demonstrate’: *демонстри́ровать* по у́лицам го́рода ‘to demonstrate through the streets of the town’ (OZH-97).

A large number of the verbs involved in this process are characteristic of official registers (sometimes only imperfectives are involved, for example, *наруша́ть* ‘to infringe’). The process has been accelerated by parliamentary and political practice:

кто *вноси́л* [предложе́ние], мо́жет выска́зываться ‘whoever moved [the resolution] can make a statement’  
 мы с това́рищами *обменя́лись* [взгля́дами] ‘my colleagues and I exchanged [views]’  
 това́рищи *поднима́ли* [вопро́с] по други́м коми́ссиям *доложи́ть* [результáты] ‘colleagues were raising [the question] of reporting [the results] to other commissions’.

(See also Kostomarov, 1994b: 194.)

According to Norman (1998: 58–60) the phenomenon is symptomatic of a general expansion of condensed constructions in recent decades; cf.:

стелі́ть for стелі́ть постéль ‘to make a bed’  
 отпуска́ть for отпуска́ть това́р ‘to sell a commodity’  
 отмеча́ть for отмеча́ть пра́здник ‘to celebrate a festival’, etc.

In some cases, it is nouns that result from condensation:

мили́ция for отде́ление мили́ции ‘police station’  
 телефо́н for но́мер телефо́на ‘telephone number’

or phrases:

по́сле маши́нки for по́сле того́, как ру́копись бу́дет перепеча́тана на маши́нке ‘after the manuscript has been typed’.

#### 4.2.7 Linkage between an object and verbs and other forms that take varying government

Instances of constructions in which a series of verbs which govern different



cases are made to govern the same case are becoming more frequent, possibly as the result of the influence of English syntax or, arguably, under the influence of ellipsis.

Эти три страны намерены реагировать на всё, что может блокировать, мешать или замедлять *этот процесс*. (*Изв.*, 19.3.93, cited in Kostomarov 1994b: 194)

These three countries intend to react to everything that might block, hinder or slow down this process.

The above example, where *блокировать* and *замедлять*, that take the accusative, over-ride the government of *мешать*, that takes the dative, can be matched elsewhere:

... содержание и уход за автомобилем (*Экстра-М*, №14, 95, cited in Kostomarov, 1997: 240)

... car care and maintenance (*уход за* + instrumental overrides the genitive government of *содержание*)

И всё же главная причина — распространение в торговле машинами бартерных сделок, с которыми борются, но никак не могут побороть. (*Итоги*, 28.10.97)

And yet the main reason is the spread of barter deals in the car trade, which are resisted but can in no way be overcome.

The above example should read *с которыми борются, но которых никак не могут побороть*; cf.:

Вы сможете познакомиться и приобрести продукцию ведущих издательств Великобритании. (*Нед*, №15, 96)

You will be able to become acquainted with and acquire the products of the leading publishing houses of Great Britain.

In this example the accusative government of *приобрести* 'to acquire' overrides the prepositional government of *познакомиться* (*с* + instrumental case) 'to become acquainted with'.

#### 4.2.8 *The enumeration of postpositive detail in the nominative case*

This tendency, noted by Kostomarov (1994b: 204–5), initially affected non-Russian contexts and may also result from the influence of English syntax:

Норткот Паркинсон ... скончался в Кентерберии, юго-восток Англии, в возрасте 83 лет. (*Фин. изв.*, №20, 93)

Northcote Parkinson ... has died in Canterbury, south-east England, at the age of 83.

Приз за лучшее исполнение женской роли вручён шведской актрисе Пернилле Аугуст, — *Анна Бергманн* в фильме “Благие намерения”. (*Изв.*, 19.5.92, cited in Kostomarov 1994: 199)

The prize for the best performance in a female role went to the Swedish actress Pernilla August – Anna Bergman in the film ‘Good Intentions’.

Subsequently the tendency has affected Russian contexts (first example) and semi-Russian contexts (second example):

... рекламный проспект прислала Оксана Букатина, *Москва* ...  
Светлана Рогова, *Владивосток*, С. Власова, *Самарская область* ...  
(*КП*, 28.11–5.12.97)

... an advertising prospectus was sent by Oksana Bukatina, Moscow ...  
Svetlana Rogova, Vladivostok, S. Vlasova, Samara Province ...

Проживающий в США, *штат Вермонт* ... Александр Солженицын получил телеграмму от советского комитета “Мемориал”. (Топол’, 1996: 11)

Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn, resident in the USA, Vermont State, received a telegram from the Soviet committee ‘Memorial’.

Similar constructions are found in advertising and on TV:

В большом выборе ликёры — *производство* Германии (for standard немецкого производства). (*Изв.*, 4.3.93)

A large assortment of liqueurs – produce of Germany.

В продажу поступили мужские костюмы, *производство Англия* (or simply *Англия*) (for standard костюмы из Англии) (Kostomarov, 1997: 248)

Men’s British-made suits are in stock.

In fact, however, this use of the nominative case in attributive meaning seems similar to well-established usage in literary texts where the nominatives have been detached from the syntactic structure of the sentence – a new phenomenon, according to Akimova (1990: 51).

И вот к нему подошла маленькая женщина с мальчишеским лицом, задумчиво-плутоватым и смешливым. *Голубая майка. Стриженные волосы.* (V. Panova, cited in Akimova, 1990: 50)

And now he was approached by a small woman with a boyish face, sly, in a pensive kind of way, easily moved to laughter. Blue T-shirt. Cropped hair.

Sometimes the nominatives are placed in brackets:

Под безобразной, чудовищной, отталкивающей картиной районного художника Щукина (*цилиндр, лошадь, гений, дали неоглядные*) стояла моя жена и улыбалась. (Dovlatov, 1996a: 62–3)

Under an ugly, monstrous, repulsive painting by the regional artist Shchukin (*top hat, horse, genius, boundless vistas*) stood my wife, smiling.

Such nominative sentences aid the reader in the rapid grasp of a situation, and have correlations with established usage in diaries, letters, synopses, film scenarios and stage directions:

Шестидесятые годы нашего века. Москва. Район переулков старого Арбата. (A. Arbuzov, *Сказки старого Арбата* 'Tales of the Old Arbat')  
The 1960s. Moscow. Maze of alleyways in old Arbat.

In the twentieth century they have helped to meet the demands of mass communication, economy of expression, immediacy of effect and expressiveness, with considerable ultimate input from colloquial speech (Norman, 1998: 63):

Небольшой столик, два кресла. Зелёного сукна бильярдный стол. На стенах — картины карельских художников . . . (*КП*, 25.7–1.8.97, of Boris El'tsin's *dacha*)

A small table, two armchairs. A green-baize billiards table. On the walls, paintings by Karelian artists . . .

. . . Зима. Штрафной изолятор. Длинные тени под соснами. Окна, забитые снегом. (Dovlatov, 1996b : 69)

. . . Winter. Punishment isolation unit. Long shadows under the pines. Windows clogged with snow.

Furthermore, the nominative persists even when in apparent apposition to a noun in an oblique case:

Экскурсия в Михайловском состояла из нескольких разделов. История усадьбы. Вторая ссылка поэта. Арина Родионовна. Семейство Пушкиных. Друзья, навестившие поэта в изгнании. (Dovlatov, 1996a: 34)

The excursion at Mikhailovskoe consisted of several sections. History of the estate. The poet's second exile. Arina Rodionovna. The Pushkin family. Friends who visited the poet in exile.

#### 4.2.9 Adverbs in *по* + dative case

Until relatively recently, adverbs in *по* + dative case were formed only from *relative* adjectives, i.e. those that denote material, place, people and time:

одёт *по-дорожному* 'dressed for the road' from *дорожный* 'road' (adjective)  
отдавать честь *по-военному* 'to salute military-style' from *военный*  
'military'  
*по-прежнему* 'as before' from *прежний* 'previous', etc.; cf.:

Все мы мыслим всё ещё *по-застойному*. (from television 12.10.92, cited in Kostomarov, 1993: 59)

All of us are still thinking as we did under *zastoi* (the period when L.I. Brezhnev was in power).

In a comparatively new development, however, adverbs in *по* + dative now also derive from *qualitative* adjectives, i.e. those that denote qualities perceived by the senses, physical qualities, qualities of character or evaluative meanings – e.g. *по-хорошему* 'well' from the qualitative adjective *хороший* 'good' – even though qualitative (unlike relative) adjectives already have adverbs in *-o/-e*, e.g. *хорошо* 'well'.

However, adverbs in *по* + the dative of qualitative adjectives are not completely synonymous with their counterparts in *-o*, since they contain, in addition to the *expressive* nuance shared with those in *-o*, a *comparative* meaning hitherto found only in adverbs based on *relative* adjectives. Thus, *богато* (from *qualitative* adjective *богатый* 'rich') means 'richly', while *по-богáтому* likewise means 'richly', but *also* 'as in wealthy houses, as the rich live' (*comparative* meaning) (Kostomarov, 1993: 60).

Adverbs in *по* + dative based on qualitative adjectives still retain traces of their non-standard and dialectal origins. In the 1950s and 1960s such adverbs as *по-серьёзному* 'seriously' from qualitative adjective *серьёзный* 'serious' and *по-стра́шному* 'terribly' from qualitative adjective *стра́шный* 'terrible' were condemned by purists or related to youth slang (see Kostomarov, 1993: 61). More recently, however, and especially over the period of linguistic liberalisation since the mid-1980s or so, the adverbs have become popular because of their freshness and expressiveness, and seem likely to consolidate their position and increase in number (see Kostomarov 1993: 61):

Проводилось . . . мероприятие под кодовым названием "Гастролёры". Говоря *по-простому*, в Москве была облава на иногородних преступников. (*Иzv.*, 27.1.93)

An exercise . . . was in progress under the code name 'Guest Artists'. In plain terms, criminals from out of town were being rounded up.



Оскудела рука дающего и готовится брать *по-крупному*. (з, №4, 93, used ironically, of new taxes, Kostomarov, 1993: 60)

The benefactor has fallen upon hard times and is preparing to take in a big way.

#### 4.2.10 Prepositional government of infinitives

Examples of prepositional government of an infinitive – Ни хлеба у вас, ни мяса, не говоря уже *о выпить* ‘You have neither bread nor meat, let alone something to drink’ (*Куранты*, 4.1.93, cited in Kostomarov 1994b: 190) – go back to the 1960s, representing an expansion in prepositional government – prepositions could already govern numerals (*учиться на пять* ‘to get top marks’) and adverbs (*отложить на завтра* ‘to postpone until tomorrow’, *дорога в никуда* ‘the road to nowhere’, quoted by Norman, 1998: 61), as well as nouns and adjectives. Contemporary examples of prepositional government of infinitives include:

Мужиков-то достаточно, и все умирают *насчёт общаться*. А замуж — это дело серьёзное. (Dovlatov, 1996a: 169)

It is true there are enough men around and they’re dying to get acquainted. But marriage is a serious business.

Может быть, она будет *не против дать* интервью? (*КП*, 6–13.12.96)

Maybe she won’t object to giving an interview?

Cf. нет + infinitive (Топол’, 1996: 23): У вас нет *закурить*? ‘Don’t you have a light?’

### 4.3 Plurals

#### 4.3.1 Plurals of abstract nouns

The number of plurals of abstract nouns has grown exponentially in the twentieth century, especially in the Soviet period, where a growth in industrial development created the need to express the specific results of industrial processes. Many nouns shown as having only a singular form (*singularia tantum*) in Ushakov’s dictionary (1935–40) now have plurals. They include

диета ‘diet’

обмен ‘exchange’

проверка ‘check’

рост ‘height’ (plural *роста́* being used in professional and oral speech:

костюмы *разных размеров* и *ростов* ‘suits of various sizes and lengths’)

and the tendency to pluralise continues in contemporary Russian. Thus, forms such as:

договорённости ‘agreements’                      экранизации ‘screenings’  
кроссы ‘cross-country runs’

were found in the press of the mid-1980s, and most abstract nouns have the potential to acquire a plural form (Brusenskaia 1987: 66). Graudina (1998: 52–3) shares Brusenskaia’s view, especially in relation to professional and technical spheres, citing:

физика высоких и низких температур ‘physics of high and low  
temperatures’  
хромосомные aberrации ‘chromosome aberrations’  
интенсивности полей ‘field intensities’

and others, and mildly deploring сезонные макияжи ‘seasonal make-ups’.

#### 4.3.1.1 Contemporary Russian

In contemporary Russian, the plural of abstract nouns such as:

звучность ‘sonority’                      проницаемость ‘penetrability’  
неоднородность ‘heterogeneity’

arose in professional terminology, whence they found their way into the press and subsequently general usage (Karpinskaia, 1994: 55). More recent examples include противостояния ‘confrontations’ and технологии ‘technologies’:

Производственная компания “Русские технологии” предлагает Вам  
верный путь быстрой окупаемости. (АиФ, №48, 93)

The industrial company ‘Russian Technologies’ offers you a reliable way  
of recovering your outlay.

Технологии ‘technologies’ is justified on the grounds that there is now a multiplicity of technologies, and qualification by attributive adjectives (новейшие, высокие, наукоёмкие технологии ‘the latest, high-tech, science-intensive technologies’) has served to consolidate the plural form’s position (Karpinskaia 1994: 56). Other abstract nouns which until recently were used only in the singular but are now also used in the plural, principally as the result of social change over the past decade, include администрация ‘administration’, мафия ‘mafia’ (e.g. московские мафии ‘the Moscow mafias’; in Shaposhnikov, 1998: 68) and экономика ‘economy’. During the Soviet period the only national bank was Госбанк ‘State Bank’, with the

plural *ба́нки* reserved for foreign banks, but the proliferation of banking institutions since 1985 has extended plural use to Russian banks.

*Креді́ты* ‘credits’ has now been activated in an economic sense, while plural *регио́ны* ‘regions’ results from devolution of power from the centre – *взаимоотноше́ния це́нтра и регио́нов* ‘interrelations between the Centre and the regions’ – and the liberalisation of prices has caused an increase in the use of plural *це́ны* ‘prices’ and *прода́жи* ‘sales’ (Graudina 1980: 41, describing *прода́жи* ‘sales’ and *стрéльбы* ‘shootings’ as results or products of an action). Shaposhnikov (1998: 66) adds *се́льские хозя́йства* ‘agri-cultures’. As a political and economic symbol of the age, plural *рефо́рмы* ‘reforms’ came to be used more frequently from the mid-1980s onwards:

*полі́тика рефо́рм* ‘policy of reforms’  
*выступáть протів рефо́рм* ‘to oppose reforms’.

Also, *промы́шленники* ‘industrialists’, rarely used in the singular, appears in the phrase *промы́шленники и предпринимáтели* ‘industrialists and entrepreneurs’ (Shaposhnikov 1997a: 83).

Блок ‘*bloc*’ once denoted specifically the political symbiosis of communists and non-Party members, but the advent of political pluralism in the Soviet Union was accompanied by an increased use of *бло́ки* ‘blocs’ to denote associations of various political forces. Similarly, the replacement of a one-party by a multi-party state created the potential for the emergence of plural *па́ртии* ‘parties’ in a Russian context. Devolution of power from the centre has caused the substitution of *областны́е сто́лицы Це́нтрáльной Росси́и* ‘provincial capitals of Central Russia’ for former *сто́лица СССР* и *сто́лицы сою́зных респу́блик* ‘the Soviet capital and the capitals of the Union Republics’. While the singular-only status of *полі́тика* ‘policy’ seems to be holding up (‘policies’ may be rendered as *полі́тические направле́ния*), the potential for pluralisation of the noun lies in the emergence of different policies, as opposed to the unified policy of the Soviet state: *нало́говая полі́тика* ‘tax policy’, *полі́тика ба́нка “Росси́йский креди́т”* ‘the policy of the Russian Credit Bank’, and so on (Shaposhnikov 1997a: 83–84).

There has been a significant increase over the past decade in the plural forms of nouns such as *бі́знес* ‘business’ (*ме́лкие бі́знесы* ‘small businesses’) and *риск* ‘risk’ (*предпринимáтельские рі́ски* ‘entrepreneurial risks’), due to assimilation into the standard language of professional speech forms. The formation of *бі́знесы* ‘businesses’ is encouraged by word-groups such as *де́лать бі́знес* ‘to do business’, *откры́ть бі́знес* ‘to found a company’, which are new to Russian and have created the potential for the formation of the plural: *откры́то о́коло миллио́на но́вых бі́знесов* ‘about a million new businesses have been opened’. Other relatively new plurals include *сигнализа́ции* ‘signalling systems’ and *прямы́е эфі́ры* ‘live broadcasts’ (Kostomarov, 1997: 235–6).

The imparting of a concrete identity to abstract nouns is a productive process in contemporary publicistics and socio-political texts, with implications for the creation of new plurals. Particularly common in the current press are:

реальности ‘realities’                      договорённости ‘agreements’.  
движения ‘movements’ and

Abstract plurals are also appearing in narrowly professional parlance:

капитальные ремонты 'major repairs'  
 легкоатлетические многоборья 'multi-event competitions in athletics'  
 (Rakhmanova and Suzdal'tseva 1997: 304).

#### 4.3.1.2 Categorisation of abstract nouns with plural forms

There is evidence of the continuing growth of abstract plurals in the press of the mid-1990s:

предосторожности ‘precautions’	кандидатуры ‘candidacies’
уréзывания ‘reductions’	напряжения ‘stresses’
метóдики ‘methodologies’	жизненные уровни ‘living standards’
предпочтёния ‘preferences’	
стрóгости ‘firm measures’	объёмы торгóвли ‘volumes of trade’, etc.; cf.:
беременности ‘pregnancies’	

Когда возникают ситуации с заложниками, *кражами* машин и скота, . . . именно им приходится выезжать в воюющую Чечню . . . (Изв., 30.8.96)

When situations arise involving hostages, car and cattle thefts, . . . it is they who have to leave for warring Chechnia.

Врачи . . . усматривают корни недуга в *стрессах*. (АиФ, №41, 96)  
Doctors see the roots of the disease [TB] in stress factors.

Переходные экономики будут отставать в развитии инфраструктуры, качестве менеджмента и технологиях ещё в течение многих лет . . . (Изв., 23. 5. 97)

The transitional economies will lag behind in the development of an infrastructure, the quality of management and in technologies for many years to come . . .

Many of the plural forms relate to financial matters:



платежи́ ‘payments’

выплаты пенсий “нату́рой” ‘payments of pensions “in kind”’

задо́лженности по квартплате́ ‘rent arrears’

неплатежи́ ‘non-payments’, etc.; cf:

Эти . . . деньги можно было бы пустить на *зарплаты* шахтёрам и офицерам, пенсии старикам. (*АиФ*, №33, 96)

This . . . money could have been used to pay salaries to miners and officers, and pensions to senior citizens.

See also Komarova, 1988: 70; Rakhmanova and Suzdal'tseva, 1997: 303–4; Graudina *et al.*, 1976: 112–16; Sumkina, cited in Muchnik and Panov, 1964: 224–30.

#### 4.3.2 *Plural of the names of substances*

The plural of the names of substances is another modern feature that originated in professional terminology. The plurals possess qualitative implications absent from the singular, and can be sub-divided into those that denote:

- varieties: не́фти ‘varieties of crude oil’; or
- integral surfaces or areas: пескí ‘sands’.

Cereals can denote either meaning; thus: ржи́ ‘varieties of rye’ or ‘fields of rye’ (Karpinskaia, 1994: 55; Komarova, 1988: 71). Combination with a verbal noun (убо́рка табакóв ‘tobacco harvesting’) or, more usually, an attributive adjective (нержавя́ющие ста́ли ‘stainless steels’) reflects the disruption of the monolithic status of a substance and its potential for sub-categorisation (see Graudina 1983: 28).

Plurals of substances are now being adapted to new contexts:

Держи *жидкости* подальше от компьютера ‘Keep liquids well away from the computer’ (*Нед*, №37, 96)

and new word-groups:

. . . большую ценность представляют собой *питьевые воды* и минеральные источники Абхазии ‘the varieties of drinking water and mineral springs of Abkhazii are of great value’ (*Пр.-5*, 13–20.9.96).

