

Anglicisms in the Russian language: colloquialisms and linguistic purism in the Russian language

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Odjel za anglistiku

Diplomski sveučilišni studij engleskog jezika i književnosti; smjer: znanstveni
(dvopredmetni)

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and linguistic purism in the Russian language**

Diplomski rad

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Zadar, 2017.



Izjava o akademskoj čestitosti

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1. Introduction

There is no language that develops in isolation, especially nowadays, in the age of globalization. The English and the Russian language are languages in contact, and borrowing from one language to another is a natural resulting process. Influence of the English language in the context of globalization is immense and it has only risen in the last few decades, in which the society marked development in spheres such as economy, Internet, technology, tourism and many others that led to a language contact. It is no different when it comes to the Russian language. The process of borrowing can enrich lexicon of a borrowing language, but borrowings can also become pervasive. The main reason for dealing with the topic in the title of this paper is the latter result. Namely, there is a notable amount of Anglicisms in the colloquial layer of the Russian language (slang, jargonisms, professional words, common colloquial words, vulgar words, dialectal words), especially among Russian-speaking youth. Such pervasiveness, together with recent political and social developments in the Russian-speaking society, indisputably influences the Russian language community and the attitudes that it has towards changes and novelties in their language. Such state of affairs can easily cause an informal leaning towards linguistic purism. The discrepancies among people of different attitudes living in the same society can cause conflicts and be the motive of various social changes – therefore, this topic is of great importance from sociolinguistic point of view.

The paper will be divided in three main parts: the definition of Anglicisms and their presence in the Russian language and culture, the colloquial vocabulary and the role of Anglicisms in the colloquial vocabulary of the Russian language, and, finally, the linguistic purism in the Russian language. The analysis conducted in this paper is based on information, data, and examples from various mass media sources (journals, newspapers, television, on-line articles) by means of which I will analyse some of the Anglicisms that entered the Russian language, as well as the position of Anglicisms in the language and the reactions that their borrowing has caused. I will complement the analysis by providing the examples from my personal experience.

2. *Anglicism – a word or a construction borrowed from the English language*

Borrowing is a process that almost always comes as a result of language contact. Where there is a language contact, there sure will be a linguistic influence of a source language (SL) on another language, that other language being recipient language (RL) or target language (TL). Borrowing denotes a process of importation of words or their meanings or any other word material from a SL to a TL. It is also the term for the object itself – the meaning and often the form of the linguistic item that was until then not in the vocabulary of the recipient language but was borrowed from the source language and brought and adapted to the recipient language's vocabulary. Although any kind of linguistic novelty can be imported into a target language via the process of borrowing (grammatical, phonetic, morphologic, pragmatic, etc.), the most frequently borrowed linguistic material is the lexical one: “(...) lexical enrichment of a particular type is increasingly sought after: whatever its source or model, lexical enrichment often comes in the form of 'synthetic' nomenclature appropriate to a changing society and culture making special kinds of demands on the lexical generating capacities (...)” (Picone 2). When proper equivalents for objects and concepts which have to be named do not exist in a language that is in constant contact with the English language, the simplest solution is to borrow the names of objects and concepts from the source/donor language – in this case, the English language.

If a source language in the process of borrowing is the English language, the transferred linguistic material is called an Anglicism. The term Anglicism implies several meanings, not exclusively the linguistic ones, but the cultural and extralingual ones, too. The matter of cultural importance will be dealt with later in the paper.

The problem in defining what Anglicism is lies in deciding how far Anglicisms can be defined by their etymology. There are words that are classified as Anglicisms because of their active use in the English language, but then again, their etymological path takes us away from the English language and can often be traced back to some of the languages that had the status of lingua franca way before the English language. The basic or narrow definition of Anglicism implies that Anglicism is a word borrowed from the English language which then undergoes through the process of adaption in the receiving language in order to fit into its linguistic system. This definition covers so called “direct Anglicisms” – the result of a direct development of the source English word into the role of an Anglicism when found in the

borrowing language (Tomić and Radovanović 206). The existence of a narrow definition implies that there is a broad definition, too. Rudolf Filipović explained the broad definition of Anglicism (and any other loan word, regardless of the source language): “The study of direct language contact in the Croatian dialects in the United States showed that those kinds of contacts are much more narrow and intimate, and therefore change the terms of transfer. The analysis showed that because of that, apart from lexical elements (that are transferred in indirect borrowing) in the recipient language may as well be transferred the grammatical structure of the source language, which directly affects the syntactic norm of the recipient language” (Filipović 31). Tomić and Radovanović further continue with the definition of “indirect Anglicisms”: “An Anglicism is any word borrowed from the English language denoting an object or a concept which is at the moment of borrowing an integral part of English culture and civilization; it need not be of English origin, but it must have been adapted to the linguistic system of English and integrated into the vocabulary of English” (206).