#### 4.3.3 *Constructions of the type Все поверну́ли го́лову*

The plural is also making inroads on traditional usage in constructions in which identical objects or parts of the body belong or relate to each member of a group. The singular is usually regarded as the preferred form: ‘the use of

forms in the singular is dominant when a particular object relates to several persons or objects and characterises each individually' (Vinogradov, 1972: 133 [6]). An example of the rule formulated by Vinogradov is the following:

Все со связанными за *спиной* руками. (А. Рыбаков)  
All with their hands tied behind their *backs*.

An exception occurs when there is a need to differentiate, for example, *подняли рѹки* 'they raised their arms' from *подняли рѹку* 'they raised their hand'. Brusenskaia (1995: 81) quotes the following to illustrate analogous differentiation; first, the use of the singular where plural *судимости* 'criminal records' might give the erroneous impression that each man had committed more than one crime:

Большинство из них нигде не работали, а Бердников и Каплин уже имели *судимость*. (Сов. Рос., 11.10.89)  
Most of them had never worked, and Berdnikov and Kaplin already had a criminal record.

Second, use of the plural where use of singular *своѣм путѣм* would imply research along similar lines and thus be at variance with the sense of the statement:

... советские и американские специалисты продвигались *своими путями* в этой области и пришли к созданию совершенно разных космических кораблей. (МН, №46, 88)  
... Soviet and American specialists pursued their own lines of research in this field and designed completely different spaceships.

There are signs of the increased use of the plural in modern Russian, even where there is no need to differentiate:

Вскрикивали, махали *шапками* 'They were screaming, waving their caps'  
Хлопали друг друга по *спинам* 'They were slapping each other on the back'  
(Wade, 1992: 83–4).

Though examples of the plural in such contexts were recorded in the nineteenth century – *Люди шли обвязавши носы́ и рты́* 'People were walking along having muffled their noses and mouths' (L.N. Tolstoi, *Война́ и мир* 'War and Peace') – traditional usage has preferred the singular.

#### 4.3.3.1 Examples from prose and publicistics

It is premature to speak of a fundamental change in usage, but there are very many examples of the plural in the contemporary press and in popular prose:

- parts of the body:

даже за *головы* схватились ‘they even clutched their heads’ (КП, 5–11.12.97);

они стояли с раскрытыми *ртами* ‘they stood with their mouths gaping open’ (Kunin, 1994: 92)

оба высокие, стройные, с твёрдо очерченными *лицами* ‘both tall and well built, with finely-chiselled features’ (Marinina, 1997: 201).

А за *спинами* командира и второго лётчика — радист, техники, инженеры . . . Все с наушниками на *головах*, с ларингофонами на *шеях*. (Kunin, 1994: 93)

And behind the backs of the commander and second pilot were the radio-operator, the technicians and engineers, all with ear-phones on their heads and laryngophones round their necks.

- clothing:

разгуливали в *купальниках* и открытых *платьях* ‘they wandered around in swimming costumes and low-cut dresses’ (Dovlatov, 1996a: 177);

на официантках были яркие шёлковые *блузки* и кружевные *передники* ‘the waitresses were wearing bright silk blouses and lace pinafores’ (Dovlatov, 1996b: 119);

выходили участники церемонии в вечерних *платьях* и *фраках* ‘participants in the ceremony alighted in evening dresses and tail-coats’ (АиФ, №21, 97), cf.:

Раскрылась дверь, и в участок вошли два человека в *тёмных костюмах* и *тёмных галстуках* . . . (Kunin, 1994: 165)

The door opened and into the sector walked two men in dark suits and dark ties . . .

However, the singular is retained for *uniforms*:

На кладбище Лёха, Гриня, Аркадий и Митя были в *военной форме*. (Kunin, 1994: 106)

Lëkha, Grinia, Arkadii and Mitia wore military uniform at the cemetery.

- objects:

сучкорубы опустили *топоры* ‘the branch-pruners lowered their axes’ (Dovlatov, 1996b: 68);

полицейские заклацали *затворами* автоматов ‘the police began clattering the bolts on their sub-machine guns’ (Kunin, 1994: 167);

репортёры щёлкали *камерами* ‘the reporters clicked their cameras’ (Kunin, 1994: 182):

Затем пришли немцы. Они играли на *гармошках* . . . (Dovlatov, 1996b: 8)

Then the Germans arrived. They were playing accordions . . .

#### 4.3.4 Loan plurals misinterpreted as singulars

There has been an increase in the number of loan plurals from English which have been misinterpreted as singulars (cf. джинсы ‘jeans’, etc.), as Western *realia* become available in Russia:

снйкерс ‘Snickers bar’  
 фóлдерс ‘folder’  
 пáмперс ‘Pampers’ (a brand of nappy).

Often a Russian plural ending is used:

чйпсы ‘crisps’	слáксы ‘slacks’
лэггинсы ‘leggings’	бáксы ‘bucks’

Cf. the use of English plural ‘bucks’ as Russian singular бакс in the following:

То-то, кружку пива в баре по цене в один бакс мало кто может себе позволить . . . (Silkin, 1997: 51)

Say what you like, but not many people can afford a mug of beer in the bar at one buck a time.

#### 4.4 Summary of principal grammatical developments

The following is a point-by-point summary of principal grammatical developments:

- Although grammatical change has been slower than lexical, prepositional usage has been affected by social and technical developments (Section 4.0), and the number of indeclinable nouns has increased (флóппи ‘floppy disk’, etc.; Section 4.1.1.1), while non-declension is particularly noticeable among newer letter abbreviations (MPOT ‘minimum wage’; Section 4.1.1.2).
- Non-declension of surnames in -ко is the norm in official styles, but either (feminine) declension or non-declension is acceptable in literary and standard colloquial genres (Section 4.1.1.3).
- There is a trend towards non-declension of place-names in -ово/-ево/-ино/-ыно in colloquial, professional and journalistic genres, but declension remains an option (Section 4.1.1.4).
- The need for precision has generated prefixed perfective forms for some bi-aspectual verbs, thus reversing the trend towards analyticity (Section 4.1.3).
- The increased use of the accusative case after negated transitive verbs in some contexts (Section 4.2.1) is paralleled by a trend towards a partitive accusative (Section 4.2.2).



- Forms such as *о́фис-мэнеджер* 'office manager', in which the qualifier precedes the item qualified (Section 4.2.4), and linkage between an object and verbs that take varying government (Section 4.2.7) probably result from English influence, which may also account for an increased tendency to enumerate postpositive detail in the nominative case (Section 4.2.8).
- The use of transitive verbs with intransitive meaning characterises official registers and has been accelerated by parliamentary and political practice, also symptomising a general expansion of condensed constructions (Section 4.2.6).
- Adverbs in *по-* based on qualitative adjectives have become popular, partly due to their freshness and expressiveness (Section 4.2.10).
- The combination of prepositions with infinitives represents an expansion in prepositional government (Section 4.2.11).
- An increase in abstract nouns that can appear in the plural derives from professional terminology, and technical and social change accounts for plurals such as *техноло́гии* 'technologies' and *адми́нистра́ции* 'administrations'. The plurals of the names of formerly singular-only substances are being adapted to new contexts, and the plural is increasingly used in constructions in which identical objects or parts of the body belong to or relate to each member of a group, while loan plurals from English which have been misinterpreted as singulars represent another growth area (Section 4.3).

## Notes

- 1 Russian journalists are uncertain whether *эвро* 'euro' is masculine or feminine. (Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty communiqué dated 7.1.99).
- 2 *Отксе́рить* has been used in bureaucratic circles since Soviet times but is now also found in written and other spheres (Shaposhnikov, 1998: 93).

## 5 Name changes

### 5.0 Introduction and historical overview

Name changes impoverish not only the map, but also the history of society and language, since it is in toponymy that many forgotten words are preserved.

(Murzaev, 1995: 220–1)

The majority of geographical names in Russia were originally based either on physical features (Соснобóрск ‘Sosnoborsk’, literally ‘Pine Forest’, Курга́н ‘Tumulus’, Криво́й Ро́г ‘Curved Horn’, etc.) or on the names of early settlers, land-owners, monarchs, political or military figures, men of science, art or literature (Murzaev 1995: 218–9).

Post-Revolutionary renaming threw this system into chaos, and Russia and the Soviet Union may well be the only country in the world that pursued a policy of name-changing for over seven decades. Pospelov has spoken of a post-Revolutionary ‘toponymic bacchanalia’ (топонимическая вакханалия) that destroyed a well-established naming strategy by creating politically motivated names such as Октя́брьский ‘October’ (south west of Ufa, founded 1937), Первома́йск ‘First of May’ (1920, west of Lugansk, originally Пе́тро-Ма́рьевка ‘Petro-Mar’evka’) and Красногра́д ‘Red Town’ (1922, northeast Ukraine, founded as Константиногра́д ‘Konstantinograd’ in 1782) (Pospelov 1993: 3–8; see also Mawdsley and Mawdsley 1980: 370–2 for changed names of streets in Moscow and Leningrad/St Petersburg).

### 5.1 Post-Revolutionary renaming

As the result of post-Revolutionary successive renamings, toponyms can be categorised as follows:

- a name has been *changed and subsequently restored*:  
Пермь ‘Perm’ – Мо́лотов ‘Molotov’ – Пермь;
- names have undergone *multiple changes before reverting to the original*:  
Владикавка́з ‘Vladikavkaz’ – Орджоникíдзе ‘Ordzhonikidze’ – Дзауджика́у ‘Dzaudzhikau’ – Орджоникíдзе – Владикавка́з;

- successive changes have culminated in *an entirely new name*:  
Царѣцын ‘Tsaritsyn’ – Сталинград ‘Stalingrad’ – Волгоград ‘Volgograd’ (Murzaev, 1995: 216–17; Room, 1996: *passim*).

Not all name changes have taken place for political considerations. Soon after the establishment of Soviet power place names with negative connotations had been altered. Thus, Вші́вка ‘Vshivka’ (cf. вші́вый ‘lice-ridden’) changed to Бори́совка ‘Borisovka’ in 1925, and Дурако́во ‘Durakovo’ (cf. дура́к ‘fool’) changed to Кольцо́во ‘Kol’tsovo’ in 1926. A similar policy of restyling villages named after landowners was only partially fulfilled, since about three quarters of villages in Russia are named in this way (Pospelov, 1993: 9–11). In 1964, Загря́зье ‘Zagriaz’e’ (cf. грязь ‘dirt’) was renamed Бере́зьянка ‘Bereznianka’ (from берѣ́за ‘birch tree’) (Room, 1993: x), and in 1965 Ла́птево ‘Laptevo’ was renamed Ясногóрск ‘Iasnogorsk’ to avoid association with ла́поть ‘peasant’s bast shoe’ (in fact, however, the name derived from the Laptev family, whence also the Laptev Sea – мо́ре Ла́птевых) (Pospelov, 1993: 11).

Most changes were, however, of a political nature, some involving ideological shifts; thus, Пу́гачёвская ‘Pugachëv’s’ (after E.I. Pugachëv, leader of a 1773–75 peasant rising during Catherine II’s reign) replaced Потѣ́мкинская ‘Potëmkin’s’ (after P.G. Potëmkin, a favourite of Catherine II), and Красноа́рме́йский ‘Red Army Man’s’ replaced Генера́льский ‘General’s’ (Pospelov, 1993: 11).

Between 1923 and 1936 the All-Russian Executive Committee (ВЦИК) and Central Executive Committee of the USSR (ЦИК СССР), which were in charge of nomenclature, passed twelve decrees and resolutions determining the rules of renaming (Pospelov, 1993: 8). One aim of the measures was to limit the uncontrolled alteration of names that referred to saints, landowners, generals and other representatives of the Russian Empire (Murzaev, 1995: 216). Nevertheless, the process of name-changing continued after 1936, despite a final resolution of 1 June that year suspending the further renaming of towns, regional centres, railway stations and some other places (Pospelov, 1993: 8).

### 5.1.1 *Removal of ‘royal’ names*

After the October Revolution and especially after the establishment of the Soviet Union in 1922 a far-reaching programme of name-changing ensued. Names based on царь ‘tsar’, импера́тор ‘emperor’ and князь ‘prince’ were removed at an early stage. Thus:

Царѣвококша́йск ‘Tsarëvokokshaisk’ north west of Kazan’ became Краснококша́йск ‘Krasnokokshaisk’ in 1919;  
Импера́торская Га́вань ‘Emperor’s Harbour’, a seaport north east of Khabarovsk, became Советская Га́вань ‘Soviet Harbour’ in 1923;

Ромáнов-на-Мýрмане 'Romanov-on-Murman' (founded 1916) became Мýрманск 'Murmansk' in 1917, thus shedding its associations with the imperial House (Pospelov 1993: 8–9).

### 5.1.2 Renaming after individuals

In many cases, places were renamed after individuals, especially political leaders:

Ста́лино 'Stalino' in east Ukraine (1924, after I.V. Stalin, General Secretary of the Party's Central Committee 1922);

Свердло́вск 'Sverdlovsk' in the central Urals (1924, after Ia.M. Sverdlov, titular head of state);

Фру́нзе 'Frunze', capital of Kirghizia (1926, after M.V. Frunze, a former Red Army commander later involved in the reorganisation of the army);

Дзе́ржінск 'Dzerzhinsk' northeast of Donetsk (1938, after F.E. Dzerzhinskii, chairman of the Cheka, later the GPU);

Кі́ров 'Kirov' north of Kazan' (1934, after S.M. Kirov, Party chief in Leningrad, assassinated in that year);

Кали́нин 'Kalinin' on the Volga, north-west of Moscow (1931, after M.I. Kalinin, former titular President of the USSR);

Орджони́кідзе 'Ordzhonikidze', the capital of North Osetiia (1931 and again 1954, after G.K. Ordzhonikidze, who had been instrumental in bringing Georgia under Soviet control).

Some names attracted especial attention: some 150 places were named after S.M. Kirov, 100 after M.I. Kalinin, forty after V.V. Kuibyshev (head of Gosplan, the State Planning Commission, who died in 1935 and was rumoured to have opposed the imminent purges; Hosking, 1985: 193), thirty-three after A.A. Zhdanov (whose death in 1948 convinced Stalin he had been murdered and led to the arrest of a number of Jewish doctors in the episode of the 'Doctors' Plot'; see Shaw and Pryce, 1990: 317), some after Maxim Gor'kii, including Го́рький 'Gor'kii' for the city of Nizhnii Novgorod. The latter was renamed despite the protests of Gor'kii himself: he forbade the use of the name in his household. Nizhnii Novgorod was eventually restored as the name of the city in 1990, fifty-four years after his death (Murzaev, 1995: 227).

V.I. Lenin was the source of the greatest number of names; only a few, however, were named after him during his lifetime (Shchelokova, 1987: 57). The Алфави́тный спи́сок предпри́ятий свя́зи СССР 'Alphabetical List of Communication Enterprises in the USSR' listed 223 names based on 'Lenin', seventy-three on his real surname 'Ul'ianov' and forty-one on his patronymic 'Il'ich' (Murzaev, 1995: 228–9). Villages called Ромáново 'Romanovo' were frequently renamed Ле́нино 'Lenino', thus substituting the 'new' tsar for the old (Pospelov, 1993: 9). Петрогра́д 'Petrograd', which had replaced Санкт-Петербу́рг 'St Petersburg' on 18 August 1914 as German names fell



from favour during the First World War, was itself replaced by Ленинград 'Leningrad' on 26 January 1924 following the death of Lenin (reverting to Санкт-Петербург in 1991).

Naming and renaming after Lenin occurred not only in the Russian Federative Republic, but in other republics as well; thus, Лёнинск 'Leninsk' in eastern Uzbekistan was the first Soviet town to be named after the Bolshevik leader (Room, 1996: 121). It was not unknown, however, even in the Soviet period, for a place named after Lenin to be changed. Thus, Гафúров 'Gafurov' in northern Tadzhikistan, originally Ленинабад 'Leninabad', was renamed Советабад 'Sovetabad' in 1953, changed to Ходжéнт 'Khodzhent' in 1962, reverted to Советабад in 1964, and was given the name Гафúров 'Gafurov' in 1978, after B.G. Gafurov, a Tadzhik Party activist who died in 1977 (Room, 1996: 71).

Military leaders such as Marshal S.M. Budënniy, scientists such as horticulturist I.V. Michurin and mechanical engineer S.A. Chaplygin, and cosmonaut Iu.A. Gagarin were also honoured. Thus, Прику́мск 'Prikumsk' was renamed Будённоговск 'Budënnovsk' in 1935, after Marshal Budënniy, reverted to Прику́мск in 1957, following his fall from favour, then to Будённоговск on Budënniy's death in 1973, by which time he had been rehabilitated. Раненбу́рг 'Ranenburg', north-west of Tambov, was renamed Чаплýгин 'Chaplygin' in 1948, and Гжатск 'Gzhatsk' west of Moscow was renamed Гага́рин 'Gagarin' in 1968, the year in which Iu.A. Gagarin was killed in a flying accident (Room, 1996: 8).

As the political situation in the USSR evolved and individuals fell from favour, some of the new namings had to be revised. Thus, Троцк 'Trotsk' southwest of Samara was changed to Чапа́евск 'Chapaevsk' (after the Civil War hero V.I. Chapaev), following L.D. Trotskii's expulsion from the Party in 1927. Зинов́ьевск 'Zinov'evsk' in central Ukraine was renamed Кировогра́д 'Kirovograd' in 1939 (G. Zinov'ev was executed in 1936 on a charge of complicity in the assassination of S.M. Kirov in 1934). Баталпашинск 'Batalpashinsk' north of the Caucasus was renamed Сули́мов 'Sulimov' in 1930 in honour of D.E. Sulimov, a local Communist Party activist; then, following his death in 1937, Ежо́во-Черке́ск 'Ezhovo-Cherkessk' in honour of N.I. Ezhov, Commissar of Internal Affairs and co-ordinator of the purges 1936–38; finally, after Ezhov was dismissed and arrested in 1938, and presumably shot, Черке́ск 'Cherkessk' in 1939 (Pospelov 1993: 14).

### 5.1.3 *Resolving ambiguity*

The alphabetical list referred to in Section 5.1.2 listed 114 names based on Совет 'Soviet', 133 on Комсомо́л 'the Komsomol', others on Коммуни́зм 'Communism' and Револю́ция 'Revolution' (Dulichenko, 1994: 234, 236). The policy of bestowing identical names on so many places resulted in the creation of nests of homonymous forms, especially in derivations. Thus, ле́нинцы could refer to adherents of Lenin's teachings or the inhabitants of

Лéнинск ‘Leninsk’, Лéнинское ‘Leninskoe’, Лéнинский райóн ‘Lenin Region’ and so on. The inhabitants of Совéтск ‘Sovetsk’, Совéтское ‘Sovetskoe’ and Совéтский райóн ‘Soviet Region’ could all be called советча́не, while the inhabitants of Комсомóльск-на-Аму́ре ‘Komsomol’sk-na-Amure’ were called комсомольча́не, to distinguish them from комсомóльцы ‘members of the Komsomol’ (Dulichenko, 1994: 237).

An inter-departmental commission within the ‘Main Administration for Geodesy and Cartography’ (Глáвное управлéние геоде́зии и картогра́фии), charged with the avoidance of name repetitions, proved incapable of dealing with this problem, since it could only *recommend*, and its advice was routinely ignored. Occasional misunderstandings continued to be caused by the existence of fifteen places called Свердлóв ‘Sverdlov’ and nineteen called Комсомóльск ‘Komsomol’sk’ (*ИЗв.*, 20.9.73, cited in Dulichenko, 1994: 241).

#### 5.1.4 ‘Red’ in place-names

Many post-Revolutionary namings incorporated ideological symbols such as the colour краснýй ‘red’:

Краснода́р ‘Krasnodar’ northeast of Novorossiisk (1920, replacing

Екатеринода́р ‘Ekaterinodar’)

Краснока́мск ‘Krasnokamsk’, a town on the Kama north west of Perm’, etc. (Room, 1996: 13).