Another problem with Anglicisms is determining which words can and should be called Anglicisms, since after an Anglicism is adapted and institutionalized, it is hard to recognize it as such anymore. It is sometimes maybe even wrong to call it an Anglicism in that case. Thus, defining a line between an Anglicism and a word that belongs to the vocabulary of a target language becomes complex, especially if the decades and even centuries have passed since it was borrowed into a target language. One of the frequent, although very subjective methods to determine which words are Anglicisms is to go by the native speaker's intuition in order to avoid extensive analyzes of including all English borrowed expressions.

The term Anglicism came into an active use due to the increasing influx of English borrowings that started heavily from WWII, when the United States got the vital role in the international politics. In that same period, the English language was slowly starting to claim its role as a lingua franca. The causal relationship between the rise of the US political power and the influx of Anglicisms proves directly that the term Anglicism is not exclusively bound to words coming from British English, but rather from all the varieties of the English language. There is even a term that is in subordinate relation to the term Anglicism – Americanism. It entails not only linguistic content, but maybe even more the cultural one.

Anglicisms are used to achieve certain goals in communication. When using Anglicisms in their communication, users give the impression of being a knowledgeable, well-informed and up-to-date member of their own and global-speaking community. In some situations it makes them appear more credible and precise in terms of professional competence, especially if their field of professional interest lays on expert practices that are closely related to the West and the Anglophone world.

In this paper, the terms Anglicisms, borrowings, loanwords, and loans are used as synonyms to refer to the result of the borrowing process, that is, the transfer of lexical elements from SL to TL, since the meaning of those terms differs only slightly.

2.1. Anglicisms in the Russian language and culture

2.1.1. A short historical overview

Since the dissolution of the USSR in the last decade of the twentieth century, in Russian society and lifestyle radical changes took place. The Iron Curtain was removed which exposed Russia to a sudden and increased Western influence, Western concepts and habits. With these relatively recent political, economic, and socio-cultural changes in Russia and in the former USSR republics, the linguistic situation in that region has undergone drastic changes and is still going through a relatively dynamic process of self-affirmation but also creation via various contact processes. Namely those changes in political structure of the country led to a greater exposure to the English language and language contact, which then resulted in neologisms, particularly Anglicisms. The influx of Anglicisms was also associated with the Western ideology of democracy and democratic change in Russia. The same way it affected a political sphere, it affected the language of economy, management, society, technology, education, culture, law – in short, each existing and many new spheres of previously “sealed” and isolated Russian society. During all those transformations, many changes in language happened and the most notable ones are the ones on the lexical plane, since it is one of the most dynamic layers of every language and it almost immediately provides visible results of a language contact.

However, the period after the dissolution of the USSR was not the first time in Russian history that the Russian language experienced a higher influx of Anglicisms. Anglicisms can be traced all the way back to the beginning of the creation of Russian literary language. In the age of Peter I and the construction of the largest Russian port on the Baltic Sea – Saint Petersburg – most Anglicisms found their way into the Russian language via nautical terminology that was shared by the Dutch language and the English language. What might have covered their tracks was the fact that those foreign words were not called Anglicisms by Russian linguists and scholars of that time, but Germanisms.

Anglicisms that later entered the Russian language in the 19th century belonged to the domains such as science, technology, social sciences, education, agriculture, etc. Those domains were more productive in terms of new lexical items than the other ones since, in the 19th century, the English language spawned many new terms and names following the Industrial Revolution, home of which was namely England.

In the other half of the 19th century and in the beginning of the 20th century, the cause for the rising number of direct borrowings from the English language was the growing social influence of the middle class and aristocracy. The power of English middle class and aristocracy was getting stronger at that time, which allowed them to indirectly influence the Russian middle class and aristocracy and serve as an example, inspiration, and a role-model. The contact between the Russian middle class and aristocracy and the English middle class and aristocracy became more frequent. In such way, the English and the American literature was brought closer to the Russians than ever before (authors like Kipling, Longfellow, Whitman, and Byron), along with the other cultural byproducts. At that time, the revolutionary movement was also getting stronger and some of the phenomena it dealt with, and later caused, needed to be properly named – again, with the help of the borrowing process.

The 20th century was characterized by several waves of borrowing. Most of the terms were from the domain of leisure, recreation, and sports. Those were the terms such as *baseball* – бейсбол (*beisbol*), *football* – футбол (*futbol*), *match* – матч (*match*), *start* – старт (*start*). Also, at that time, the Russian language borrowed the names of dances and some other new concepts of everyday life, music, drinks, food, etc. The following wave was induced by the Second World War, during the period of liberalization of relationships between the East and the West. Those borrowings related to the political, economic, scientific, and cultural domains, transport, clothes, and various emotions and greetings.