In fact, красно- is said to be the commonest element in Soviet place-names, with about 1,900 names to its credit (Room, 1996: 5). ‘Red’ in its revolutionary connotation was also found in the non-Russian republics: Ула́н-Удэ́ ‘red Udé’ south of Lake Baikal (Ulan is the Buriat for ‘red’). На́рьян-Ма́р ‘red town’ west of Vorkuta (‘narian’, the Nenets for ‘red’, contrasts symbolically with the original ostensibly ‘anti-Communist’ name of the locality: Белоще́лье ‘White Crevasse’) (Pospelov, 1993: 12; Room, 1996: 139). Turkic ‘red’ – represented by кизы́л, кизы́л, кызы́л and кзы́л – appears in Кы́л-Орда́ ‘Red Fort’, a provincial centre in Kazakhstan, and other names (Murzaev, 1995: 229; Room, 1996: 118).

#### 5.1.5 Religious names

While religious place names were in a minority during the Soviet period, some did survive:

Арха́нгельск ‘Archangel’ in north-west Russia

Благове́щенск ‘Blagoveshchensk’ (literally ‘Annunciation’) in east Russia, near the Chinese border

Борисоглѣбск 'Borisoglebsk' (commemorating SS. Boris and Gleb) south-east of Tambov

Спасск 'Spassk' in south Russia (from Спас 'Saviour')

Троицк 'Troitsk' in south-western Russia (from Троица 'Trinity') (Room, 1996: 12).

Problems of religious naming had begun in 1926, when the All-Russian Central Executive Committee issued a decree recommending that local authorities should stop requesting new names for the many settlements based on church festivals or saints. This decree was revoked in 1929 at the Moscow conference of the Union of Militant Atheists (Союз воинствующих безбожников). Consequently, in 1930 Сѣргиев 'Sergiev', site of the monastery of the Trinity and St Sergius, was renamed Загорск 'Zagorsk', after the Russian revolutionary V.M. Zagorskii, and Воскресѣнск 'Voskresensk' west of Moscow, named after its monastery dedicated to the feast of the Resurrection, was renamed Ёстра 'Istra', after the river on which it lies (Pospelov 1993: 10).

### *5.1.6 Prelude and aftermath to the Great Patriotic War (1941–45)*

A number of Russian names were substituted for German names after the annexation of the Kaliningrad (earlier Königsberg) Region following the Potsdam Conference of 1945. These included Балтійск 'Baltiisk' for Pillau, Комсомольск 'Komsomol'sk' for Löwenhagen and Совѣтск 'Sovetsk' for Tilsit. Some names commemorated Soviet soldiers and officers killed during the attack on Königsberg in early 1945 (Room, 1996: 9–10). (Conversely, some names in Poland were Germanised following the German invasion of Poland in 1939: Malbork became Marienburg, Toruń became Thorn – the town's name from 1793 to 1807 and 1815 to 1918, as well as 1939–45 – Zielona Góra was renamed Grünberg and Bydgoszcz became Bromberg, its earlier name, up to 1919, the Polish names being reinstated in 1945.) (See also Room, 1993: xiii.)

The annexation of the Kurile Islands in 1945 led to the replacement of Japanese by Russian names. Thus, the town of Курільск 'Kuril'sk' replaced Japanese Syana and the islands of Итуруп 'Iturup' and Кунашир 'Kunashir' were modified forms of Japanese Etorofu and Kunashiri, respectively.

Many Finnish names were replaced by Russian ones when the Karelian Isthmus and other border areas were yielded to the USSR following Finland's defeat in the 1939–40 war: Koivisto was replaced by Приморск 'Primorsk' in 1949, Kakisalmi by Приозѣрск 'Priozersk' in 1948, Terijoki by Зеленогорск 'Zelenogorsk'. After the banishment of the Crimean Tatars to Central Asia and Siberia in 1945, Бахчисарай 'Bakhchisarai', Джанкой 'Dzhankoi' and Балаклáва 'Balaklava' were the only towns to preserve their original Tatar names, the first apparently out of respect for A.S. Pushkin and his long poem *Бахчисарáйский фонтáн* 'The Fountain of Bakhchisarai', the



second as an important railway junction (Room, 1996: 10–11; Murzaev, 1995: 233–4).

### 5.1.7 *The 1957 decree*

In 1957 an official decree issued by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet prohibited the naming of places after living people, thus removing toponyms based on the names of N.S. Khrushchëv's political opponents (for the 'anti-party group'; see Hosking, 1985: 345–6). Мóлoтoв 'Molotov' west of the central Urals reverted to its ancient name Пермь 'Perm', and Ворошиловгpáд 'Voroshilovgrad' to Лyгáнск 'Lugansk' (subsequently, Ворошиловгpáд was restored in 1970, after Marshal K.E. Voroshilov's death, only to revert to Лyгáнск again in 1990) (Room, 1996: 8).

The 1957 decree was subsequently invoked as a pretext for honouring individuals on their deaths:

Чистякóво 'Chistiakovo' in the Donbass was renamed Тopéz 'Torez' in 1964, after M. Thorez, the French Communist leader;

Змиїв 'Zmiëv' south of Kharkov was renamed Гóтвaльд 'Gottwald' in 1976, after the Czech Communist leader and state president (Zmiëv was restored in 1991 on the break-up of Czechoslovakia and the Czech Communist Party); and

Кáдиевкa 'Kadievka' in the Donbass was renamed Стaхáнов 'Stakhanov' in 1978, after the face-worker A.G. Stakhanov, founder of the stakhanovite movement.

### 5.1.8 *Destalinisation and the breach with China*

In 1961, as part of the de-Stalinisation campaign (for its beginnings in 1956, see Hosking, 1985: 335–7), most place names bearing the former dictator's name were replaced:

Сталинабáд 'Stalinabad' capital of Tadzhikistan, reverted to Душaнбé 'Dushanbe';

Сталингpáд 'Stalingrad' (since 1925, earlier Цapи́цын 'Tsaritsyn') was renamed Волгoгpáд 'Volgograd' (discussions in the Duma of a possible reversion to Stalingrad or even Tsaritsyn were reported in the *Sunday Times*, 31.5.98);

Сталиногóрск 'Stalinogorsk' south-east of Moscow reverted to Новомоскóвск 'Novomoskovsk'.

Unrest between the Soviet Union and China, resulting in a border clash between Soviet and Chinese troops, fighting over an island on the River Ussuri, culminated in 1972 in a drive to remove Chinese place names from the territory of the Far East (Pospelov 1993: 16–17).



### 5.1.9 1982–1985

The final consequences of the 1957 decree led to the reversal of place name changes carried out over the period 1982–85:

Бре́жнев ‘Brezhnev’ on the River Кама (after General Secretary L.I.

Brezhnev) reverted to На́бережные Че́лны ‘Naberezhnye Chelny’ in 1988; Андрóпов ‘Andropov’ on the Volga, north-west of Yaroslavl’ (after General Secretary Iu.V. Andropov, who died that year) to Ры́бинск ‘Rybinsk’ in 1989;

Черне́нко ‘Chernenko’ in southern Russia (after General Secretary K.U. Chernenko), reverted to Ша́рыпово ‘Sharypovo’ in 1988.

By the end of the 1980s a clear-out of names based on Communist leaders had begun. For example, Жда́нов ‘Zhdanov’ in south-east Ukraine reverted to Мари́уполь ‘Mariupol’ in 1989 and Кали́нин ‘Kalinin’ (1931, after M.I. Kalinin) reverted to Тве́рь ‘Tver’ in 1990 (see Pospelov, 1993: 15).

## 5.2 The period since 1985

### 5.2.1 The 1989 conference

Efforts to restore the historical names of towns, squares and streets were made by the writers S.P. Zalygin, V.G. Rasputin and V.I. Belov as early as in 1986. Two years later a special commission on toponymy was attached to the Soviet Cultural Fund (Советский фонд культу́ры). At its first meeting in July 1988 it sent an open letter to the Supreme Soviet stressing the cultural significance of historical place names and calling upon the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet to issue a decree restoring Tver’, Nizhnii Novgorod, Samara, Mariupol’, Viatka, Lugansk, Peterhof and others (Dulichenko, 1994: 241–4).

In 1989, participants in the conference “Исторические названия — памятники культу́ры” (‘Historical Names are Cultural Monuments’) resolved to record historical names on a database in co-operation with the Soviet Cultural Fund, the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the Soviet Geographical Institute, the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments and the Soviet Ministry of Culture. The conference advocated the restoration of twenty-five names, some of which are:

Акмóлинск ‘Akmolinsk’ (1961 Целиногра́д ‘Tselinograd’, subsequently in 1994 Акмола́ ‘Akmola’, designated capital of Kazakhstan in place of Alma-Ata by a decree signed by President Nazurbaev; see *Коммерса́нтъ*, 28.10.97)

Вя́тка ‘Viatka’ (1934 Ки́ров ‘Kirov’, 1991 Вя́тка)

Кёнигсберг ‘Königsberg’ (Калинингра́д ‘Kaliningrad’ since 1946)

Нижний Новгород 'Nizhnii Novgorod' (1932 Горький 'Gor'kii', 1990  
 Нижний Новгород)  
 Пишпек 'Pishpek' (1926 Фрунзе 'Frunze', 1991 Бишкек 'Bishkek')  
 Самара 'Samara' (1935 Куйбышев 'Kuibyshev', 1991 Самара)  
 Сергиев Посад 'Sergiev Posad' (1925 Загорск 'Zagorsk', 1991 Сергиев  
 Посад)  
 Тверь 'Tver' (1931 Калинин 'Kalinin', 1990 Тверь) (Revenskaia, 1989:  
 129–36).

Speakers at the conference stressed that post-Revolutionary name changes such as Большая Коммунистическая улица 'Great Communist Street' were often arbitrary and meaningless, while ancient toponyms such as Псков 'Pskov', Киев 'Kiev' and Смоленск 'Smolensk' are not just names, but centres of ancient culture; also, Рыбинск 'Rybinsk', from рыба 'fish' (Андропов 'Andropov' 1984–89), reflects the ancient culture of the north (Fadeev 1989: 80–3). Feelings ran high as one delegate described attempts by the local press to thwart a reversion to Нижний Новгород 'Nizhnii Novgorod' and spoke of claims by the city's executive committee that the cost of renaming would run into millions of roubles that would have to be deducted from the housing budget. Another delegate had been threatened with dismissal if she attended the conference (Revenskaia, 1989: 130–2; see also Room, 1990a).

### 5.2.2 Financial implications of name-changing

By 1990 the United Nations Organisation expressed concern that Soviet name-changes would involve many countries in heavy financial outlay, since the cost of a single name-change in an atlas or tourist literature could be astronomical. In many countries name-changes were stored on a computer pending new editions of atlases at intervals of three years or so, while the pace of change in the Soviet Union meant that mass renewals had to be made every year or so, with serious financial implications at home and abroad (Пр, 6.9.90, cited in Dulichenko, 1994: 248).

### 5.2.3 The situation in 1991

In 1991 *Аргументы и факты* (№35) listed over twenty towns whose historical names had been restored since 1988, including Рыбинск 'Rybinsk', Луганск 'Lugansk', Нижний Новгород 'Nizhnii Novgorod', Мариуполь 'Mariupol', Тверь 'Tver', Самара 'Samara' and Владикавказ 'Vladikavkaz' (Dulichenko 1994: 244). In the same year, members of the Union of Writers appealed to Zagorsk City Executive Committee to restore the name Сергиев Посад 'Sergiev Posad' in honour of St Sergius of Radonezh (Преподобный Сергий Радонежский), who had founded the town and the Monastery of the Trinity and St Sergius six centuries earlier, and to

Sverdlovsk's Provincial Council of People's Deputies to restore the name Екатеринбург 'Ekaterinburg' in place of Свердловск 'Sverdlovsk', on the grounds that Ia.M. Sverdlov had participated in mass persecutions, supported a genocidal policy directed at the Cossacks, and had been involved in the assassination of the Romanovs and in the establishment of the first Soviet concentration camps (Dulichenko, 1994: 249–50). Both names were restored in 1991.

#### 5.2.4 'CIS', 'Russia' and 'Russians'

After the break-up of the Soviet Union many more places reverted to their pre-Revolutionary names. On 8 December 1991 the Soviet Union itself changed its name to Commonwealth of Independent States (Содружество независимых государств). The CIS was set up in Minsk and initially comprised Russia, Ukraine and Belarus', expanding subsequently, on 21 December 1991 in Alma-Ata, to include eight other former republics (a ninth, Georgia, joined in December 1993, while the Baltic states opted to stay outside), after an abortive attempt by nine former republics in November 1991 to form a Union of Sovereign States (Holmes, 1997: 113–14). The initial decision for the establishment of the CIS was taken in the Беловежская пуща 'Belovezhskaia Pushcha', a forest hunting reserve in Belarus', at a meeting of Presidents El'tsin, Kravchuk and Shushkevich, leaders, respectively, of Russia, Ukraine and Belarus'. The abbreviation СНГ 'CIS' soon became the target of ironic and sceptical comment (see also Section 2.3.2.2, p. 127). Thus, *День* №1, 92) asked sarcastically if it meant *С Новым Годом* 'Happy New Year' and *Советская Россия* on 25 February 1992 dedicated a ditty to the name-change:

Всем известно: клады прячут  
Там, где лес погуще.  
Закопали СССР  
В Беловежской пуше.

Everyone knows that treasures are hidden  
Where the forest is thickest.  
They buried the USSR  
In Belovezhskaia pushcha.

(cited in Dulichenko, 1994: 254–6)

Russia itself was given the name Российская Федерация 'Russian Federation' (РФ 'RF', Россия 'Russia') at a meeting of the Supreme Soviet, purportedly without discussion or alternative proposals (Dulichenko, 1994: 254), and its official names – Российская Федерация and Россия – are enshrined in Article 1 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation (Khan-Pira, 1996: 119). As for the citizens of the new country, as the publication *Союз* (№47,



90) had predicted: 'They would be called, not *russkie* [i.e. ethnic Russians], but . . . *rossiane* [i.e. citizens of Russia], which is by no means the same thing.'

An analogous distinction was made between ethnic-cultural *ру́сский* (*ру́сский язык* 'Russian language', *ру́сская му́зыка* 'Russian music', etc.) and administrative-territorial *росси́йский* (*росси́йское госуда́рство* 'the Russian state', *Росси́йское телеви́дение* 'Russian television', etc.) (Dulichenko, 1994: 199–220; see also Berry, 1996: 46–9, who in the course of a computer survey of one million words identified at least twice as many examples of *росси́йский* as *ру́сский*, concluding that since the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 and the consequent disappearance of *сове́тский* 'Soviet', *росси́йский* had assumed many of that adjective's functions).

### 5.2.5 *The renaming of towns*

A number of Russian towns and cities reverted to their original, pre-Revolutionary names, also in 1991; for instance: *Ку́йбышев* 'Kuibyshev' to *Самара* 'Samara' and *Свердло́вск* 'Sverdlovsk' to *Екатери́нбу́рг* 'Ekaterinburg'. *Го́рький* 'Gor'kii' had reverted to *Ни́жний Но́вгород* 'Nizhnii Novgorod' a year earlier, in 1990, and some names had been changing to earlier or indigenous forms even before this, especially in the non-Russian republics. Non-Russian towns affected by the new wave of renamings included *Гянджа́* 'Giandzha' in Azerbaijan (previously *Кировоба́д*) and *Багда́ди* 'Bagdadi' in Georgia (previously *Маяко́вский* 'Maiakovskii'). *Калинингра́д* 'Kaliningrad', given its present name in 1946, remains so and did not revert to *Кё́нигсберг* 'Königsberg', a name associated with the nearby castle of the Teutonic Order of Knights and the philosopher Immanuel Kant (see "Калинингра́д? . . . Кё́нигсберг? . . . Кня́згород!", *Ру́сский вё́стник* №7, 92, cited in Dulichenko, 1994: 245; Murzaev, 1995: 234).

*Санкт-Петербу́рг* 'St Petersburg' was also restored in 1991, despite objections to the replacement of the name Leningrad, based on the city's associations with Lenin and the nine-hundred-day siege (1941–4) during the Great Patriotic War. In a referendum held in Leningrad, 54 per cent voted for the change, 44 per cent against, and the decree authorising the change of name was signed by R.I. Khasbulatov, first deputy chairman of the Supreme Soviet of the RSFSR, on 6 September 1991, despite protests from members of the committee *В за́щиту Лени́нгра́да* 'In Defence of Leningrad' that a national referendum should be held, since local supporters controlled the media and there had been alleged irregularities in the count (Dulichenko, 1994: 246–7). Interestingly, *Лени́нгра́дская о́бласть* 'Leningrad Province' has been preserved, as have *Лени́нгра́дский вокза́л* 'Leningrad Station' and *Лени́нгра́дское шоссе́* 'Leningrad Highway' in Moscow.



### 5.3 Moscow street names

#### 5.3.1 Historical background

The names of many streets in old Moscow were based on historical associations that were destroyed by the bland renamings of the Soviet period. Thematically, the original names of Moscow streets could be sub-divided into eight categories:

- 1 those with religious or ecclesiastical links: *у́лица Воздв́иженка* (cf. *Воздв́ижение* 'Exaltation of the Cross', festival celebrated on 14 September Old Style) '*Vozdvizhenka Street*' (1930–46 *у́лица Коминтёрна* 'Comintern Street', 1946–63 *у́лица Кали́нина* 'Kalinin Street', 1963–90 incorporated into *проспéкт Кали́нина* 'Kalinin Prospect');
- 2 those associated with secular realia: *Газéтный переу́лок* 'Newspaper Lane', recalling the printing in 1788 of Moscow's first newspaper *Москóвские вéдомости* 'Moscow News' in the University press;
- 3 those that denoted highways: the *Орды́нка* 'Ordynka', route to the Golden Horde;
- 4 names associated with former settlements (*слобóды*) and the occupations practised there: *Старовага́ньковский переу́лок* 'Starovagan'kovsky Lane', where the mummers (*скоморо́хи*) lived who entertained (*вага́нили*) the tsar;
- 5 those named after types of ground cover: *Мохова́я у́лица* 'Moss Street' – after the eighteenth-century market where moss was sold for insulation (1961–90 part of *проспéкт Ма́ркаса* 'Marx Prospect') (Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 125);
- 6 those that referred to villages: *у́лица Большо́я Лубя́нка* 'Greater Lubi-anka Street' (1926–90 *у́лица Дзерж́инского* 'Dzerzhinskii Street');
- 7 those that designated the old city limits: *Земляно́й вал* 'Earthen Rampart' (1938–90 *у́лица Чка́лова* 'Chkalov Street', after V.P. Chkalov, a famous aviator);
- 8 those named after house-owners: *Нащóкинский переу́лок* 'Nashchokin Lane' (in the Soviet period *у́лица Фурманова* 'Furmanov Lane' [after D. Furmanov, author of the civil-war novel *Ча́пáев* 'Chapaev' 1923]) (Walczak-Sroczyńska, 1995: 226–7).

#### 5.3.2 Soviet renamings

This pattern was disrupted by ideological renamings during the Soviet period, when old names with religious or imperial connections were replaced by others honouring revolutionary and military heroes and cultural figures. Thus:

Стáрая Басмáнная ўлица ‘Old Basmannaia Street’ (the basmanniki, who served the court as bakers or silversmiths, lived in this area; Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 204) became ўлица Кáрла Мáркса ‘Karl Marx Street’; Мяснiцкая ўлица ‘Butcher Street’ (after a local community of butchers; Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 139) – ўлица Кiрова ‘Kirov Street’; ўлица Варвáрка ‘Varvarka Street’ (after a sixteenth-century church dedicated to St Barbara the Martyr on this site) – ўлица Рáзина ‘Razin Street’ (after Stepan Razin, who led a revolt in 1670 and was taken to his execution on Red Square along this street; Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 121, 370–1 on changed street names).

### 5.3.3 Restoration of street and metro-station names

Kostomarov distinguishes the ‘epidemic’ of name changes in present-day Russia from other linguistic phenomena on the grounds that it is a deliberate process for ideological reasons. For example, decision No. 149 of the Moscow City Council dated 5 November 1990 restored the historical names of many places in the city, including:

Лубя́нская пло́щадь ‘Lubianka Square’ (previously пло́щадь Дзержи́нского ‘Dzerzhinskii Square’)

Нико́льская ўлица ‘Nicol’skaia Street’ (previously ўлица Два́дцать пя́того Октя́бря ‘25 October Street’)

Патриа́ршие пруды́ ‘Patriarchal Ponds’ (previously Пионе́рские пруды́ ‘Pioneer Ponds’)

as well as underground stations:

Тверска́я ‘Tverskaia’ (for Го́рьковская ‘Gor’kovskaia’)

Кита́й-го́род ‘Kitai-gorod’ (for пло́щадь Ногина́ ‘Nogin Square’)

Воздвiженка ‘Vozdvizhenka’ (for Кали́нинская ‘Kalininskaia’), etc.

Ўлица Осто́женка ‘Ostozhenka Street’ (literally ‘Haystack Street’ – it ran through an area occupied in the seventeenth century by the Осто́жье, royal meadows with haystacks – was called Метростро́евская ўлица ‘Metrostroevskaia Street’ from 1935–86) and underground stations Чи́стые пруды́ ‘Clean Ponds’ (previously Кiровская ‘Kirovskaia’) and Кра́сные воро́та ‘Red Gate’ (previously Ле́рмонтовская ‘Lermontovskaia’) had been changed earlier than 1990 (Kostomarov 1994b: 13–14). Other renamed metro stations (with effect from April 1992) included:

Лубя́нка ‘Lubianka’ (former Дзержи́нская ‘Dzerzhinskaia’)

Охо́тный Ряд ‘Hunter’s Row’ (whose stalls had traded in poultry, mainly game birds, former проспéкт Мáркса ‘Marx Prospect’)

Театра́льная ‘Theatrical’ (former пло́щадь Свердло́ва ‘Sverdlov Square’) (Morris, 1992).

In the spring of 1993, which had been declared the year of the restoration of the historical centre of the capital, seventy-four streets, embankments and lanes were renamed in a drive to eliminate the Bolshevik past. At this point, a group of writers and theatrical figures protested to the City Council at the elimination of streets named after Pushkin, Chekhov, Stanislavskii, Nemirovich-Danchenko, Griboedov, Belinskii, Herzen and Mickiewicz, accusing its chairman of an act of vandalism leading to irrecoverable cultural losses (letter of 1.6.93 in *Сегодня*, cited in Kostomarov, 1994b: 16–17).

The 1994 Moscow city plan reveals the extent to which changes have taken place as the city set about restoring its ancient names. Many changes involved Lenin and other Communist leaders, as well as international communists such as K. Gottwald (Czechoslovakia), G. Gheorghiu-Dej (Romania), G. Dimitrov (Bulgaria), M. Thorez (France) and W. Ulbricht (Germany). Marx and Engels have also been banished. Thus, the former проспект Мάρкса ‘Marx Prospect’ has sub-divided into Моховáя у́лица ‘Moss Street’, Охóтный Ряд ‘Hunters’ Row’ and Театрáльный прое́зд ‘Theatrical Passage’. Streets, squares and other features based on revolutionary names such as Октя́брь ‘October’ have also changed, the most notable example being the restoration of the Никóльская у́лица ‘Nikol’skaia Street’, once famous for its book stalls and its close associations with Moscow University and the Slavonic–Greek–Latin Academy. Between 1935 and 1990 the street bore the name у́лица 25 Октя́бря ‘25 October Street’.

Пло́щадь Пятидесятиле́тия Октя́бря ‘Fiftieth Anniversary of October Square’ (1967–90) has reverted to Мане́жная пло́щадь ‘Riding-School Square’;

переу́лок Па́влика Морóзова ‘Pavlik Morozov Lane’ (1939–92), after the fourteen-year-old boy said to have been murdered by kulaks in 1932, has reverted to Ново́вага́ньковский переу́лок ‘Novovagan’kovskii Lane’;

Протопо́повский переу́лок ‘Protopopov Lane’, named after an early nineteenth-century house-owner, returns after almost seventy years (1924–92) of being styled as Безбо́жный переу́лок ‘Atheist Lane’, after the journal Безбо́жник ‘Atheist’ (Walczak-Sroczyńska, 1995: 223–5).

The region around the newly restored Патриа́ршие пруды́ ‘Patriarchal Ponds’, which plays an important part in M. Bulgakov’s novel *Мáстер и Марга́рита* ‘Master and Margarita’ now has a cafe Марга́рита ‘Margarita’ and a shop Беремо́т ‘Behemoth’ (after the cat in the novel), as well as Bulgakov festivals (Rozanova, 1994: 51).

### 5.3.4 *The protected architectural zone*

The removal of the leaders, apologists and realia of Communism from the ‘micro-toponymy’ of Moscow should cause no surprise. More controversial is the renaming of places that bore the names of writers such as A.S.



Griboedov, A. Mickiewicz, A.N. Ostrovskii, A.P. Chekhov and A.S. Pushkin, as well as scientists, actors, singers, composers, artists, architects, pilots and others. However, the process lacks complete consistency. Thus, площадь Маяковского 'Maiakovskii Square' (1935–92) has changed (to Триумфальная площадь 'Triumphal Square', earlier площадь Старых Триумфальных Ворót 'Old Triumphal Gate Square' – such arches were erected here in the eighteenth century for the arrival of the Emperor or other state holidays; Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 164), but переулок Маяковского 'Maiakovskii Lane' has survived. Similarly, Пушкинская улица 'Pushkin Street' has reverted to улица Большая Дмитровка 'Greater Dmitrovka Street', but Пушкинская площадь 'Pushkin Square', named to mark the hundredth anniversary of the poet's death, has survived.

There is an explanation for the seeming anomaly that many places with apparently unexceptionable names have been removed, namely that much of the historical part of the city has been declared to be a protected architectural zone. This applies to the area inside the Садовое кольцо 'Garden Ring' and beyond the River Iauza (the left-hand tributary of the River Moscow). In the nineteenth century the Garden Ring, now a sixteen-kilometre ring road starting 2–3 kilometres from the Kremlin, symbolised 'a boundary of social division; inside were the fashionable and affluent residential districts, outside sprawled the new industrial suburbs' (Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 174). About 120 renamings have taken place within the Garden Ring, while many streets outside it have retained their names, continuing to commemorate:

- writers: улица Фонвизина 'Fonvizin Street';
- scientists: улица Софьи Ковалёвской 'Sofia Kovalevskaia Street'; and
- military commanders: Кутузовский проспект 'Kutuzov Prospect' (for earlier улица Маршала Гречко 'Marshal Grechko Street') (see Walczak-Sroczyńska, 1995: 225–6).

In the historical part of the city, therefore, the primary aim has been to reinstate and preserve street names in central Moscow and re-establish links with the past by restoring names that are imprinted in Muscovites' memories and in classical Russian literature (Walczak-Sroczyńska, 1995: 229).

See Luzhkov (1996) for an account and photographs of new and restored buildings in Moscow.

## 5.4 Street names of St Petersburg

### 5.4.1 Historical background

Founded in 1703, in its early years St Petersburg attracted an incoming population that began by changing indigenous Finnish (or Balto-Finnic) names and naming canals, islands, streets, squares and other local features after their physical characteristics:



река́ Фонта́нка 'River Fontanka', Дворя́нские у́лицы 'Nobles' Streets',  
Лите́йный проспéкт 'Foundry Prospect'.

Decrees were issued by the city authorities in 1858–59 designed to resolve the ambiguity of streets and lanes that bore the same name. The late nineteenth century saw a growing tendency to rename, but during the Soviet period the mania for ideological renaming assumed epidemic proportions, as toponyms associated with the old regime were sacrificed to a new 'toponymic pantheon' which changed constantly with the shifting political scene. Of some 1,500 names of streets, squares, rivers and islands marked on the 1917 map of Petrograd (the city's name 1914–24), more than 500 had been renamed and about 400 lost with the objects they named (Alekseeva *et al.*, 1990: 5–6).

After the Revolution Петрогра́д 'Petrograd' fared no better than Moscow, and streets, squares and lanes resonant with maritime, religious, geographical and imperial echoes were renamed in the spirit of the new ideology. Thus:

Англи́йская на́бережная 'English Embankment' became на́бережная  
Кра́сного Флóта 'Red Navy Embankment' (1919);

Больша́я Коню́шенная у́лица 'Great Stable Street' – у́лица Желя́бова  
'Zheliabov Street' (after A. Zheliabov, executed on 3 April 1881 for his  
part in the assassination of Alexander II);

Миха́йловская у́лица 'Mikhailov Street' (a street that offered views of the  
Mikhailov Palace) – 1918–40 у́лица Ласса́ля 'Lassalle Street', 1940–92  
у́лица Бро́дского 'Brodskii Street';

Никола́евская на́бережная 'Nikolaev Embankment' – на́бережная  
Лейтена́нта Шми́дта (1918, commemorating Lt Schmidt, one of the  
leaders of the 1905 Sebastopol rising), and so on.

In fact, some of the new names were more evocative than their predecessors; for example, Менделее́вская ли́ния 'Mendeleev Line' (1923, after the chemist D.I. Mendeleev, who formulated the periodic law of atomic weights and drew up the periodic table; earlier Униве́рситетская ли́ния 'University Line') (Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 371–2).

#### 5.4.2 *Restoration of street names in St Petersburg*

Supporters of the restoration of the name St Petersburg drew up a list of nineteen local names that should be restored as a matter of priority, including Петерго́ф 'Peterhof', Сенна́я пло́щадь 'Haymarket' and Биржева́я пло́щадь 'Exchange Square'. In fact, many names have now been reinstated, though by no means all the changes were made in the late 1980s or the 1990s. A wave of renamings had taken place in 1923, another in 1944 (the year in which the blockade of the city, which began in 1941, was lifted), involving the restoration of the names of well-known landmarks such as Не́вский проспéкт 'Nevskii Prospect' (1918–44 проспéкт 25 Октяб́ря '25 October

Prospect'), Исаа́киевская пло́щадь 'Isaac Square' (1923–44 пло́щадь Во́ровского 'Vorovskii Square') and Ма́рсово по́ле 'Field of Mars' (1918–44 пло́щадь Жертв Револю́ции 'Square of the Victims of the Revolution') (Shchelokova, 1987: 60).

A large number of renamings have occurred in the late 1980s and 1990s, involving names with connotations that are

- naval: Адмиралт́ейский кана́л 'Admiralty Canal' (1923–91 кана́л Крушт́ейна 'Krushtein Canal');
- commercial: Биржева́я пло́щадь 'Exchange Square' (1937–89 Пу́шкинская пло́щадь 'Pushkin Square');
- religious: Вознес́енский проспéкт 'Ascension Prospect' (1923–91 проспéкт Майо́рова 'Maiorov Prospect');
- military: Конногвард́ейский бульва́р 'Horseguards Boulevard' (1918–91 бульва́р Профсою́зов 'Trade Unions Boulevard'); or
- imperial: Миха́йловская у́лица 'Mikhailov Street' (1940–91 у́лица Бро́дского 'Brodsky Street').

During the latest revisions, revolutionary figures of the Soviet period have had their names removed:

у́лица Дзержи́нского 'Dzerzhinskii Street' (1927–91) is now restored to Го́роховая у́лица 'Pea Street'  
 Ки́ровский проспéкт 'Kirov Prospect' (1934–91) – Каменноостро́вский проспéкт 'Stone Island Prospect'.

Similarly, names incorporating clichés of the Soviet era have been removed; for example: пло́щадь Ми́ра 'Peace Square' (1952–91) has reverted to Сенна́я пло́щадь 'Haymarket'.

Revolutionaries of the past have also been discarded:

у́лица Ка́рла Ма́ркаса 'Karl Marx Prospect' (1918–91), now Большо́й Сампсо́ниевский проспéкт 'Greater Sampsoniev Prospect' (after the Sampsoniev Cathedral)  
 мост Пе́стеля 'Pestel' Bridge' (1923–91, after the Decembrist leader hanged in 1826), now Пантелеймо́новский мост 'Panteleimonov Bridge'  
 у́лица Со́фьи Перо́вской 'Sof'ia Perovskaia Street' (1918–91, after the revolutionary hanged on 3 April 1881 for complicity in the assassination of Alexander II), now Ма́лая Коню́шенная у́лица 'Lesser Stable Street' (Mawdsley and Mawdsley, 1980: 371–2; Ivanova *et al.*, 1995: *passim*).

## 5.5 Shops and clubs

It is not only the names of streets and squares that have recently changed in Russia's towns and cities. There is also a greater variety in the names of

shops. Thus, compounds incorporating банк ‘bank’ are commoner than сберкасса ‘savings bank’ (which has, however, been resurrected by some banks, purportedly to attract some elderly customers with a residual Soviet mind-set). Рынок ‘market’, earlier confined to колхозный рынок ‘collective-farm market’ and совхозный рынок ‘state-farm market’, now combines with муниципальный ‘municipal’ and оптовый ‘wholesale’. Клуб ‘club’, which during the Soviet period was associated principally with cultural or mass institutions (заводской клуб ‘factory club’, клуб любителей собак ‘dog-lovers’ club’, etc.), now appears in джаз-клуб ‘jazz-club’, диско-клуб ‘disco-club’ and бизнес-клуб ‘business club’.

Дом (meaning ‘shop’ in this context) is now responding to insistent consumer demand: Дом обору́дования ‘office-equipment store’, Компьютерный дом ‘computer store’, shops that are often owned by firms specialising in the sale of goods and services. Лавка ‘stall’ has experienced a renaissance, and an attractive old-worldliness adheres to names such as винная лавка ‘wine stall’, мясная лавка ‘meat stall’ and лавка русской православной церкви ‘Russian Orthodox Church stall’. Тракти́р ‘tavern’ (sometimes spelt тракти́рь, using the now obsolete word-final hard sign), earlier a low-grade restaurant or snack bar, has also gone up-market and now denotes a respectable restaurant, sometimes with old Russian associations. Even трапезная ‘monastery refectory’ is used in the names of some cafés.

New shop signs are designed to attract rather than simply inform. Thus, мясные/рыбные деликатёсы ‘meat/fish delicatessen’ have replaced the bald мясо ‘meat’, рыба ‘fish’ of Soviet times. Instead of парфюме́рия ‘perfumery’, парфюме́рный рай ‘perfume paradise’ is used; instead of свет ‘light’ – электрический мир ‘world of electricity; instead of таба́к ‘tobacco’ – “самые дешёвые сигареты на Тверско́й” ‘the cheapest cigarettes on the Tverskaia’. Шоп ‘shop’, with its suggestion of transatlantic quality, is more popular than магази́н ‘shop’: Америкáнский семе́йный супершо́п ‘American family super-store’, секс-шо́п ‘sex shop’, etc. (see also Section 2.3.4.6). Сýперма́ркет ‘supermarket’ often replaces универса́м ‘self-service store’ (also минима́ркет ‘mini-market’, сýперпродма́г ‘super grocery store’). Буты́к ‘boutique’ designates a fashionable establishment selling elegant clothes, footwear or haberdashery.

In catering, the former ubiquitous общепи́т ‘public catering’ has given way to fast-food restaurants, led by McDonald’s, which for many Russians, with its efficient organisation, staff selection procedures, the Big Mac and the hamburger symbolises Western high-class customer service. Meanwhile, the пи́цце́рия ‘pizzeria’ has begun to outnumber the бли́нная ‘pancake café’ and пельме́нная ‘pel’meni bar’. Another Western import is the стейк ха́ус (or ‘steak house’), чикенха́ус (or ‘chicken house’), as well as loans: гриль-ба́р ‘grill bar’, or partial loans: кúры-гриль ‘chicken grill’ (chicken cooked in a rotisserie), etc. The first бистро́ ‘bistro’ (reborrowed into Russian from French *bistro(t)*, said to be a French early nineteenth-century loan based on



Russian бы́стро! ‘hurry up!’) made its appearance in early 1996 on the Варва́рка ‘Varvarka’ in Moscow, combining Russian menu and interior design with Western service – the stipulation that the menu must comprise Russian dishes was imposed by the municipal authorities (Pospelova, 1997a: 56–62).

T.N. Nikolaeva conducted a survey of 1,800 new names of firms, mainly in the town of Вятка ‘Viatka’, from September 1993 to January 1995. Many of the firms’ names aim to impress by association with:

- precious metals: Золотáя лéнта ‘Golden Ribbon’
- popular names: Натáша ‘Natasha’, and
- evocative names such as Тадж-Махáл ‘Taj Mahal’.

Some evoke legendary figures – Перу́н ‘Perun’ (the old Russian god of thunder) – while classical mythology is represented by Тро́я ‘Troy’ and Ге́ктор ‘Hector’. Востóчный Меркúрий ‘the Eastern Mercury’ and Вятка-Герме́с ‘Viatka-Hermes’ are invoked as patrons of business. Some names comprise a noun co-ordinate with the specifier in initial position, a word-formatory innovation in modern Russian (see Section 4.2.4):

Мотóр-сéрвис ‘Motor Service’  
Вятка-лес ‘Viatka Timber’  
Форту́на-хóлдинг ‘Fortuna Holding’

In general, renamings aim to discard Soviet stereotypes and create ‘firmonyms’ that are distinctive and will attract custom (Nikolaeva, 1997: 85–92).

This tendency is repeated in the capital. In late October 1997 the following shop names were observed on the Никóльская ‘Nikol’skaia’:

Бéлый вéтер ‘White Wind’ (a computer shop)  
Гелиóн ‘Helion’ (selling objects such as film, water filters, washing powder)  
Центр ювeлír ‘Central Jewellers’  
Рóскошь ‘Luxury’ (a fashion shop)  
Бистрó “Стáрый посáд” ‘Staryi Posad Bistro’  
Банк Слáвия ‘Slavia Bank’  
Руссоба́нк ‘Russobank’  
Зáйка моя ‘My Bunny’ (European clothes)  
На Никóльской ‘On the Nikol’skaia’ (clothes and footwear)  
Галeрeя ‘Gallery’ (watches, jewellery)  
Алекса́ндер ‘Alexander’ (leather goods)  
Секрeт ‘Secret’ (men’s clothes)  
Территóрия мужчín ‘Male Zone’ (men’s clothes).



## 5.6 City administration

See also Section 2.2.4.1

A resolution of 1917: 'On the General Plan for the Reconstruction of Moscow' stated: 'The city of Moscow, which has developed in an uncontrolled fashion over many centuries, even in the best years of its development bore all the marks of barbaric capitalism.'

Subsequently, the city was purposefully divided into a number of regions (районы), eventually thirty-three in number, with names such as Октябрьский 'October', Ста́линский 'Stalin' and Со́ветский 'Soviet'. There were also councils (советы), each headed by a chairman (председатель). This system was swept away in the post-Soviet period and pre-Revolutionary territorial formations restored (for example, Замоскворе́чье 'Zamoskvorech'e' in the centre and Отра́дное 'Otradnoe' closer to the city boundaries). The Western orientation of the new Moscow élite generated names of administrative sub-divisions that were based on Western European or American models, both for larger units such as департа́менты 'departments' (the only ones with a historical precedent) and префекту́ра 'prefecture', and smaller units such as: муниципа́литет 'municipality' (e.g. муниципа́литет Изма́йлово 'Izmailovo Municipality').

О́круг 'district' is also used, despite its Soviet associations, both for major administrative units (Центра́льный административный о́круг 'Central Administrative District') and smaller units (муниципа́льный о́круг "Лефо́ртово" 'Lefortovo municipal district'). To resolve the ambiguity, райо́н 'region' has been reintroduced in place of о́круг 'district' at the lower level of administration: муниципа́льный райо́н 'municipal region' (Pospelova 1997b: 64–72).