Between the 1960s and the 1980s, researchers identify a considerable influx of English borrowings with negative connotations. It was the same period when the great wave of youth slang came into the Russian language. It followed new concepts, mostly in pop culture (hippies, rock music, dances, clothes, human relationships).

The wave of Anglicisms that came into the Russian language in the 1980s and the 1990s can be contextualised by Russia's transition to a new political system and to the market economy. That is why the majority of neologisms from that period can be found in domains of economy, technology, business, trade, distribution, and advertising.

2.1.2. *The reasons and preconditions for borrowing Anglicisms in the Russian language and culture*

Nowadays, the motivation for borrowing into the Russian language is mainly the same as it has been before and as it is for any other language. Not all Anglicisms that came to the Russian language were borrowed only because of a lack of the appropriate word denoting a certain concept. Anderman and Rogers list two types of loan words in the Russian language and explain what motivates their transfer:

- 1) “those for which there is a need as they denote a new concept which an existing Russian word does not convey, or at least does not convey “with the appropriate flavour”;
- 2) those need for which is arbitrary, which are borrowed more for the sake of their resonance, being up-to-date, and being exotic” (123).

As it is already mentioned above, the forces driving the diffusion process of the English language into the Russian language are no different than the ones for all the other languages and cultures. They can be summarized by so-called Fishman's issues:

- 1) “Diffusion as the ultimate or long-term context, even when an initial imposition stage obtains,
- 2) Spread from the top (gesunkenes Kulturgut) rather than from the bottom (gehobenes Primitivgut): the determining role of elites,
- 3) Urban focal points of spread (and of organized resistance there to),
- 4) Normal propagation channels as well as special ones,

- 5) Schools as major formal vehicle of additional language acquisition; post-school populations require special handling,
- 6) Ongoing reward efforts, including access to power and resources,
- 7) Efficacy determination (evaluation) and reformation of program” (qtd. in Eddy 24).

What also influences the influx of Anglicisms in the Russian language, especially in bigger urban areas, is the presence of many bilinguals speaking English in the Russian-speaking society. They are “transmitters” of both already existing and new Anglicisms and they contribute to the rapid acceptance and active integration of Anglicisms into the Russian vocabulary more than any other members of the language community.

Borrowing from the English language into the Russian language also depends on the structure of lexicon of each of the languages: “The intrinsic ordering of borrowability among content items is also reflected by the structure of the lexicon as a storage place of symbolic references to the world” (Onysko 46). It means that the borrowability of the Russian language was met by a fulfilled precondition – speakers of both the English and the Russian language identify and refer to the same concepts in mostly the same way, that is, the cultures in which those languages are considered native are not that different to cause incongruity, although they have their differences. This was most noticeable after the dissolution of the USSR, when the Russian Federation gradually came in contact with the Western world and the Russian language borrowed more and more Anglicisms in order to describe concepts that both cultures encounter, identify, refer to and understand, but only one has names for. Labels for objects and states were, and still are, the most prevalent lexical items that are borrowed from the English language to the Russian language.

L. Krysin, a Soviet and Russian linguist, also commented on some of the preconditions that Russian society had to meet in order to take part in the process of borrowing Anglicisms. Some of his statements, in my opinion, need to be considered from a different point of view. For example, Krysin argues that for borrowing to take place, a particular level of bilingualism should be present in the borrowing language community (Eddy 32). Although I partially agree with that statement, I do not consider it applicable to the Russian language community that is even now quite lagged behind when it comes to speaking or understanding the English language, but still borrows and uses Anglicisms quite frequently. Of course, by that I refer to

the Russian language community in general, not to some particular age groups or social classes, that are exception in this matter. So, in my opinion, a particular level of bilingualism does not necessarily need to already exist in a certain language community, but it can be “introduced” through a constant omnipresence of the language, items of which are being borrowed. The Russian speaking community was not, then, on a high bilingual level when the massive borrowing of Anglicisms started – rather, its bilinguality was rising along with the rate of influx of English words into the Russian language. It is not as if members of the Russian-speaking community have much choice, even more if they belong to an exposed age group, always prone to changes, as teenagers, adolescents, and young adults. Krysin continues with another statement regarding borrowing, saying that the society needs to be receptive to new linguistic and cultural input (Eddy 32). I, again, do not consider it fully applicable. The receptiveness, in my opinion, depends more on those who dictate the market, than on the society itself. By market I here imply not only the economic market (although it is the most influential one), but any market the members of society and speech community are a part of (market of values, standards, principles, behaviour market, etc.).