## 5.7 The former republics

The replacement of non-Russian names in the late 1980s and especially since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 has exceeded the level of change carried out in the wake of the October Revolution of 1917, which concerned only a few towns; for example:

Ерева́н 'Erevan' for Эрива́нь 'Erivan'

Тбили́си 'Tbilisi' for Тифли́с 'Tiflis' and

(later on) Ви́льнюс 'Vilnius' for Ви́льно 'Vil'no' (Dulichenko, 1994: 263).

This is a process which had grammatical consequences, since feminine Эрива́нь changed to masculine Ерева́н and declinable Тифли́с to indeclinable Тбили́си; this also applied to declinable Бату́м 'Batum' and Суху́м 'Sukhum', renamed in the 1930s as indeclinable Бату́ми 'Batumi' and Суху́ми 'Sukhumi') (Khan-Pira, 1996: 119).

Recent changes, by contrast, have been wide-ranging, many initiated by the

former republics themselves, now independent states. For example, in Kiev, capital of Ukraine, *у́лица Ле́нина* 'Lenin Street' became *у́лица Богда́на Хмельни́цкого* 'Bogdan Khmel'nitskii Street' (after Bogdan Khmel'nitskii, leader of a liberation movement against Poland, with subsequent annexation of Ukraine to Russia in 1654). Kievan streets named after the October Revolution, Roza Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht (co-founders of the Spartacus League, which was to become the German Communist Party) and other Communist sympathisers and events have also been restyled (Kostomarov, 1994b: 18).

On 12 March 1994 the heads of TV news programmes reported a restoration of certain names of cities and states in the 'near abroad' (*блiжнее зарубeжье*); for example: *Татарста́н* 'Tatarstan' (for earlier *Тата́рия* 'Tatariia') and *Кыргызста́н* 'Kyrgyzstan' (for *Киргизия́* 'Kirghizia') (Khan-Pira, 1996: 119). Other major territorial units and cities already renamed include *Башкортоста́н* 'Bashkortostan' (formerly *Башки́рия* 'Bashkiriia', renamed in the early 1990s) and *Белару́сь* 'Belarus' (formerly *Белору́ссия* 'Belorussiia', renamed on gaining independence in 1991) (Room, 1996: 16). The replacement for the *Ма́рийская Автоно́мная Респу́блика* (Mari Autonomous Republic) had variant spellings: *Ма́рий Эл* 'Marii El', *Ма́рий-Эл* 'Marii-El' and *Ма́рийэл* 'Mariiel' (Dulichenko 1994: 262).

Some Russians resent the insistence by former republics on Russian spelling changes in accordance with indigenous norms. The Supreme Soviet of the Republic of Kazakhstan, for example, resolved to rename or 'regularise' the transcriptions of dozens of toponyms:

*ШЫМКЭ́НТ* 'Shymkent' for earlier *Чимке́нт* 'Chimkent'  
*Жезказга́н* 'Zhezkazgan' for *Джезказга́н* 'Dzhezkazgan' and so on  
 (Kostomarov, 1994b: 17).

The present capital of Kazakhstan, *Алма́-Ата́* 'Alma-Ata' was changed to *Алматы́* 'Almaty' in Russian-language documentation within the republic itself. Other changes included *Молдо́ва* for *Молда́вия* 'Moldavia', *молдова́нин* 'a Moldavian' and adjective *молдо́вский* 'Moldavian', *Ашгаба́т* 'Ashgabat' for *Ашхаба́д* 'Ashkhabad' (written and pronounced *Асхаба́д* 'Askhabad' before the Revolution (Khan-Pira, 1996: 119; see also Ukhlin 1993). Other changes in Ashkhabad involved the renaming of streets, squares, military units, a secondary school and power station after the Turkmen president, Saparmurad Niazov (*Изв.*, №289, 92, cited in Dulichenko, 1994: 258).

In some cases, old and new names have equivalent status. Thus, in accordance with Article 65 of the Constitution of the Russian Federation, *Респу́блика Калмы́кия* 'The Kalmuck Republic' and *Хальм Танг* 'Khal'm Tang', and *Респу́блика Яку́тия* 'The Republic of Yakutiia' and *Респу́блика Са́ха* 'The Republic of Sakha' enjoy equal rights as official names of the two republics.

### 5.7.1 *Controversy*

Russian objections to some of the new forms are said to have their roots in difficulty of pronunciation: the sound ы is neither written nor pronounced after a velar consonant [k] or [g] in Russian, hence the unfamiliarity of кыргыз 'Kirghizian', nor can -нн be pronounced as two consonants, as in Таллинн 'Tallinn', capital of Estonia,<sup>1</sup> while forms such as Беларұсь 'Belorussia', with its ethnonym беларұс 'Belorussian' and adjective беларұский 'Belorussian', are perceived in some quarters as 'illiterate' (see Kostomarov, 1994b: 20). Objectors to the changes include the Russian Language Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, which has taken exception to forms such as Кыргызста́н and Та́ллинн on the grounds that they infringe grammatical structure, phonetics and tradition (Karaulov, 1995: 17).

### 5.7.2 *Ukraine*

A grammatical consequence of the flood of changes that have engulfed the language has been the 'politically correct' use of the preposition в with Украї́на 'Ukraine' in place of traditional на (see also Section 4.0), on the grounds that for Ukrainians на implies marginalisation of the now independent state, since most nation-states and all other former Soviet republics combine with в (в Белору́ссии 'in Belorussia', etc.), while на is associated with border and provincial areas: на окра́ине 'on the outskirts', на Кі́евщині 'in Kiev Province, etc.; see Section 3.5.2.3. (Ukraine declared its sovereignty in July 1990; Holmes, 1997: 111.) This change persists despite Russian contentions that на Украї́не 'in Ukraine' is not demeaning and that patriots such as the Ukrainian poet T. Shevchenko had used the form (Kostomarov, 1997: 23).

Referring in 1996 to the media use of в Украї́не 'in Ukraine', в Украї́ну 'to Ukraine', из Украї́ны 'from Ukraine', Khan-Pira (1996: 119) attributes the new 'non-normative' usage to the fact that the Ukrainian constitution gives Украї́на 'Ukraine' as the name of the state, in place of earlier Украї́нская ССР 'Ukrainian SSR', so that в Украї́нской ССР 'in the Ukrainian SSR' becomes в Украї́не 'in Ukraine'. Khan-Pira (1996: 120) quotes *Известия*:

Прикарпатье и Карпаты, традиционные места нефтедобычи в Украине . . . В основе лежит вопрос: завозить в Украину нефть морем . . . (Изв., 16.6.94)

The Carpathians and their foothills, traditional areas for oil extraction in Ukraine . . . The question: should oil be brought to Ukraine by sea . . . lies at the heart of the dispute.

In fact, however, most Russians prefer to combine Украї́на with на and с:



На Украине проживает более 110 тысяч армян. (Пр.-5, 13–20.9.96)  
More than 110,000 Armenians live in Ukraine.

Если россияне со своими рублями приезжают, к примеру, на Украину или в Белоруссию, то чувствуют себя богатыми иностранцами (АиФ, №41, 96)

If the Russians bring their roubles, say, to Ukraine or Belorussia, they feel like rich foreigners.

Порой целые волны этой отравы накатываются на московские рынки с Украины . . . (Нед, №28, 96)

Sometimes whole waves of this poison roll onto Moscow markets from Ukraine . . .

#### 5.7.2.1 Analogous English usage

Ukraine's new-found independence has also eliminated from English usage the definite article 'the' in describing the country, compare a 1982 example:

. . . Russia gave up all claim to Finland, the Baltic states, Poland, *the* Ukraine and parts of Belorussia . . . (Brown *et al.*, 1982: 470)

and a 1997 example:

. . . Estonia and *Ukraine*, to name but two, had announced their intention to establish such bodies . . . (Holmes, 1997: 191).

In fact, Ukraine made an official request to the US State Department to omit the definite article 'the' in references to the newly independent state (Kostomarov, 1997: 23).

#### 5.7.3 Russian reactions

A wide-spread Russian view is that the Russian naming of foreign realia is a matter for the Russians and their language: ' . . . one matter, sovereignty, is a fact of their history, another, the name, is a fact of our language' (МН, №1, 94, cited in Kostomarov, 1997: 24).

Unfavourable Russian reaction to what some Russians regarded as unwarranted interference in their language culminated in a decision taken on radio and television in March 1994 and supported by the Russian Language Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences, to return to the former names: 'No language can impose on Russian its own rules for the pronunciation and spelling of proper names, since this demeans and distorts it' (Пр., 18.3.94, cited in Kostomarov, 1997: 24–5). At the same time, some Russians at least acknowledge the need to be conciliatory in such matters, especially in view of



the large numbers of Russians living abroad who have to conform to local norms: ‘. . . there are things that rate higher than the inviolable purity of the standard linguistic canon’ (Kostomarov 1997: 25).

However, Kretov is scathing about the final -нн in Тállли́нн ‘Tallinn’:

Чем бы дитя ни тешилось. (Kretov, 1994: 115)

Anything to keep the child happy [The saying concludes: . . . лишь бы не плакало ‘. . . and stop it crying’].

V.N. Ganichev, editor of “Ромán-Газéта” (Graudina, 1995: 39) claims that forms such as Кыргызста́н ‘Kyrgyzstan’, Башкортоста́н ‘Bashkortostan’ and Алма́ты ‘Almaty’ infringe the basic structure of the language. Current signs are that most people have reverted to the ‘politically incorrect’ forms: Алма́-Ата́ ‘Alma-Ata’, Киргíзия ‘Kirghizia’, etc.

## Notes

- 1 This politically correct change was even implemented in a new edition of V. Aksënov’s 1961 story *Звёздный билéт* ‘Star Ticket’, which takes place partly in the Baltic states (Kretov, 1994: 114).

## 6 The state of the language

### 6.1 Post-Revolutionary and post-totalitarian Russian

The period from the second half of the 1980s to the early 1990s is comparable linguistically to the period after the October Revolution (the period after 1917). In both cases radical changes in social and political life gave a public voice to representatives of new social strata who lacked an adequate command of Russian and were at the same time relatively free of strict censorship and editorial constraint<sup>1</sup>. This resulted in the infiltration of official registers by colloquialisms and jargon and of colloquial registers by clichés and other elements of officialese. According to Shiriaev in Graudina *et al.* (1995: 7), the post-Revolutionary threat to the language was averted by the efforts of linguists such as V.V. Vinogradov, G.O. Vinokur, L.V. Shcherba and others, and by politicians such as V.I. Lenin, who is credited with instigating the idea for the four-volume dictionary of standard Russian which was eventually compiled over the period 1935–40 under the direction of D.N. Ushakov.

Since at times of social upheaval non-standard, spontaneous and uncontrolled linguistic elements usually gain the upper hand over rules and regulations, many disruptions of the linguistic norm<sup>2</sup> occurred during both periods.

#### 6.1.1 Linguistic choice in the post-1985 period

If in the period from the 1930s to the 1960s linguistic norms implied an embargo on incorrect forms, after 1985 the norm now represented *choice* (Panov, cited in Zemskaia, 1996b: 12). With more people involved in the processes of communication and the concomitant collapse of censorship, a greater freedom was deployed in writing and speaking. Language became more personalised and directed at a specific addressee. Spontaneous rather than prepared speeches became the order of the day, a practice started by M.S. Gorbachëv and continued by deputies of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and of Russia, and of the State Duma. Announcers, in contrast to their Soviet counterparts, cracked jokes and expressed opinions of their own. There was in general a violent reaction against the bureaucratic language of the past (Zemskaia, 1996b: 12–13).

### 6.1.2 The role of the media

It is impossible to exaggerate the influence of the media in this process. In the late 1980s and early 1990s newspapers were the most-widely read materials in Russia, and everyone watched television. In a survey carried out by ВЦИОМ (Всероссийский центральный институт общественного мнения), the All-Russian Central Public Opinion Institute, in 1993, 82 per cent of those questioned named television as their main source of information about national events, while the rest named the radio or newspapers (Zemskaja, 1996b: 10). Journalists from some newspapers criticised each other's Russian, at the same time making free use of obscenities (Kostomarov, 1994b: 7–8). Journalists, especially in papers aimed at young people, cultivated a coarse kind of language designed to 'win hearts and minds by its realism' and 'expand the circle of readers' (Kostomarov 1994b : 30).

On television, it became normal, even in news programmes, for presenters to make personal comments on current events. Thus, Irina Mishina, a newscaster on REN TV, appended her own reaction to the following report:

Today the mayor of Moscow, Iurii Luzhkov, announced that the city's communal housing reform will take account of an increase in the population's income. According to Luzhkov only 40 per cent of Muscovites can pay for communal services in full, *and I fully concur.* (*Что случилось?* 'What Has Happened?', REN TV, 17.10.97)

## 6.2 Debate on the state of the language

Though by the mid-1950s a number of writers, among whom K.I. Chukovskii was prominent, had begun to campaign against the stultifying and rigid linguistic norms of the totalitarian state (Kostomarov, 1994b: 6), informed criticism of the 'state of the language' was a little-used option before 1985. First raised at an All-Union Conference in 1991, the question of the 'state of the language' would have been unthinkable and irrelevant a decade earlier, when the rigid canons of standard Soviet usage had appeared to be unshakeable (Karaulov, 1995: 13). After all, the Russian language had been всемирный язык коммунизма 'the universal language of communism', инструмент воспитания 'an instrument of up-bringing' and оружие братского сотрудничества и нерушимой дружбы всех народов 'a weapon of fraternal co-operation and the indestructible friendship of all peoples' (Kostomarov, 1990: 3). In a Russia that had experienced perestroika and glasnost, however, it had become possible to speak openly of issues that had long been taboo:

телефонное право 'telephone right' (of the power of influential people to bypass normal channels by means of a telephone call)

узконациональные устремления 'narrowly nationalistic ambitions'  
коррупцированные группы 'corrupt circles', and so on.

### **6.2.1 *The debate in the Academy of Sciences***

Then, in 1991, contributions from Russian linguists to a wide-ranging debate on the state of the Russian language were published by the Academy of Sciences and its findings incorporated in a paper by Iu.N. Karaulov, Director of the Academy's Russian Language Institute. Participants had been invited to assess the 'state of the Russian language' – a concept rejected by many of them – in all its modes and registers, including the language of the average native speaker – a departure from the traditional exclusive pre-occupation of Russian linguistics with best practice only (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 3–6).

### **6.2.2 *The course of the debate***

All contributors agreed that the structure and system of the language gave no cause for concern, since Russian continued to fulfil its informative and communicative functions and exploit its lexical and word-formatory potential. They also agreed that, despite the enormous changes that had taken place over the past 70 to 100 years, the same paradigmatic relationships, syntagmatic links, derivational models and rules of semantic development existed as 100 or even 150 years ago (Karaulov, 1991: 7). Positive developments in social and political journalism, the eloquence of some speakers in the Supreme Soviet and of many young television presenters, as well as the quality of TV programmes such as *Взгляд* 'View', *Пятое колесо* 'Fifth Wheel', *600 секунд* '600 Seconds', *Ночные новости* 'Evening News' and others gave cause for optimism (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 45). The main target of criticism in the survey was the 'speech culture' of many Russian speakers. It was no coincidence that one of the main focuses of interest should be the speech habits of the population, since the distinguished lexicographer S.I. Ozhegov (quoted in Graudina *et al.*, 1995: 53) had expressed the following view:

One of the best sources for the study of the logicalities of linguistic development is the contemporary vernacular, since simultaneously, as in a central focus, the paths of development of preceding stages of language development are reflected in it in their entirety, as are new developmental trends.

### **6.2.3 *Redeeming features***

Some found it ironic that complaints about the language had arisen, not during the period of totalitarianism, when language was perceived, by general consensus, to be impoverished, but now, when it had been liberated



from its ideological constraints and was being positively enriched lexically and phraseologically (Murzin, cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 53).

Even unwelcome features such as departures from the syntactic norm, the replacement of native Russian words by supranational terms – фóрум ‘forum’ for собрáние ‘gathering’, сёрвис ‘service’ for слúжба, and so on – and an increase in the use of clichés were attributed to individual speech habit, and not the system of the language. Significantly, the survey of the Russian language and Soviet society carried out under Panov and published in 1968 had shown that changes in pronunciation, word formation, morphology, syntax and lexis had not materially affected the framework of the language. For example, only one relatively new word-formatory type had been discovered – that of abbreviation – while elsewhere in the word-formatory system change was confined to the increased productivity of extant derivational models (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 15).

For Skliarevskaja, the language’s word-formatory capacity confirmed its continuing vitality, since many new words had acquired derivatives almost as soon as they had appeared (for example, перестрóечный and перестрóечник, the adjective and agent noun, respectively, from перестрóйка ‘perestroika’). The wave of loans presently flooding into the language should not cause concern, since the language would discard those it does not need, leaving those that survive to enrich the language. The adoption of slang and other demotic forms simply reflects normal linguistic traffic along the axis from the centre to the periphery and back, a process presently accelerated by the force of social change (Skliarevskaja, cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 55).

#### **6.2.4 Comparison with post-Revolutionary practice**

The present problem finds an earlier, analogous manifestation in the practice of those speakers who, attracted by the concept of the ‘democratisation’ of the language in the post-Revolutionary period, made a virtue out of ‘not speaking properly’, so that public speaking in particular was beset by sloppy pronunciation and disjointed sentence structure, with an abundance of non-standard forms and expressions and a clichéd banality that became the hallmark of a particular socio-political group heavily influenced by colloquial registers and the mass media (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 20–1). The position was compounded by efforts, initiated during the Soviet period, to transform the language into an ideological tool.

### **6.3 Causes of low standard of speech culture**

As Cheremisina (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 21) writes:

It is not the Russian language that is in crisis, but Russian culture. The culture of behaviour, work, accommodation, food, one’s inner life – and, of course, of speech.

There is general agreement that the low state of 'speech culture' can be traced to ideological pressures which for decades during the Soviet period prevented speakers and writers from exploiting the full potential of the Russian language. These pressures involved the suppression of some linguistic forms and the overuse of others, imparting an imbalance to individuals' speech habits (Karaulov, 1991: 9). N. Ivanova attributes the dysfunctional speech of newly elected deputies to the Russian parliament to their having grown up in a linguistic milieu dominated by the mentality of a totalitarian system (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 30), while Isaev (1992: 7) lays some of the blame at the door of an obsession with mass political meetings in the late perestroika period:

The meeting factor is forcing waves of substandard language forms, mingled with vulgarisms, into our everyday lives, as well as a deluge of foreign words and expressions that have not yet been properly assimilated.

Isaev comments further on wrong usage by members of parliament and other public figures who are now 'masters of the airwaves', having replaced professionally trained announcers and other guardians of linguistic correctness.

### 6.3.1 Non-standard (non-normative) usage

Non-standard usage includes:

1. the use of pseudo-scientific abstract words whose meaning has been neutralised: *поднять общую ситуаци́ю* 'to raise the general situation';
2. the use of transitive verbs without an object, which is a natural progression from (1), where many abstract words used as objects have lost their precise meaning: *реш́им [де́ло], пото́м при́мем [резолю́цию]* 'we will decide [the issue], then pass [a resolution]' (cf. Kostomarov 1994b: 194; see also Section 4.2.6);
3. an increase in impersonal constructions: the quasi-official *договоре́но* 'it is agreed';
4. the combination of *если* 'if' with a *gerund*: *е́сли просма́тривая*, у вас возникнет несоглас́ие 'if you look through, you will find you disagree';
5. non-normative agreement: *как челове́к, кото́рый уча́ствовал во мно́гих конфере́нциях, мне хоте́лось сказа́ть . . .* 'as a person who has taken part in many conferences, I wanted to say . . .';
6. wrong verbal government: *и́менно э́то побуди́ло нам* (for standard *нас*) *обрати́ться к инострáнным фи́рмам* 'it was this that prompted us to approach foreign firms';
7. use of the wrong number: *челове́честву грози́т ги́бель, е́сли оно́ не при́мут* (for correct *примет*) *проти́в них [прише́льцев]* *соотве́тствующих мер спасе́ния* 'mankind is threatened with disaster if it does not take appropriate salutary measures against them [aliens]';

8. illogicalities: *сохранить обновлённый союз* 'to preserve the revitalised union' (only something established earlier can be 'preserved'). (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 23–4.)