Among other reasons for borrowing from the English language, it is very important to mention the role of Anglicisms in the Russian literature. Literature is one of the catalysts of the borrowing process and the use of Anglicisms in the Russian language. The Russian contemporary literature often tends to reflect the current state of the Russian language. In creating authentic atmosphere and depicting trustworthy situations, Russian contemporary authors use various means of language and nuances of style, including Anglicisms. It is also the most prominent role of Anglicisms when used in Russian literature – to establish stylistic effect.

3. *Colloquial vocabulary*

The term “colloquialism” comes from the Latin word *colloquium*, the literal meaning of which is “a speaking together, conversation”. The term “colloquialism” in Modern English language denotes a word, a phrase, or other lexical form used in informal, conversational language and expressing something other than the literal meaning of the word. All colloquial words, phrases, and expressions together form a colloquial vocabulary, which further on forms a basis of a colloquial speech, also called an informal language style. As its name

implies, it is a style of a language commonly used for communication in informal situations, mostly in conversations. Colloquial speech, or informal language style, can in the simplest way be defined as a style and vocabulary distinct from the one used in formal speech or formal writing. Thus, any lexical item opposite to a formal language belongs to an informal language and forms a colloquial vocabulary. Colloquial speech is the variety of language used by the speakers in relaxed situations, when they do not pay that much attention on what style to use and what can and can not be said – it is spontaneous and natural.

Colloquial vocabulary is on the line between the neutral language vocabulary and something what is in linguistics called the “special colloquial vocabulary” (that consists of jargonisms, slang, professionalisms, vulgar words, dialectal words, colloquial coinages), that is, it is a mixture of the mentioned two. Colloquial speech often contains a great deal of slang, and since a great deal of the Russian slang was inspired or came directly from the English language, it can be concluded that a lot of Anglicisms will be found in the Russian colloquial speech and vocabulary.

3.1. Colloquial vocabulary and Anglicisms in the Russian language

In the Russian language, there is no such strict distinction between the terms “colloquial speech” and the term “slang” – they are considered to be in a transitive relation, in a hyponymy, where a “colloquial speech” is a hypernym of a “slang”. That is why in this paper, and especially in this paragraph, I will switch from the term “colloquial speech” to the term “slang” without any major restrictions, keeping in focus only the fact that they both belong to the substandard layer of a language.

As it was mentioned in the first paragraph of this paper, most of Anglicisms often find themselves limited to a certain domain/ subject/ topic. The same applies to the English colloquialisms borrowed to the Russian language. Those items tend to occur in domains such as media, advertising, journalism, economy, youth language/ молодежный сленг (molodezhnyi sleng), computer slang, fashion industry, showbiz scene, cuisine. Anglicisms are used in mentioned domains mainly because they carry a certain prestige in these discourses and give the impression of exclusivity. In my opinion, that impression of prestige has its roots in the Russian conventional wisdom – many of things coming from the West are much better in quality and much more advanced than something originating from Russia. It is

not merely a matter of language – it is enough to take a look at the Russian roads, where you will rarely see a Russian car, but you will not so rarely hear Russians swear by their quality.

All of the above mentioned domains are covered by the examples found in the Russian issue of the famous French magazine *Elle*, on which the following analysis is conducted. I will divide the examples according to the domains they are used in, and present them in the following order: model (English word) – replica (Anglicism) and its transliterated form in brackets (according to the “Modified Library of Congress” system):

Advertising:

1. lifting – лифтинг (lifting);
2. Off-Road – Off-Road (Off-Road);
3. display – дисплей (displei);
4. beauty trends – бьюти тренды (biuti trendy);
5. design – дизайн (dizain);
6. hit – хит (hit).

Not only that a great number of Anglicisms are used in the Russian colloquial speech, but some have not even gone through an initial phase of assimilation (after an Anglicism enters the target language, it can be adapted on four levels: ortographic, phonological, morphological and semantic; in the example No. 4, *Off-Road*, the Anglicism has not even went throught the first phase – the orthographic one). The ortographic phase of assimilation is specifically avoided in the domain of advertising because it makes the word pop out from the rest of the text, instantly drawing the attention of the potential buyer/customer.

Journalism and economy:

1. digest – дайджест (daidzhest);
2. art- clusters – арт-кластеры (art-klastery);
3. start-up company – стартап компания (startap kompaniya);
4. street art – стрит-арт (strit art);
5. house – хаус (haus);
6. housesitter – хаусситтер (haussitter);
7. business lady – бизнес-леди (biznes ledi)
8. public relations officer – пиарщик (piarshchik).
9. voucher – ваучер (vaucher).

Youth language:

1. girl – гирла (girla);
2. go – го (go);
3. boyfriend – бойфренд (boifrend);
4. freestyle – фристайл (fristail);
5. bye-bye – бай-бай (bai-bai);
6. OK – окей (okei).

Computer slang:

1. to google – гуглить (guglit);
2. on-line – онлайн (onlain);
3. following – фолловинг (folloving);
4. liking – лайкинг (laiking);
5. trolling – троллинг (trolling).

Fashion industry:

1. print – принт (print);
2. patchwork – пэчворк (pechvork);
3. art-object – арт-объект (art obekt);
4. twist – твист (tvist);
5. clutch – клатч (klatch)
6. shop – шоп (shop)
7. shoes – шузы (shuzy);
8. fashion show – фэшншоу (feshnshou);
9. choker – чокер (choker).

Show business scene:

1. DJ set – диджей сет (didzhei set);
2. rock show – рок-шоу (rok-shou);
3. backstage – бэкстейдж (beksteidzh);
4. show – шоу (shou);
5. rap – рэп (rep);

6. clip, short TV item – клип (klijp).

Cuisine:

1. sandwich – сэндвич (sendvich);
2. business lunch – бизнес ланч (biznis lanch);
3. barbecue – барбекю (barbekiu);
4. cheeseburger – чизбургер (chizburger).

The newly loaned Anglicisms that express indirect yet very relevant and significant shades of meaning very often succumb to russification, for example, by acquiring various Russian morphemes. What Russian often do to the words used in a colloquial speech is add diminutive suffix *-ik* as in word *telly* – *телик* (*telik*), the feminine ending, as in *girl* – *гурла* (*girla*), the plural ending, as in *trends* – *тренды* (*trendy*). Once the Anglicism is adopted into the Russian language, it in most cases becomes the subject to the rules of Russian grammar and ortography.

All of the above listed Anglicisms belong to the colloquial speech. Borrowings of this kind can be found everywhere in the media, press, radio, television, advertising, etc.

Casual contact in most cases involves only the borrowing of non-basic vocabulary, something that is missing in already existing vocabulary of a TL. As the intensity of the contact increases, as it is the case with the Russian and the English language, more basic vocabulary is being borrowed. As we can see from the above listed examples, on the list there are some of the words that already exist in the Russian language, such as *street art* – *уличное искусство* (*ulichnoe iskusstvo*), *house* – *дом* (*dom*), *public relations officer* – *сотрудник по связям с общественностью* (*sotrudnik po sviazam s obschestvennostiu*), *girl* – *девушка* (*devushka*), *bye-bye* – *пока* (*poaka*), *on-line* – *в сету* (*v seti*), *shoes* – *туфли* (*tufli*), *backstage* - *за кулисы* (*za kulisy*), *sandwich* – *бутерброд* (*buterbrod*). It is of high importance for the maintenance of the borrowing language to distinct everyday language from language for special purpose. If words are borrowed for special purposes, there is often a strong tendency towards borrowing the international terminology, since there is no proper equivalent in already existing vocabulary of the borrowing language. The problem arises when everyday language is being overflowed with borrowings, as it might happen with the Russian language.

The bases of up-to-date topics are being constantly updated with foreign words, mostly Anglicisms, so it is important to keep the balance, otherwise the excessive borrowing may again lead to an extreme purist tendency in the Russian language.

4. *Linguistic purism in the Russian language*

The Russian language represents a symbol of political and cultural unity for many people. The influence of the Russian language is still strong within the Russian Federation, despite the globally increased use of the English language. Since the Russian Federation has a strong and an important role on the global field, now that its language is being exposed to an intense influences from other languages, especially the English language, it is in the country's interest to focus on the matter of language – to emphasise its importance and value and to preserve the status it has. That is why this chapter will be dealing with one of the language issues that intense borrowing inevitably brings along – the linguistic purism.

The Russian society was as well influenced by the processes of internationalisation and globalisation. Via those two processes, the English language has reached Russia and consequently gained importance in many fields (business, education, media, science). The established language contact allowed members of Russian-speaking society to create a certain attitude towards the English language and towards all the accompanying effects it brings to their language and culture. As a result of the language contact, many Anglicisms have entered the Russian language and changed the overall language atmosphere in the Russian society.

The increasing influence of the English language is welcomed by many Russians, but there are also many of those who are bothered with such situation and who criticize and fight against its influence. The English language has an indirect influence on political, economic, and cultural situation, and while some see it as an advantage, others do not feel comfortable with a possible threat that it poses to the Russian language and culture. Anglicisms are in most countries and cultures seen simply as a byproduct of a present-day lifestyle and they are not regarded in any specific way, either as positive or negative. Russia stands in a bit different position regarding this matter.