Glovinskaia (in Chapter 6 of Zemskaja, 1996b: 237–304) records examples of additional departures from the norm, drawing most of her examples from the speech of speakers of standard Russian appearing in the mass media: a weakening of case functions, partly as the result of an increase in prepositional structures; for example: *дискриминировать против* 'to discriminate against' (for standard *дискриминировать кого/что-нибудь*).

She identifies (1) a weakening of case functions, (2) the replacement of oblique cases for certain forms, (3) the tendency to confuse unstressed genitive and prepositional plural endings, and (4) the tendency in the 1990s to favour the reflexive over the personal possessive pronoun in certain contexts.

1. A weakening of case functions, partly as the result of an increase in prepositional structures. Glovinskaia demonstrates:

- (a) how *на* + accusative case is infiltrating the semantic field of the genitive in official and especially political contexts:

Его приход к власти означал бы курс *на* реанимацию (for курс реанимации) командной системы. (*КП*, 6.6.94)

His accession to power would mean setting course to revive the command system.

- (b) how *по* + dative case is consistently displacing other prepositions:

договорённость *по* Караба́ху (for *о* Караба́хе) 'an agreement on Karabakh';

- (c) how *о* + prepositional case is being used as an unmotivated link between dominant and dependent words, replacing the accusative even in the language of educated speakers:

Президент предсказал *об* отмене (for предсказал отмену) политической борьбы. (*НТВ*, 6.3.96)

The president predicted the suspension of the political struggle.

and also how *о* + prepositional case is showing signs of becoming a universal means of introducing a subordinate clause, irrespective of the government of the verb involved:

Люди боятся *о* том (for боятся того), что им не дадут зарплату (*ТВ, Герой дня*, S. Shushkevich 26.3.96)

People are afraid they won't get their salaries.

2. The replacement of oblique cases:

- (a) by *как* + nominative case:

Православная идеология многим *кажется как единственное избавление* (for *кажется единственным избавлением*). (*Радио России*, 8.1.95)

Orthodox ideology now seems to many people to be the only solution.

(b) by constructions with a dependent infinitive (*выпить не возражает* 'does not object to having a drink'), perhaps due (i) to the absence of appropriate verbal nouns which might make an infinitive unnecessary, (ii) to the force of analogy, and (iii) to a twentieth-century tendency to omit the compound conjunction *то, чтобы*.

3. The tendency to confuse unstressed genitive and prepositional plural endings (*о чечэнцев* 'about the Chechens' for standard *о чечэнцах*), especially when the noun is qualified by an adjective (*для междунаро́дных ре́йсах* 'for international flights', for standard *ре́йсов*).
4. The tendency of the 1990s to favour the reflexive over the personal possessive pronoun when the rules favour one form or the other. Sometimes this involves a breach of standard usage:

*У меня сохранились хорошие отношения почти со всеми своими товарищами* (for standard *моими*, alternatively *Я сохранил хорошие отношения со своими товарищами*). (*МК*, 4.4.95)

I retained good relations with almost all my colleagues.

It is thus possible to speak of two major tendencies in modern Russian: (1) the weakening of case functions and (2) the undermining of syntactic rules. The plethora of impersonal constructions in Russian creates a fertile breeding ground for such non-standard usage (Zemskaja, 1996b: 300–1).

Examples are also found in advertisements and posters. Graudina quotes:

Охраняйте птиц!

Кроме песен знакомых

Они уничтожают вредных насекомых!

'Protect birds! Apart from well-known songs They destroy harmful insects!' (Graudina *et al.*, 1995: 71).

Meanwhile, infelicities have continued to appear in the press of the second half of the 1990s (possibly due to a reduction in the number of the proof-readers who helped to assure adherence to norms during the Soviet period):

... врачи надеются на *преодолении* [for *преодоление*] трёхнедельного кризиса. (*Тр.-7*, 18–24.10.96)

... the doctors are hoping for an end to the three-week crisis.

Даже актёр Пирс Броснан ... в течение *несколько* [for *нескольких*] дней не мог прийти в себя, обнаружив пропажу часов ценой в десять тысяч долларов ... (*КП*, 26.6–4.7.97)



Even the actor Pierce Brosnan . . . took several days to recover from the loss of a watch worth ten thousand dollars . . .

Через три дня в Каталонию *подъедет* (for *приедет*) ещё одна большая делегация из России. (*КП*, 27.6–4.7.97)

In three days' time another big delegation from Russia will arrive in Catalonia.

. . . *свыше четыреста* (for *четырёхсот*) пород . . . (*Нед.*, №38, 96)  
. . . over four hundred breeds . . .

And sometimes in popular literature (possibly stylised as the speech of fictitious characters):

— А ты зря описывал мне, командир, *в чём* [for *во что*] будет одет . . . (Silkin, 1997: 48)

'And there was no point in your describing to me what he would be dressed in, commander.'

### 6.3.1.1 *Stress*

#### NON-STANDARD STRESS

Use of non-standard stress is endemic in the speech of many speakers, with a general but by no means universal tendency to move stress closer to the beginning of the word:

доку́менты 'documents'	обеспе́чение 'provision'
квартáл 'quarter'	кухóнный 'kitchen'
удáлось 'succeeded'	книгопрода́вцы 'book-sellers'
прове́дены 'have been carried out'	ката́лог 'catalogue'
средствá 'means'	укра́инский 'Ukrainian'.
сформíровать 'to form'	

Karaulov writes of 'ideological aphasia', non-standard forms and clichés being a hallmark of the phenomenon known as *на́шество*, implying membership of a particular socio-political and ideological group, namely the Party élite of the Soviet and perestroika periods (Karaulov, 1991: 5, 7).

Wrongly positioned stress, especially in public speaking, is a matter of concern to many linguists, who regard correct stress patterns as a 'litmus paper' of linguistic competence. However, Lapteva (1997b: 51) points out that non-standard forms imported from the countryside that caused such concern in the 1920s and 1930s (*портфель* 'briefcase', *про́цент* 'percentage', *мага́зин* 'shop', etc.) did not catch on and are long since a thing of the past. Current infelicities may well encounter the same fate.

Extra-linguistic factors that have affected stress include the opening-up of the air-waves to a broad spectrum of the population, many of whom are oblivious to or cheerfully flout the rules and are unrestrained by editorial control, encountering instead an unprecedented tolerance of linguistic error. Many of these errors had been encountered earlier, but now they were to appear *en masse* (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 307–8). Non-normative stress can be infectious. Thus, party workers, arts graduates, philologists, TV presenters all imitated M.S. Gorbachëv's provincial habit of initial stress in infinitives such as *начать* 'to begin', *принять* 'to accept' and *занять* 'to occupy' (T. Ivanova, cited in Graudina *et al.*, 1995: 86).

#### THE TREND TOWARDS FIXED STRESS

A trend, observed since the first half of the nineteenth century, for stress to move from the prefix to the stem of masculine, neuter and plural verbs in the past tense, has now intensified, especially in compounds of *брать* 'to take', *врать* 'to lie', *гнать* 'to drive', *звать* 'to call', *рвать* 'to tear', *спать* 'to sleep' and others, less so in compounds of *вить* 'to twine', *дать* 'to give', *жить* 'to live', *лить* 'to pour', *пить* 'to drink' and *плыть* 'to swim', or verbs in *-чать* and *-нять* (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 308). Stressed *-ся* is also less commonly found – *начался* 'began', *принялся* 'got down to' – and there is instability in the feminine past, whose *end* stress in many verbs has traditionally differentiated it from masculine, neuter and plural; cf. non-standard: *спала* 'she slept', *брала* 'she took', *ожила* 'she came to life', and non-standard *initial* stress in *начала* 'she began', *добыла* 'acquired' and others. *Neuter end* stress is also non-standard (*издало* 'it issued', *ожилó* 'it came to life', etc.) (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 309).

On the other hand, non-standard end-stressed neuter past forms – *нас не ждалó* 'no luxurious existence awaited us'; *правительство снялó* 'the government removed many subsidies' (some characteristic of the speech of the old Moscow intelligentsia) – may represent an unconscious attempt to disambiguate meaning in reaction to non-standard feminine *stem* stress: *собрала* 'collected', *ждала* 'waiting' and *сняла* 'took off', since *ждáла/ждáло* and *сняла/сняло* are homophones (Lapteva, 1997a: 52).

Analogous stress movement is also found in the participles of some verbs, with stem stress in perfective passives (a standard variant): *прожит* 'has been spent', *прожитый* 'spent', stem *or* prefix stress in feminines (*прожита* or *прожита*) and prefixal stress in active participles (*проживший* 'who spent').

Examples of non-standard prefix stress from the speeches of politicians include:

парторганизация приняла решение 'the Party organisation took a decision'  
(M.S. Gorbachëv, TV, 19.6.90)

рабóта такая начата ‘such work has been started’ (M.S. Gorbachëv, TV, 2.7.90)  
зáнявший ‘which occupied’ (A.N. Iakovlev, TV, 2.7.90).

Prefix stress in infinitives, described as a southern regionalism originally associated with M.S. Gorbachëv, also appeared in the speech of others (принять решéние ‘to take a decision’, прибыть ‘to arrive’ (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 310).

#### STRESS IN THE CONJUGATION OF VERBS IN -ИТЬ

The category of verbs in -ить with non-standard mobile stress in conjugation has been supplemented by compounds of -ключить: Включим эту кандидату́ру ‘Let us include this nomination’ (R.I. Khasbulatov, TV, 6.4.92). Participles are also affected:

догово́р заклю́чен ‘the treaty has been concluded’  
микрофо́н вклю́чен/отклу́чен ‘the microphone is on/off’.

Compare, from compounds of нести́ and вести́:

провéден эксперимéнт ‘an experiment has been carried out’  
внёсен вклад ‘a contribution has been made’.

In a few verbs, stem stress appears in the infinitive:

углúбить а́нализ ‘to deepen the analysis’ (M.S. Gorbachëv, TV 2.7.90)  
облégчить ‘to facilitate’, etc. (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja 1996b: 312).

Completely new are stem-stressed осужденный ‘condemned’ and возбужденный ‘brought [of legal proceedings]’. This is a particularly innovative development, since perfective passive participles in mutated -жд- (and -щ-) do not normally take stem stress. The new phenomenon seems at present to be confined to those involved with the law:

Я бы́вший осужденный ‘I have a criminal record’ (TV 13.2.92)  
Возбúждено сот́ни уго́ловных дел ‘Hundreds of criminal charges have been brought’ (from a speech by Viktor Barannikov, Minister of Security and Internal Affairs after the August 1991 *putsch*, Wilson and Bachkatov, 1992: 25). (Cited by Vorontsova in Zemskaja, 1996b: 313)

#### SUMMARY OF DIVERGENT STRESS IN VERBS

Lapteva (1997a: 47–51) gives examples from late 1995 and 1996 to illustrate non-standard stress usage on radio and television, attributing this

phenomenon to the number of new media presenters who have brought their own stress patterns from the provinces. Prefixed verbs are worst affected, with:

1. end instead of prefix stress:

Оста́нкино *приняло́* [for *приняло́*] бы концепцию.  
Ostankino would have accepted this concept.

2. prefix instead of end stress:

(a) in non-reflexive verbs:

Росси́йская Федера́ция не *приняла́* [for *приняла́*] необходи́мых мер.  
The Russian Federation did not take the necessary measures.

(b) in reflexive verbs:

Моро́з *на́чался* [for *начался́*]  
The frost has struck.

3. prefix instead of stem stress:

*на́чавшиеся* [for *начав́шиеся*] сего́дня слу́шания  
hearings that began today.

4. stem instead of end stress:

Организа́ция *призва́ла* [for *призвала́*] к проведе́нию демонстра́ции.  
The organisation called for the demonstration to be held.

5. a non-normative fashion among young people for stem stress in the conjugation and perfective passive participles of compounds of -ключить:

Ина́че на друго́й день лю́ди не *включат* [for *включа́т*] телеви́зор.  
Otherwise people will not turn on the television on the next day.

6. non-standard stress in some active participles, both present – *мо́гущий* for *могу́щий* ‘who is able’ – and past: *у́мерший* for *уме́рший* ‘who died’.

Lapteva observes (1997a: 52–4) that in some polysyllabic forms stress is moving nearer to the prefix, thus:

мо́жно присовоку́пить [for normative *присовокупíть*] слова́ Зюга́нова  
‘one can add Ziuganov’s words’  
что обле́гчит [for *облегчи́т*] его́ распознава́ние ‘which will facilitate its  
identification’.

Also, non-standard stress in perfective passive participles:

бу́дет прове́дено пленáрное заседа́ние ‘a plenary meeting will be held’  
ка́ким о́бразом нанесе́ны э́ти поврежде́ния? ‘how were these injuries  
inflicted?’



It is, however, difficult to discern a pattern, since the reverse occurs, with end stress for standard stem stress in some participles:

искупленá [for иску́плена] éта жéртва ‘this sacrifice has been atoned for’  
мы нé были уведо́млены [for увéдомлены] об éтом ‘we were not notified about this’.

#### STRESS IN NOUNS

Stress patterns in loan words, declension and nouns in -ение (amongst others) will be examined in this section.

Loan words are most affected by non-standard stress patterns, since they do not have well-established accentual traditions. Examples, taken mainly from the speech of parliamentarians and others on TV over the period 1989–93, include plurals:

конвейерá ‘conveyor belts’  
перевóзка контейнерóв ‘transport of containers’  
реакторá ‘reactors’  
термосá стекля́нные ‘glass thermos flasks’  
тросá ‘hawsers’  
шприцы́ ‘syringes’ (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 315).

Most words borrowed in the 1990s derive from English professional terminology in the spheres of computing, finance and commerce and sport, though politics, fashion, music and some others are also involved (see Section 2.3.4.3), and most words preserve the stress of the word in the donor-language. The largest group comprises words in -ep, -op:

ба́ртер ‘barter’	ди́лер ‘dealer’
бро́кер ‘broker’	ме́неджер ‘manager’
ва́учер ‘voucher’	спóнсор ‘sponsor’, etc.

Most nouns in -инг also retain the stress of the source language:

бри́финг ‘briefing’	хо́лдинг ‘holding’, etc.
ли́зинг ‘leasing’	(but мони́торинг ‘monitoring’)
ре́йтинг ‘rating’	ре́крутинг ‘recruiting’).

Ма́ркэ́тинг ‘marketing’ has initial stress, but medial stress is encroaching, perhaps originally as a colloquial variant. Words such as импéчмент ‘impeachment’ and истéблишмент ‘establishment’ also mirror English stress, as do loans ending in a vowel:

ло́бби ‘lobby’

шо́у ‘show’

но́у-ха́у ‘know-how’ (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 320–2).

Non-standard stress patterns can be observed in noun declension. Like Vorontsova, Lapteva also notes a tendency among young people, and on TV and radio, to favour non-standard masculine plurals in -á/-я (торта́ ‘cakes’, госпиталя́ ‘hospitals’, etc.) and in some cases -ы (штрафы́ ‘fines’, аэропорты́ ‘airports’), with, in a few cases, stem for standard end stress:

шты́ка, genitive of штык ‘bayonet’      по́ста, genitive of пост ‘post’.

Other tendencies involve suffixal stress (танцующи́ца ‘female dancer’), wrongly-stressed loans (инсу́льт ‘stroke’, феноме́н ‘phenomenon’), misplaced stress in the declension of feminine nouns with mobile stress:

зна́ю це́ну сво́им де́йстви́ям ‘I know the value of my actions’

за сте́нами ‘behind the walls’ (an obsolete stress)

к двере́и ‘towards the door’

and stem stress in Ста́лин . . . ру́ки на Жу́кова не по́днял ‘Stalin . . . did not raise a hand to Zhukov’ and се́тей, genitive plural of сеть ‘net’. Some non-standard usage relates to professional registers: нефтедо́быча, from the professional language of miners and oilmen, used by V.S. Chernomyrdin, a former director of the gas industry (Lapteva, 1997b: 41–8).

Non-standard stress patterns can also be observed in nouns in -ение and others. Nouns in -ение such as обеспе́чение ‘guarantee, provision’ and наме́рение ‘intention’ have acquired non-standard stress on -ение, probably by analogy with other nouns in -ение, most of which have suffixal stress (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 318). Lexis with variant stress includes astrological and religious terms, which were earlier banned:

о́вен ‘Aries’ (овéн in dictionaries)

патриа́рхия ‘patriarchate’ (medial stress in dictionaries, variant -й- by analogy with similarly stressed nouns).

Non-standard flecional end stress in adjectives: нало́говáя систе́ма ‘tax system’, уста́вные докуме́нты ‘statutory documents’ and others reflects professional practice (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 318–9).

In declension, most monosyllabic loans (ба́йт ‘byte’, гра́нт ‘grant’, фа́йл ‘file’) have fixed stem stress, except for хит ‘hit’, which has genitive singular хита́, plural хиты́.

The processes described do not constitute a radical change in the accentual system, but are the result of trends which are already well established. What is

new, however, is the scope of these processes, as a result of which standard norms are under threat (Vorontsova, cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 323).

#### STRESS IN ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

Some adjectival stresses, while correct in certain contexts, are wrongly used in others:

*языко́вая* семья 'language family', for *языкова́я* (*языко́вый* only when *язык* means 'tongue')

*переходно́е* правітельство 'transitional government', for *перехо́дное* (*переходно́й* only with a concrete object)

*характе́рный* 'characteristic', for *характе́рный* (*характе́рный* only in the meaning 'stubborn') (Lapteva, 1997b: 49–50).

Wrongly stressed adverbs include

*иско́ни* 'from time immemorial' (for *иско́ни*)

*исподво́ль* 'by degrees' (for *исподво́ль*) and

*отча́сти* 'partially' (for *отча́сти*) (Lapteva, 1997b: 51).

### 6.4 Newspeak

The term *новояз* ('Newspeak') is associated with the totalitarian language and topsy-turvy values of Stalin's Russia, where love was equated with terror, fear and hatred, and some words lost a part of their meaning (Basovskaia, 1995b: 35). Thus, 'free' was pared down to mean 'unoccupied', 'equal' to 'physically equal', and the authorities used familiar but distorted words to suppress personal will and creative thought. However, the Stalinist version of 'Newspeak' lacked the simplicity and clarity of George Orwell's and abounded in expressive adjectives:

*могу́чее* движе́ние на́шего *титани́ческого* вре́мени 'the mighty movement of our titanic age'

лю́ди на́шего *неповтори́мо прекра́сного* о́бщества 'people of our incomparably magnificent society'

and, for the opposition:

в капита́листических странах пропаганди́руются *канниба́льские*, *человеконенавистни́ческие* взгляды́ на искусство  
in capitalist countries cannibalistic and misanthropic views of art are propagated.

See also Dmitrieva, cited in Graudina *et al.*, 1995: 91–3:

вышвырнуть за борт истории  
to throw overboard from the ship of history.

including some relatively recent but already obsolete word groups:

строить здание из кирпичиков согласия  
to construct a building from building bricks of consent.

(See Basovskaia, 1995b: 39–42.)

Striking characteristics of Soviet ‘Newspeak’ were an excess use of cliché and euphemism:

воины-интернационалисты ‘international warriors’ (of the Soviet invasion force in Afghanistan in 1979)

сбор производственной информации в интересах конкурентоспособности ‘the gathering of industrial information in the interests of competitiveness’, i.e. industrial espionage (Graudina, 1993: 59).

Also, its ritualised use of language, linguistic manipulation and de-semanticisation: выборы ‘elections’ in which there was only one candidate. It was typical of the period of perestroika, incidentally, that выборы should have been qualified by альтернативные, a popular perestroika term (Zemskaja, 1996a: 23).

In Soviet political vocabulary, Zemtsov distinguished two types of lexical ingredient. The first comprised words which reflected existing reality, albeit distorted in the world picture that they portray:

встречный план ‘counter plan’  
доска почёта ‘board of honour’  
колхоз ‘collective farm’, and so on.