4.1. *Linguistic purism in the Russian language through history*

Scepticism and fear of take-over and infiltration into their language is not something the Russians experience for the first time now, in a time of the English language dominance and a recent wave of anti-American tensions.

In the 17th century, when the Russian literary language was being created, the main focus was on the process itself. Not much attention was paid to the fact that the material that is being borrowed comes from Old Russian, Church Slavonic, and from European languages. However, attempts to “clean” the Russian language of foreign words began very soon after the modern Russian language came into an existence.

The first signs of purism can be traced back to the time of Peter the Great. At that time, the loans came mainly from Greek and Latin, the lingua francas of Europe of that time. It never led to any serious law restriction or, even less, brought the borrowing process to a stop. During the reign of Peter the Great, translations of technical, scientific, and political literature from West-European language were of a vital importance (Eddy 31). The Tsar himself insisted on translations to be precise and clear and demanded the originals to be accurately interpreted and the unnecessary foreign words avoided. Nevertheless, his social, political and economic reforms were almost an open invitation for European concepts, that in the end made their way to the Russian society and, of course, the language. Peter the Great ended up bringing in more foreign words into the Russian language than replacing them with the Russian equivalents.

A strong resistance to foreign words and attempts to replace borrowed words with the Russian equivalents were made towards the end of the 18th century, at the time of the final standardization of the Russian literary language by the great scientist, linguist and the founder of Moscow State University, Mikhail V. Lomonosov. In the period of standardization, well-educated people were against the influx of foreign words, as it is evident from the works of a leader of the standardization initiative – M. V. Lomonosov. He and the other supporters of that idea, such as A. Sumarokov, I. Krylov, G. Derzhavin, and A. Radishchev, contributed to the first academic Slavonic and Russian dictionary in six volumes, in which only 2 per cent of all the entries were of foreign origin.

The next wave of national purism appeared at the end of the 18th century and in the beginning of the 19th century. It can be traced in the works of scholars such as A. Shishkov,

N. Gnedich, but most prominently in the famous “Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great The Russian language” by Vladimir Dal.

Peter the Great was known for his affinity to all things European, especially French, so at the time of his reign, most members of the Russian aristocracy and cultural elite spoke French alongside and often even better than Russian. It was a way to show their connection to the West, but also to show their high level of education and to emphasise how different and separate they are from the rest of the citizenry. This phenomenon was commented in many literary works, including the one by the best known 19th century satirists, Nikolai Gogol, and his novel *The Dead Souls*: “*In fact, to refine the Russian tongue the more thoroughly, something like half the words in it were cut out: which circumstance necessitated very frequent recourse to the tongue of France, since the same words, if spoken in French, were another matter altogether, and one could use even blunter ones than the ones originally objected to*” (qtd. in Pereltsvaig). In the 19th century it became again obvious that the issue of the purity of the Russian language was not yet resolved. Ivan Turgenev wrote: “*Preserve the purity of the language, like a sanctuary! Never use foreign words. The Russian language is so rich and flexible that we have nothing to take from those who are poorer than us*” (qtd. in Pereltsvaig). The firm attitude on linguistic purism was at that time considered more of a common sense than a right-wing idea, which can be supported by the following quote by Turgenev's contemporary Vissarion Belinsky, who was moreover known for his pro-Western tendencies: “*To use a foreign words when a Russian equivalent exists is an insult to both common sense and good taste*” (qtd. in Pereltsvaig). After that period, purism is becoming more suggestive than prescriptive, with various dictionaries of foreign words serving as guides on how to find a Russian equivalent in order to replace a foreign word. Another reformer of the Russian language, a 19th century education minister, Alexander Shishkov, put together a list of equivalents for foreign borrowings. Some of those suggestions his contemporaries found rather comical. Tatiana Shilóvskaya in her article on recent State Duma suggestion of a bill on fines for excessive use of borrowings cites the example of the great Russian poet, Alexander Pushkin. In his famous novel in verse Eugene Onegin, “Pushkin pokes fun at Shishkov's efforts: Having used the French, *comme il faut*, he adds: ‘Shishkov, forgive! I can't translate the adjective’” (*Russian MPs want to introduce fines for using foreign words*).

The puristic tendencies continued to appear in the 20th century as well. Lenin was the first in Soviet Russia to warn against the effect of foreign words on the Russian language. It was a

period of general refusal of anything Western including loan words. Still, this policy did not stop the process of borrowing the English words in “the great Russian language”. It only made Russia fall behind in comparison with the West and even some of the Eastern European countries in other aspects of development that the English language carried along. Pereltsvaig in her article mentions some of the Anglicisms that entered the Russian language in the 20th century, such as *goalkeeper* – *голкипер* (*golkipер*) and *tramway* – *трамвай* (*tramvaj*). Language purists of the 20th century tried to combat those words, but succeeded only in the case of the word *golkipер* that was replaced by the Russian *вратарь* – *vratar’* (from *vrata* meaning “gates”), but *tramvaj* was kept and later institutionalised in the language. Pereltsvaig also mentions the case of a well-known “patisserie” shop in former Leningrad, that was the best known under its original name “*Nord*” (French *nord* meaning “north”), but that was in 1951 renamed to “*Sever*” (Russian *север* meaning “north”). Most of the city's inhabitants nevertheless kept calling it by its former name *Nord* (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”). It could be concluded from this example that ever since there was a language purism, there was also a language as a living matter that can hardly be regulated by any other rule than intuition, economy of language, and spontaneity.

The 1930s campaign for the purity of language was marked by the author Maxim Gorky, who criticized the use of vulgar words. Opinions were once again divided. Yevgenia Basovskaya, head of the school of journalism at the Russian State University for the Humanities and author of the book *Soviet Press for the Purity of the Language*, commented on this exact situation, saying that “a government that had declared itself to be a government of the people rejected popular culture. (...) The next phase in the linguistic purge campaign came towards the end of Stalin's rule, when the Soviet state was fighting for national purity and trying to revive many values and symbols of the Russian empire” (qtd. in Shilovskaya). In the Soviet era, the campaign was targeted not only against Anglicisms and foreign words entering the language, but against any foreign influence.

According to Basovskaya, the last Soviet effort in the fight for the pure Russian language came in the 1960s and it was marked by “a famous Soviet poet, journalist, and literary critic, Korney Chukovsky, who fought against a growing spread of officialese and bureaucratise, for which he even invented a special term – ‘канцелярит’ (*kanceliarit*)” (qtd. in Shilovskaya).

The next anti-loanword period came simultaneously as the influx of the English loanwords rose. It was in the 1970s and the 1980s, when most of the borrowed words filled in the slang inventory. That wave was induced by a rising number of various subcultures that

came into a spotlight after several international political crises. Those were the movements such as hippies, punks, and similar groups formed by rebellious young people. Their slang needed to be exclusive, coded and secret so these conditions were easily met by the English loanwords. This brought words such as *girlfriend*, *girl* – *герла* (*gerla*), *folks* – *пиллы* (*piply*), and *parents* – *наренда* (*parenta*). Along with being the means of coded communication, Anglicisms served to denote some of the objects that were until then unknown to the Russian society: *pants* – *трузера* (*truzira*) and *shoes* – *шузы* (*shuzy*) – used to denote not just any pants or any shoes: *трузера* (*truzira*) referred to *Levi's* jeans and *шузы* (*shuzy*) to *Adidas* sneakers.

In the 1990s, the world has seen a rapid development in the field of IT and computer technology. Most of these changes and events happened in the United States, which ultimately resulted in computer technology terms originating from the English language. Pereltsvaig lists computer terms such as *login* – *логин* (*login*), *hosting* – *хостинг* (*hosting*), *hacker* – *хакер* (*haker*), and *copy-paste* – *копипасты* (*kopipasti*) (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”). Of course, that was not the only domain that received borrowings from the English language. Pereltsvaig also lists borrowings that belong to the sphere of cuisine (*popcorn* – *попкорн* (*popcorn*), *espresso* – *эспрессо* (*espresso*)), business (*managers* – *менеджеры* (*managery*), *image-makers* – *имиджмейкеры* (*imidzhmeikery*), *producers* – *продюсеры* (*prodiusery*), *profilers* – *профайлеры* (*profailery*), *PR*, *public relations* – *пиар* (*piar*), *casting* – *кастинг* (*kasting*), *training* – *тренинг* (*trening*), *stalking* – *сталкинг* (*stalking*) (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”).