The other group contained lexical fictions:

авангард ‘vanguard’  
внутрипартийная демократия ‘intra-Party democracy’  
дружба народов ‘friendship of peoples’, etc.

Flexible and capable of adjusting to every change in the social or political situation, they were primarily used to manipulate the mass conscience of society. Thus, throughout Soviet history, the following meaningless word groups were employed to describe the Soviet life-style:

пролетарский образ жизни ‘the proletarian way of life’  
советский образ жизни ‘the Soviet way of life’



социалистический образ жизни ‘the socialist way of life’ and finally: коммунистический образ жизни ‘the communist way of life’ (Zemtsov, 1985: 8–9).

(For comments on D.N. Ushakov’s dictionary of 1935–40 as the lexicological pinnacle of totalitarian discourse, see Kupina, 1995: 138.)

#### 6.4.1 *The survival of Newspeak*

Новояз did not completely disappear with the demise of the totalitarian state, but survives in phraseology, slogans, appeals and quotations. Liuboshits refers to the emergence of new clichés such as:

плюрализм мнений ‘pluralism of opinions’  
 тематический спектр ‘thematic spectrum’  
 развёртывание процессов демократизации ‘development of the processes of democratisation’, and so on

and concludes that, while calling for an end to stereotypes, Russian speakers have become inextricably wedded to them (Liuboshits 1991).

In colloquial Russian former clichés may be used with an ironic slant. Thus, a doctor questioning a patient about a stomach problem asks:

Продовольственную программу выполняет? ‘Is it fulfilling its food-supply programme?’

referring to a campaign waged under L.I. Brezhnev (Zemskaja, 1996a: 24). Perestroika slogans such as Gorbachëv’s Процесс пошёл ‘It’s up and running’ (now used of negative changes in economic, social or cultural life; see Skliarevskaja, 1998: 471) are used with ironic intent, and official phraseology is parodied in the press. The type of jargon known as стёб ‘mickey taking’ – according to Ageev (cited in Zemskaja 1996b: 22) the language of communication of the intelligentsia and young people ‘hanging out’ in the 1970s and 1980s – played a leading role in debunking Party clap-trap in those two decades, and was still used widely in the 1990s (Zemskaja, 1996a: 24–5):

Now everyone is taking the mickey! In the wake of the dauntless *Moskovskii Komsomolets*, the *Nezavisimaia*, the respectable *Segodnia* and the proud *Kommersant* have taken it up (ЛГ, 3.8.94).

#### 6.4.2 *Стёб*

Стёб (also known as ёрничество) is commonly used in headlines:

Влюблённые всех полов, соединяйтесь! (Сег., 16.2.94)  
Lovers of all sexes, unite!

Some examples are more complex, such as the following:

Воры в законе! Урки и блатяки! Жиганы и шпанюки!  
И т.д. и т.п. К вам обращается бывший “рядовой” . . .  
(НГ, 20.7.93, cited in Zemskaia; 1996a: 25)  
Thieves of the first water! Thugs and yobs! Hooligans and louts!  
And so on and so forth. A former ‘private’ is addressing you . . .

This is said to blend Stalin’s speech of 3.7.45 (“Братья и сёстры! К вам обращаюсь я, друзья мой . . .” ‘Brothers and sisters! I appeal to you, my friends . . .’; cf. Section 1.3.2) – which in its turn is based on the style of ecclesiastical sermons – with traditional addresses to the Soviet population by the Central Committee of the CPSU on the eve of a holiday.

The verse of Maiakovskii, the ‘soldier poet of the Revolution’ is commonly used for parody effect; for example, *Разговор с товарищем Ельциным* ‘Conversation with Comrade El’tsin’, which deals with talks between B.N. El’tsin and V.S. Chernomyrdin held in October 1995, has clear echoes, with slight modifications, of Maiakovskii’s *Разговор с товарищем Лениным*:

Товарищ Ельцин, по фабрикам дымным,  
По землям, покрытым снегом и жнивьям,  
Вашим, товарищ, сердцем и именем,  
Думаем, дышим, боремся и живём . . .  
(Сег., 2–8.10.95, cited in Zemskaia, 1996a: 26)

Comrade El’tsin, round smoky factories,  
Through lands covered with snow and stubble,  
With your heart and name, comrade,  
We think, breathe, struggle and live.

Such texts are first and foremost aimed at those who lived during the Soviet period and who are thus familiar with the sub-text, rather than at the young. In due course “новоязовское ёрничество” (‘Newspeak mickey-taking’) will, therefore, make way for something different; in fact the old-style parody seemed to be on its way out as early as 1996 (Zemskaia, 1996a: 27), with new stereotypes already forming. However, Soviet-type ‘Newspeak’ continues to thrive in official statements such as Iu. Luzhkov’s instructions for the celebration of Easter in March 1995, unconsciously couched in the style of arrangements for communist celebrations on Red Square:

1. Одобрить план основных общегородских мероприятий по проведению праздника Святой Пасхи.

2. Департаменту по делам печати и информации организовать проведение работ по праздничному оформлению города . . .

(*Центр plus*, 17.4.95, cited in Zemskaja, 1996a: 27)

1. Approve the plan for basic municipal measures for celebrating the festival of Holy Easter.
2. The Press and Information Department to organise arrangements for the festive layout of the city . . .

Thus, 'Newspeak' lives on in parody, in the bureaucracy and in the speech of those who have preserved some elements of the Soviet mentality. Zemskaja compares 'Newspeak' with the language of 'political correctness' in the USA and Canada. Both are characterised by cliché, language manipulation to conceal the truth, using, for example, 'politically correct' euphemisms such as 'educationally challenged' for less bright children and 'persons with alternative sexual orientation' for gays and lesbians. Zemskaja points to the irony that a philanthropic idea taken to absurd lengths can have the same linguistic and social consequences as the ideology of a totalitarian regime (Zemskaja, 1996a: 28–9).

## 6.5 Parliamentary practice

### 6.5.1 Shortcomings of parliamentarians and new demands

Members of the Russian parliament are frequently taken to task for poor language skills and an unparliamentary etiquette that tolerates terms of abuse. Attempts have been made to improve matters by, for example, proposing the replacement of the word *ложь* 'lie, untruth' by paraphrases such as *неполная информация* 'incomplete information' and *несоответствие истине* 'noncompliance with the truth' (Graudina, 1990: 67).

The start of the debate on the language of parliamentarians coincided with the broadcasting and televising of the First Congress of People's Deputies of the former Soviet Union. As Shiriaev has pointed out (1993: 54), no oratorical skills had been asked of Soviet deputies over a period of over seventy years, during which administrators at all levels had read from prepared speeches that had often been censored in advance and were neither listened to nor read. Such speeches conformed to a set pattern which allowed little or no initiative on the part of speakers. During perestroika, by contrast, spontaneous reactions to events in Russia and its parliament became *de rigueur* in the rough-and-tumble of debate, leaving little time for thought or careful preparation. It is in this type of environment that mistakes and miscalculations thrive (Vinogradov *et al.*, 1994: 6). There was a blatant coarseness about the speech of some deputies to the First Congress:

... управляющий Центральным государственным банком признал, что правительство *огрabilo* народ, а *грабителей* судят и *сажают на скамью подсудимых*. (Shiriaev, 1993: 52)

... the director of the Central State Bank has acknowledged that the government has robbed the people, and robbers are tried and put in the dock.

And, sometimes, sheer vulgarity:

*Вытрите свой палец* прежде чем указывать на мои пятна. (Graudina, 1993: 58)

Wipe your own finger before pointing out my failings.

Linguistic solecisms have by no means been limited to the rank and file. They are also found in the language of political leaders:

А у нас в Новосибирске нынешний губернатор Муха имел по рейтингам 4 проц., а набрал 70 проц. Так что в рейтинги ... в эту *брехню* я не верю. (M.S. Gorbachëv, report from Novosibirsk, cited in *MH*, 28.4–5.5. 96)

In Novosibirsk the present governor had four per cent according to the ratings, but got seventy per cent of the vote. So I don't believe in ratings ... this *balderdash*.

... Затем должны пройти межгосударственные переговоры. Если Украина не захочет — по националистическим принципам или принципам *жлобства*, — тогда следует обратиться в международный суд. (Iu.M. Luzhkov, mayor of Moscow, on the status of Sebastopol, at the launch of a new submarine in Severodvinsk, *MH*, 3–10.11.96)

... Then there will have to be inter-state negotiations. If Ukraine doesn't want to take part – for nationalistic reasons or reasons of *loutishness* – then we will have to appeal to the international court of justice.

Such confusions of register are not uncommon in the media:

В минувшем году к одному из скотных дворов Ребриков положил асфальтированную дорогу (*государство обязано возместить 100% затрат*) и реконструировал, а по сути дела построил заново бройлерный цех. За всё про всё бюджет ему должен выплатить 900 млн. рублей. Однако не выплачивает ни *шиша*. (*MK*, 15.10.97)

Last year Rebrikov laid an asphalt road to one of the stock yards (*the state is obliged to reimburse 100 per cent of the cost*) and reconstructed, in fact rebuilt from scratch a broiler unit. For all this *the state budget should pay him 900 million roubles*. In fact, it pays him *bugger all*,



where “в мину́вшем году́”, “госуда́рство обяза́но возме́тить 100% затра́т” and “бюджéт до́лжен вы́платить” are official style and “за всё про всё” and “ни шишá” colloquial or demotic.

### 6.5.2 *Totalitarian residue*

The period of perestroika was marked by a transition from the ritual texts of the Soviet period, replete with communist rhetoric and glorification of the current leader, descriptions of ‘grandiose achievements’, acknowledgement of a few minor faults and an appeal to face up to new tasks (Vinogradov *et al.*, 1994: 48–9). Nevertheless, a residue from the officialese of these ‘quasi-texts’ survives in parliament in the use of void words such as

вопрóс ‘question, issue’	зада́ча ‘task’,
проблéма ‘problem’	

overuse of which can impoverish a text:

Вопрос Иванова и Гдляна перерос не только в сегодняшнюю проблему для рассмотрения на съезде. (from the transcript of the First Congress of People’s Deputies, cited in Vinogradov *et al.*, 1994: 49)  
The issue of Ivanov and Gdlian has developed not only into today’s problem for scrutiny at the congress.

At the same time, expressive metaphors characterise the speech of some deputies, on the model ‘noun + noun in genitive case’ – война́ зако́нов ‘war of laws’ – or ‘adjective + noun’: инфляциóнная спира́ль ‘inflationary spiral’ (Vinogradov *et al.*, 1994: 68). Many metaphors are based on the vocabulary of:

- the military (as in the first decade after the October Revolution, especially in Stalin’s speeches, where such metaphors comprised ninety per cent of the whole):
  - ата́ка на демокра́тию ‘an attack on democracy’
  - вы́йти из око́пов ‘to emerge from the trenches’
- industry and technology:
  - ги́бкий меха́низм ценообро́зования ‘a flexible mechanism of price-setting’
  - систéма сдéржек и противове́сов президéнтской вла́сти ‘system of checks and balances of presidential power’
- medicine and illnesses:
  - синдрóм забастóвок ‘strike syndrome’
  - выздоровлéние от глубо́кой аллерги́и к ры́нку ‘recovery from a profound allergy to the market’; and

- crisis metaphors:

находиться на самом дне пропасти ‘to be at the very bottom of the precipice’, the vocabulary of roads, sharp turns, references to the opposition as ‘children’, and so on (Vinogradov *et al.*, 1994: 70–3).

#### 6.5.2.1 “Какбыизм” ‘asif-ism’

The non-committal nature of officialese may be reflected in a current concept known as “какбыйзм” ‘asif-ism’, a phenomenon interpreted by Marina Murzina (*АиФ*, №15, 97) as a subconscious Freudian syndrome expressing Russians’ chronic lack of confidence in what they say or think. Thus, a TV commentator announces that a treaty как бы обсуждается ‘appears to be under discussion’ and a singer says: Я вам сейчас как бы спою как бы песню ‘I’ll sort of sing you a kind of song now’. Murzina finds this to be symptomatic of the state of mind of Russians who ‘seem to be living in a union with Belarus’, ‘seem to get paid’, ‘seem to be implementing reforms’, ‘seem to have recently changed the make-up of the government’, and where Chernomyrdin ‘seems to be some kind of dollar millionaire’. This reluctance to be explicit is purportedly endemic in present-day Russian. This ironic comment describes participants in the TV programme *Ночной экспресс* ‘Night-time Express’:

Они как бы случайно встречаются и как бы спонтанно общаются, а камера перебегает из одного купе в другое, как бы выхватывая самое интересное. Модное выраженьице-паразит “как бы” здесь, увы, ключевое. (*Изв.*, 31.5.97)

They sort of meet by chance and associate in a spontaneous kind of way, and the camera tracks from one compartment to another, as if homing in on the most interesting part. The modish parasitical little expression ‘as if’ is, alas, the key one here.

A. Solzhenitsyn echoes this attitude in a more serious context, in an extract from his book *Россия в обвале* ‘Russia in collapse’ (*АиФ*, №22, 98), using, however, the analogous phrase как будто:

В России к концу 90-х годов установилось призрачно-показное существование. Как будто — у нас республика со свободными выборами. Как будто — “свободная пресса”. Как будто все усилия правительства направлены к поднятию производства . . .

By the end of the 1990s an illusory kind of ostentatious existence had become established in Russia. We were purported to have a republic with free elections. We were purported to have a ‘free press’. All the government’s efforts purported to be directed towards a rise in industrial production . . .

### 6.5.3 *Bad manners on the floor of the Russian parliament*

Speech culture in the Duma has been at a low ebb, and the Westminster parliament, where words such as ‘liar’, ‘pig’, ‘ass’, ‘rat’ and ‘puppy’ are banned from the debating chamber, has been held up as a model (Graudina, 1993: 59). In the Russian parliament, by contrast, delegates have referred to each other as *отечественные квислинги* ‘home-grown Quislings’, and *политические расстриги* ‘political renegades’ (Graudina, 1993: 58). The sarcastic *коммуняки* ‘commies’ and *дерьмократы* (for the democrats, a blend based on the vulgarity *дерьмо* ‘dung, muck’) have joined the political lexicon (Vinogradov *et al.*, 1994: 52). Much of the adverse criticism is prompted by the sense that deputies need a high standard of culture and knowledge and a formidable linguistic arsenal in order to be able to perform their multifarious tasks (Vinogradov, 1993: 51).

### 6.5.4 *Good and bad practice*

Shkatova (1990) has published examples of bad practice side by side with recommendations for alternatives which take account of a political opponent’s interests and turn him or her into an equal partner in the search for truth. Thus:

Вы не правы ‘You are wrong’ could be replaced by Наши позиции не совпадают ‘Our positions do not coincide’

Не хочу спорить с таким упрямым ослом! Всем уже давно понятно, что Вы проиграли! ‘I do not want to argue with such a stubborn ass! Everyone realises you have lost!’ by Не будем превращать спор в ссору: от этого истина не выиграет ‘Let’s not turn an argument into a quarrel. That will not bring us any closer to the truth’.

### 6.5.5 *Poor command of Russian*

A glossary in Vinogradov *et al.* (1994: 144–356) lists the commonest solecisms recorded in debate:

- non-standard flexions: авторá ‘authors’ for standard авторы
- non-standard stress: алиби ‘alibi’ for áлиби
- pleonasm: вторáя, другáя альтернатива ‘a second, another alternative’
- non-standard forms of the comparative: богáтее ‘is richer’ for богáче
- non-standard metaphorical usage: провенти́лировать вопро́сы ‘to ventilate questions’ for рассмотре́ть вопро́сы
- non-standard government: чрева́тый чегó-нибудь ‘fraught with’ for чрева́тый чем-нибудь
- demotic forms: ско́лько вре́мя? ‘what is the time?’ for ско́лько вре́мени?

- non-standard hardening of consonants – д in деталь ‘detail, component’, з in презентация ‘presentation’ – or softening of consonants: т in компьютер ‘computer’, н in бизнес ‘business’
- dialect forms: зайти до соседа ‘to drop in on a neighbour’ for зайти к соседу
- non-standard conjugation: жётся ‘burns, burns oneself’ for жётся
- contamination: играть значение ‘to be important’, иметь роль ‘to play a part’ for иметь значение and играть роль, respectively
- wrong gender: картофель ‘potatoes’ as feminine
- tautology: коллега по специальности ‘colleague’ for коллега
- wrong use of numerals: в тысячу [for тысяча] девятьсот девяносто девятом году ‘in 1999’
- confusion of paronyms: демонстрационно [for демонстративно] покинуть зал ‘leave the hall demonstratively’
- interpolation of н in assimilation to an earlier nasal consonant: инцидент ‘incident’ for инцидент
- non-standard case usage after a preposition; по окончанию ‘in conclusion’ for по окончании.

Many of the errors result from false analogy or contamination.

### 6.5.6 Summary

The poor state of speech culture in contemporary Russia can thus be traced in part to broadcasts of parliamentary proceedings, but others have criticised the speech of teachers of language and literature, the language of the press and of some writers. Teliia adapts a computer image, saying that the Russian language is infected by a virus (see Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 57), and offers a novel reinterpretation of Shaw’s *Pygmalion*: those who aspire to power would do well to master linguistic norms (Skliarevskaja *et al.*, 1992: 42).

## 6.6 Slang

See also Section 2.2.7.3.

Some linguists believe Americanised youth slang to have been one of the most destructive of linguistic elements (Apresian, cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 38), and Kanova (1994: 17) confirms that youth slang had infiltrated all linguistic strata by the mid-1990s. The late 1980s saw the rise of НМО – неформальные молодёжные объединения ‘informal youth associations’ (see Section 2.1, p. 71) – which by 1990 numbered about 200 and made a significant contribution to the spread of youth slang, closely associated with rock music. This resulted in many loans from English, from music, fashion and other youthful preoccupations.

While youth slang had been largely ignored by the press in the Soviet period – perhaps due to its roots in criminal jargon, and because there were



not supposed to be any associations in the USSR that were not officially approved – interest grew during perestroika. The lexis contains:

- nouns (the most substantial component):  
прикид ‘gear’  
лох ‘dolt, bumpkin’  
достоёвский ‘someone who can ‘acquire’ [достаёт] anything’;
- verbs (the next most substantial component):  
смоли́ть ‘to take or smoke hashish’  
коси́ть/закоси́ть ‘to avoid army service’  
киря́ть ‘to drink alcohol’;
- adjectives and participles:  
свётлый ‘well hidden’  
обану́тый ‘delightful’;
- interjections:  
Блин! ‘Bugger!’ (or ‘Sugar!’, to use an equivalent English euphemism)  
Улё́т! ‘Magic!’; and
- phrases:  
шнурки́ в стака́не ‘the parents are in’  
заряди́ть та́чку ‘to take a taxi’ (Kanova, 1994: 18).

Cf. Section 2.2.7 and see Davie (1998: 391) for a view that the language of youth ‘cannot be ignored by any model which seeks to represent accurately current usage’.

### 6.6.1 *Press guides to slang*

Articles have appeared in the post-perestroika press giving glossaries of youth slang for the benefit of readers; for example:

- a series of articles in the newspaper *Голос* ‘Voice’ under the title “Речевое облако России” ‘Russia’s Speech Cloud’; e.g.: диггеры ‘diggers’ or летучие мыши ‘bats’, of young people living in cellars or the metro;
- the series “Шнурки́ в стака́не” in the newspaper *Час пик*, published at the request of parents; e.g.: олды́ ‘parents’, надринкаться ‘to get sozzled’;
- “Ликбез” in *Аргументы и факты*: hippy slang, especially relating to drug-taking, e.g. слезть с иглы́ ‘to come off drugs’;
- “Так говори́ли на Арба́те” in *Я молодой*: the language of young businessmen, e.g. география́ ‘the currency of various countries’, бундес ‘a German’, два конца́ ‘200 per cent’;
- *Словарь языка́ хиппи* in *Независимая газета*, 25.3.92: from вайтóвый ‘white’ to э́тот фильм — така́я шиза́ ‘that film is really garbage’;

- *Учíte язык тинейджеров* in *Аргументы и факты* №31, 96: набылиться на булкотряс ‘to go to the disco’ and a rising scale of names for attractive girls: матильда, мурка, киска;
- *Старая “фэня” новой “братвы”* in *Аргументы и факты* №39, 96, on the ‘Newspeak’ of ‘New Russians’: это дело мы потом по ручнику обкашляем ‘we will discuss that later on the mobile phone’;
- *Шнурки на приколе* in *Санкт-Петербургские ведомости*;
- *Агрессия новояза* in *Общая газета*, 3–9.4.97 and others.

(See Kanova, 1994: 18–19; Gerashchenko and Kletsova, 1995.) Elena Nikitina (“Виновата, не секú по-новорýски” ‘I am sorry, I don’t understand New Russian’, *Ж.*, №1, 98) notes with regret the emergence of a ‘New Russian-bureaucratic (новорýсский чиновничий) style’ and deplores the fact that so many linguistic excesses (e.g. заказáть мýжа ‘to take out a contract on one’s husband’) appear in sections of the press most read by teenagers.

### 6.6.2 The impact of slang

Many slang words have found their way into the language of the press, thence into general usage; for example, тусóвка ‘gig, place to hang around’. Kanova quotes from an article on the opera *Carmen* that appeared in *Аргументы и факты* and, despite the slang words, was meant not specifically for young people but for readers of all ages:

Не сумеете поймать кайф от Вагнера — посылайте все эксперименты подальше и продолжайте тащиться от привычного вам музона. Начать лучше всего с самого раскрученного хита, ну конечно же, с “Кармен”. Здесь что ни ария — то самый крутой шлягер. И тексты не хуже новомодных попсовых — о любви, ревности, мафиози. А от увертюры просто в заводходишь. (Kanova, 1994: 20)

If you don’t get high on Wagner, forget about experimentation and dig the music you know. Best to start with the most popular hit, well, of course, *Carmen*. Here every aria is a smash. And the libretti are as good as modern pop – love, jealousy, the mafia. And the overture will simply blow your mind.

### 6.7 The effect of ideology on speech culture

However, the collapse of speech culture probably stems from seventy years of harmful ideological influence and prolonged isolation from the culture of the outside world, rather than from slang. Ironically, glasnost is said to have made matters worse, since it enabled cohorts of parliamentarians and officials, many with limited experience of current affairs or of public speaking, to bring their non-standard Russian into every home in the land, via radio,

television and the press. Linguistic norms may be under threat in other ethnically diverse countries, but only in Russia is the problem compounded by the fact that for decades the language has been subject to the stultifying effect of cliché and stock phrase. Zemskaia (cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 45) expresses the following view:

The induction into public life of broad social strata with no experience of public speaking has shown that by no means everyone is a born orator, not everyone knows how to address a broadly based audience, not everyone is familiar with the norms of standard language.

Small wonder, then, that there has been renewed interest in linguistic circles in the theory and practice of rhetoric, a skill out of favour since 1917 but on the subject of which a number of books have been published since 1985 (e.g. Khazagerov and Shirina, 1994).

In a reference to Ferdinand de Saussure's well-known 'chess-board' theory of language, Zemskaia restates the situation: the 'board' has expanded but some players have not yet assimilated the rules, or have forgotten them (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 46). Inarticulate public speakers are not a new phenomenon, but during the period of 'stagnation' the inarticulate did not speak in public, or if they did, then they read from a prepared text. Now, in free discussion, reading from a text is not an option, and the stresses and strains of modern living do not allow time for stylistic niceties (Kozhina, cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 48). The low level of speech culture among the population as a whole results from a poor level of education at school, a low cultural level among teachers, unsatisfactory school text-books, and poor speech habits in the family (Krysin, cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 51).

Zhuravlëva and Zhuravlëv (1991: 10–11) agree: one of the many reasons for the impoverishment of speech culture is the application of ideology to school education since the 1920s, when official policy was to train battalions of 'social cogs', destined to be workers at the work-bench. This was compounded by the post-War polytechnisation of schools and the training of young people to operate exclusively in the sphere of material production, with no concern for spiritual values. The authors compare the achievements of the products of this system with those of a pre-Revolutionary grammar school, who would leave school with a knowledge of several foreign languages, Russian and classical literature, Old Church Slavonic, Latin and Greek, and whose modern language teachers would have studied abroad in foreign universities.

## 6.8 The remedy

The 'patient' is not the 'state of the language', but the speech culture of those that speak it, according to Shiriaev (cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 64). There are, of course, some positive developments: Shiriaev pays tribute to the



cultivated language of the Russian clergy, which is finding a wider audience through the media. According to Shiriaev, it is appropriate, in some contexts, to speak of an *enrichment* of the language, but at the same time the gap between exemplary and inadequate speakers of Russian is widening. The young, he says, are obsessed with jargon and the language of rock music, while officialese is rife in the language of bureaucrats. Worst of all, those with a poor command of the language are not interested in improving it.

Shiriaev also pays tribute to A. Solzhenitsyn's *Словарь языкового расширения* 'Dictionary of Linguistic Expansion' (1995). Solzhenitsyn has been one of the most active crusaders against loan words in Russian. In a television broadcast (NTV, 1.7.94) he declared: 'We must save the Russian language, our national culture and spirituality.' At the same time, he does not condemn all borrowing out of hand. In his view, it is pointless even to try to exclude such words as компьютер 'computer', лазер 'laser' and ксерокс 'xerox', but the uninhibited infiltration of the language by words like уик-энд 'week-end', брифинг 'briefing' and истеблишмент 'establishment' signals the end of Russian as we know it. His dictionary was conceived as a reference work listing some 30,000 endangered words, for the purpose of restoring and breathing new life into almost-forgotten Russian lexis. It contains words which are on the periphery of the language but which, in the author's opinion, have the right to exist:

ба́йка 'speech, pronunciation',                      сказа́я 'story-teller', and so on.  
вапе́я 'female cook'

Solzhenitsyn also proposes the replacement of some words of foreign origin with their native counterparts:

на́ручень for браслёт 'bracelet'  
постре́льщик, обло́вщик or дичекра́д for браконье́р 'poacher'; and  
отжи́мник for бри́финг 'briefing'.

Though unfamiliar to the modern ear, the suggested replacements have a transparency which makes them immediately understandable to a Russian.

In fact, however, concern over loan words may be misplaced, since of the myriad borrowings that have entered Russian over the centuries, only those communicatively and stylistically expedient have survived. During the reign of Peter the Great (1682–1725) Russian borrowed some 1,500 words from Dutch, of which only about 250 are still extant. Furthermore, 74 per cent of words borrowed from French in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have narrowed their meanings by comparison with their French counterparts, and 35 per cent have acquired a different meaning, not available in French (Bel'chikov, 1993: 33). Russian's capacity for absorbing loan words and adjusting them to its system testifies to the the system's continuing stability. A dictionary of Russian in the eleventh and twelfth centuries yields an even



more telling statistic: only 14 per cent of the roots of Old Russian are completely obsolete, while the remainder, sometimes with new meanings and new affixes, have survived (Skvortsov, 1996: 105).

In confirmation of the transitoriness of some loans, Leonid Krysin, head of the Department of Modern Russian in the Russian Academy of Sciences, comments that консенсус 'consensus', for example, popular in the early 1990s, is already yielding pride of place to other words such as имидж 'image', слухмэйкеры 'rumour-mongers' and перфóрманс 'performance' (КП, 20.2.98).

### 6.8.1 *The role of family and education*

One solution to the problem of speech culture lies at grass-roots level, in the family and in school, where there is a need to write new textbooks and to replace, say, Gor'kii's *Мать* 'Mother' with works by Andrei Platonov, and Dem'ian Bednyi's with those of Boris Pasternak. Above all, the speech habits of teachers and lecturers need to be improved (Krysin, cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 51). Khaburgaev would throw the net wider, by propagating a broad-based campaign designed to acquaint the population with linguistic principles in general, rather than simply 'speech culture', so that the population at large knows what language is and how it develops (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 59).

Cheremisina (cited in Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 60–2) also locates the problem at grass-roots level: for seventy years people vied with each other to see who could use the maximum number of words to express the minimum number of ideas, and it is difficult to break the habit. People continue to speak in clichés, have forgotten how to use words of their own, and are not ashamed to write ключь for ключ 'key' and аппендецит for аппендицит 'appendicitis'. The problem must be tackled at source – in the schools.

Sirotnina (cited in Zemskaja, 1996b: 17) recommends courses for MPs and fines for errant announcers, while Krysin (Karaulov *et al.*, 1991: 51) would remodel university teaching and eliminate a certain dryness from the speech of teachers and lecturers. The school timetable still allots minimal time for Russian language and literature (Karaulov, 1995: 20). Kostomarov (1994b: 236) subscribes to the traditionalist view: 'Only preventive measures in the field of general culture can help, and constant association with classical models.'

## 6.9 Linguistic ecology

Meanwhile, perhaps in the absence of a Russian equivalent of the *Académie française* (see Kostomarov, 1994b: 191–2), 'linguistic ecology' is beginning to acquire the status of a new discipline, with its own methodology and conceptual-terminological apparatus, strongly influenced by the language of biology:

языковая среда 'linguistic environment'  
загрязнение речевой среды 'pollution of the speech environment'  
болéзнь языка 'linguistic ailment'  
оздоровление языка 'purification of the language'

and a propensity for dramatic terms such as

лингвоцид 'linguocide' (on the basis of экоцид 'ecocide')  
лексическая эрозия 'lexical erosion', 'lexical loss' (on the basis of почвенная эрозия 'soil erosion'); and  
языковое насилие 'language violence' (Skovorodnikov, 1996: 47–8).

The Orthodox Church had taken an early lead as a champion of the language by passing a special resolution for its protection (О защите и возрождении русского языка 'On the Protection and Regeneration of the Russian Language') at the First World Russian Council (1-й Всемирный Русский собор) held in the Sviato-Danilov Monastery on 26–28.5.93. Typical of subsequent conferences on linguistic ecology was one held in Achinsk 23–26.5.95 with the title "Экология языка и культура речевого общения" ('The Ecology of Language and the Culture of Communication through Speech'; Skovorodnikov, 1996: 44). A.K. Mikhal'skaia's paper at this conference gave cause for alarm, since it foresaw a need for: 'the identification of factors polluting channels of communication and preventing understanding between people, and the removal of obstacles to communication' (Skovorodnikov, 1996: 45). Such a view is far from untypical.

### **6.9.1 *The cure for malaise***

Iu.V. Rozhdestvenskii, writing in *Литературная газета* (4.9.96), sees a cure for the present malaise in:

1. a dictionary that includes technical and especially economic vocabulary in addition to standard lexis; also dictionaries of style and orthography;
2. an increase in the number and circulation of academic publications;
3. books on the language and style of twentieth-century Russian literature;
4. the use of standard lexis and diction by public speakers;
5. a rise in the standards of the press and, in particular, television;
6. the promotion of well-written works of literature;
7. an enhancement of the prestige of Russian (at present some people of other nationalities who know the language affect not to, while in some circles it is felt somehow 'indecent' to be Russian and to know Russian culture).

### 6.9.2 The Russian Academy of Sciences and the journal *Русистика сегодня* ('*Russian Studies Today*')

Some of these aims are espoused by *Русистика сегодня* '*Russian Studies Today*', a journal launched by the Russian Academy of Sciences with three tasks:

1. to record an exact picture of processes at work in the Russian language;
2. to carry out research into the Russian language within the framework of Slavonic studies in general (an approach which is commonplace outside Russia but represented *within* the country only in O.N. Trubachëv's etymological dictionary of the Slavonic languages and linguistic atlases);
3. to promote lexicography, since dictionaries are the most convenient means of presenting the results of research.

These three tasks can be summarised as the теоретизация ('theoretification'), славянизация ('slavonification') and лексикографизация ('lexicographisation') of Russian studies (Karaulov, 1994: 4–8).

The future of the language may in fact lie in the hands of the Russian Language Institute of the Academy of Sciences and of the Language Council established by a decree issued by the President of the Russian Federation (7.12.95) with the title "*О Совете по русскому языку при Президенте Российской Федерации*" ('*On the Russian Language Council attached to the President of the Russian Federation*'). The Institute is researching areas which were earlier taboo: the language of politics, jargon, and *émigré* literature, especially the works of Nabokov, Solzhenitsyn and Zaitsev. As for the 'anti-culture' promoted by the media, linguists are advised by Karaulov to study it as a linguistic phenomenon, stressing its alienation from the great tradition of Russian cultural speech norms.

In 1995 *Русистика сегодня* reported that appeals to the powers-that-be to set up a 'protective service for the Russian language' (охранная служба русского языка) had fallen upon deaf ears, as had appeals to the media to reduce its use of loan words, overuse of which was often attributable to laziness, conservatism, a reluctance to exploit native Russian resources, or pride in one's knowledge of foreign languages (Karaulov, 1995: 20). The media were considered to occupy a pivotal role in language development, and it was felt that nothing would be achieved unless they developed a special programme for the protection of the Russian language. There had to be dialogue at national level with this 'fourth estate', not for the purpose of banning loans and other contentious material, but to preserve and enhance the Russian language. This, according to Karaulov, should be the first task of the Russian Language Council (Karaulov, 1995: 22–3).



## 6.10 The federal programme

By 1997, the journal *Русская речь* (1, 97: 34–7) reported the setting up of the ‘federal focused programme’ (Федеральная целевая программа) called “Русский язык” ‘Russian Language’, following the decree of 7.12.95 (see Section 6.9.2).

The programme first outlines a grandiose project for the spiritual renewal of Russia, and then proceeds to plan for:

- the establishment of a state Russian language policy;
- the promotion of Russian as a national and state language in Russia and as a medium for inter-ethnic communication in Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States;
- the enhancement of its status on the world stage; and
- the creation of a strategy for the promotion of Russian language and culture in the mass media.

It provides for:

- television and radio broadcasts on the Russian language;
- dictionaries and teaching aids on speech culture;
- research into grammar, phonetics, word formation and lexis;
- the history of Russian and its dialects and the speech characteristics of various social groups; and
- the creation of databases in the field of Russian studies.

The study of literature is also to be revitalised.

It makes provision for laws regulating the use of Russian in the media, publishing, clerical work, advertising and cinema, under the control of a federal state Russian language service attached to the government of the Russian Federation. Seminars will be held for employees of the mass media and reference works published for their benefit, in particular a dictionary of orthography and pronunciation for journalists and the four-volume monograph *Современный газетно-публицистический стиль* (‘*Contemporary Style in the Press and Publicistics*’).

New teaching syllabuses, textbooks and teaching methodologies will be designed to rectify shortcomings in the teaching of Russian language and literature at secondary and tertiary levels. The publication of the Russian classics will help to preserve literature as a national treasure in defiance of the mass pseudo-culture that appears to be eroding the moral fibre of society and distorting the standard norms of the language.

In the countries of Central and Eastern Europe, where the teaching of Russian has been down-graded, research projects and practical measures will be undertaken to improve the teaching of Russian and increase the number of foreign students. A new methodology for the teaching of Russian as a



foreign language is being devised and a set of integrated teaching materials planned, both for class-contact and distance learning.

Whether this far-reaching and imaginative programme will come to full fruition, only time, of course, will tell. Portents are mixed. Anna Verbieva ("По дороге на священный водопой" 'On the Way to the Sacred Watering-Hole', *НГ*, 20.12.97) paints a largely bleak picture of the situation in Central Asia (where Russian teaching in schools and universities has reached an all-time low) and in the Baltic states (in Latvia and Estonia legislation discriminates against the 'non-titular' population, and in Lithuania history books are being re-written). Nevertheless, Verbieva discerns a silver lining: in most republics of the 'near abroad' (that is, former republics of the USSR; Skliarevskaja, 1998: 100) Russian remains the medium of scientific, economic and diplomatic dialogue, often in defiance of official bans and fine-sounding declarations. Meanwhile, at a conference held in Cheliabinsk in June 1997 delegates deplored the government's decision to withdraw funding for the federal programme, demanding the restitution of financial support, at the same time stressing the need to ensure enhanced provision for the teaching of Russian at secondary and tertiary level (Panova, 1998: 121–3).

A more optimistic note is struck by Kostomarov (1998), who sees grounds for satisfaction in the state of Russian teaching to foreign students. Though fewer people study the language now than during the Soviet period, motivation is greater and similar numbers achieve real competence: student numbers at Moscow's Pushkin Institute, for example, have held up by comparison with earlier years and stood at 143 foreign postgraduate enrolments from 29 countries in the session 1996–97. Russian for special purposes is flourishing, more Russian is taught in overseas technical and business colleges than in arts faculties, and internationally recognised certificates of competence in the language are awarded to businesspeople and others by the Council of Europe. The critical post-communist phase is over, and 'the world needs Russia as the home of Rublëv and Repin, Chaikovskii and Shostakovich, Pushkin, Tolstoi, Chekhov, Nabokov' (Kostomarov, 1998: 7).

## 6.11 Afterword

Despite Russia in the latter part of 1998 being in the grip of a deepening economic crisis, exacerbated by a poor grain and potato harvest, dwindling food supplies and the prospect of catastrophic shortages during the winter months, a new law on the use of pure Russian awaited presentation to the State Duma (*Times*, 7 November 1998). One of its authors, Vladimir Nerozak, while criticising the media and Duma members as being mainly responsible for the desperate state of the language, expressed the wish that Russian should be properly taught in school, a wish that, if implemented, might at least ensure that the language will be safe in the hands of the next generation.

Russian has a continuing national and international part to play, not only in normal discourse, and in business and commerce, but as the vehicle of a world culture. There is no doubt that it will be equal to the task.

## Notes

- 1 Norman (1998: 58) refers to the accession to power – mainly of representatives of the technical and economic intelligentsia, but also of the criminal classes and middle-class entrepreneurs – as factors in the emergence of grammatical innovations.
- 2 The grammatical ‘norm’ is notoriously difficult to define and may be subject to subjective interpretation. Akhmanova (1966: 270) refers to ‘accepted usage’ and a ‘corpus of rules ... regulating usage’. E.S. Istrina, in *Нормы русского литературного языка и культура речи* (Moscow–Leningrad, 1948: 19), cited in Graudina (1980: 71), is less equivocal: ‘The norm is determined by degree of usage by authoritative sources.’ Other definitions include S.I. Ozhegov’s, quoted in Graudina *et al.* (1995: 7).

# Bibliography and further reading

## *Abbreviations of bibliographical entries*

The following abbreviations are used throughout the book to refer to the bibliographical entries listed. For full details see individual entries in the bibliography.

B	Bykov, 1994 – <i>Русская феня</i>
CoCo	Sinclair, 1990 – <i>Collins Cobuild. English Language Dictionary</i>
COD	Sykes, 1976 – <i>Concise Oxford Dictionary</i>
KOT	Kotelova, 1995 – <i>Словарь новых слов русского языка 1950–1980 гг.</i>
LEV	Levashov, 1997a – <i>Новые слова и значения. Словарь-справочник по материалам прессы и литературы 80-х годов</i>
M	Maksimov <i>et al.</i> , 1992 – <i>Словарь перестройки</i>
MAS	Evgen'eva, 1981–84 – <i>Словарь русского языка</i>
MSE	Vvedenskii, 1959 – <i>Малая Советская Энциклопедия</i>
NSZ-60	Kotelova and Sorokin, 1971 – <i>Новые слова и значения. Словарь-справочник по материалам прессы и литературы 60-х годов</i>
OED	Murray <i>et al.</i> , 1970 – <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OED-89	Simpson and Weiner, 1989 – <i>Oxford English Dictionary</i>
OZH-87	Ozhegov, 1987 – <i>Словарь русского языка</i>
OZH-93	Ozhegov and Shvedova, 1993 – <i>Толковый словарь русского языка</i>
OZH-97	Ozhegov and Shvedova, 1997 – <i>Толковый словарь русского языка</i>
USH	Ushakov, 1935–40 – <i>Толковый словарь русского языка</i>

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*Note:* The indexes do not include every word that appears in *The Russian Language Today* but are intended to interact with the table of contents and the bibliography to facilitate access to all parts of the book.

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