As it can be concluded from this short historical overview, the existing attempts to purge the Russian language of foreign linguistic material are nothing new. The attempts have always been a part of the general campaign for “purification” of Russian cultural and political life. The spheres have been following a certain pattern of switching between the two opposed waves: “Westernization” (that is, imitation of Western arrangement) and “Slavophilia” (that is, attempts to create and follow a different historical path than the Western one). Russian history and culture have traditionally been dominated by those two conflicting ideologies, with prominent thinkers and writers on both sides. While the former suggests that there is no need for Russia to come up with its own ideas as it could follow the Western ones, the latter advocates Russia's independence from the Western ideas and influence, and Russia's free

development. As Pereltsvaig summarizes: “Russia thus shifts back and forth *iz nemcev v xazary* (while literally meaning ‘from Germans into Khazars’, this phrase from the Primary Chronicle refers to the West-East trade route; in the Chronicle it follows *iz varjag v greki* ‘from Varangians into Greeks’)” (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”). She also provides quotations of two famous Russian poets that show two different points of view on the matter of “Slavophilia” and “Westernization”. While talking about St. Petersburg in his best known poem “Bronze Horseman” written in 1833, Aleksander Pushkin advocates the Westernizer view:

*“Природой здесь нам суждено From here by Nature we’re destined
В Европу прорубить окно To cut a door to Europe wide”* (qtd. in Pereltsvaig).

On the other hand, Fyodor Tyutchev, who wrote his poem three decades later in a different political and social atmosphere, takes the opposite position:

“Умом Россию не понять, Russia cannot be understood through reason,
Аршином общим не измерить: It cannot be measured with a common yardstick
У ней особенная стать – It has a special poise –
В Россию можно только верить. Russia you can only believe in” (qtd. in Pereltsvaig).

The oscilation between the “Western” and the “Slavophile” ideas and concepts is noticeable in all domains of the Russian society. Pereltsvaig points out this oscilation on political scene, too: “Vladimir Putin, much like Joseph Stalin before him, started his political career as a Westernizer, but in recent years has been shifting towards Slavophilia” (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”). This shift towards Slavophilia is what we see as a wave of anti-Americanisms. The old slogan from the 1920s: “*Segonja on igraet džaz, a zavtra Rodinu prodast!* (*Today he’s playing jazz and tomorrow he’ll sell the Motherland to the highest bidder!*)”, as the one from the 1980s: “*Segonja nosit Adidas a zavtra Rodinu prodast!* (*Today he’s wearing Adidas and tomorrow he’ll sell the Motherland to the highest bidder!*)” (Pereltsvaig) ironically comment on those political shifts, showing people's distrust caused by the inconsistency of political leaders. Among other things, the debates between Westernisers and Slavophiles touched upon the use of loanwords in the Russian language. What is interesting, ideas of these two opposing sides very much remain relevant today and continue to generate public discussion.

4.2. *The political context as a possible explanation for puristic tendencies in the Russian language*

Loanwords and borrowings can be discussed from various different perspectives: for example, from the individual perspective, paying most of the attention to the speaker's goals and needs, from the perspective of aesthetic of loanword use, from a literary perspective – the approaches and the analyses of the matter of borrowing are numerous. Still, when talking in the context of the Russian language, most of the attention is drawn by the ideological and puristic approach. The Russian language itself consists of many various borrowings from languages as contrasting as, for example, Mongolian and Latin, French and German, words from Italian, and lately, from the English language. So why is namely the English language the one that Russian purists are most sensitive to? “The language debate in Russia, as elsewhere, has obvious political overtones, with purists frequently railing against American cultural hegemony and English-language imperialism” (Morris). The following instances and articles will serve as the example of political influence on language purism and especially on the attitude towards Anglicisms in the Russian language and society.

The recent happenings on a political scene between Russia and the United States intensified the tensions and shook the already unstable relationship of the two superpowers. Although the two countries were often conflicting throughout the recent history, representing two different sides and promoting two opposing ideas – the eastern and the western, which was especially noticeable during the Cold War, the tolerance of the Russians towards the Americans has recently significantly deteriorated again. It started in 2012, with the missile defense site scandal and the Russian submarine patrolling within the US waters, which continued into several missile incidents. It went further with the bill banning the US citizens an adoption of children from Russia. Then came the Edward Snowden affair, in which Russia granted Snowden a political asylum, which aggravated the relations between the two countries even more. The last one in a row was a Ukraine crisis that was followed by the disciplinary sanctions imposed by the U.S. government for Russia's activity in Ukraine. It is very important to take into a consideration this political background, since it largely affects the general attitude and popular opinions on matters dealing with language.

In 2013, a Nationalist Russian legislators presented a bill to ban the usage of foreign words, especially the English ones. State Duma members from the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) had proposed introducing fines for excessive use of loanwords. According to The New York Times, a bill can reach up to \$1,700 on those who in public spheres use foreign words where perfectly good Russian equivalents exist (Morris). The legislators justified their idea by saying they had taken their inspiration from France, Poland and Quebec, all of which protected their national languages from foreign invasion. The deputies were primarily concerned with a high number of English words in the Russian language, that were made all the more widespread thanks to the Internet, modern technologies and fashion trends. They wanted to control the use of foreign words used by the media, teachers, and writers – it was not the first time that these social groups have been specifically targeted by parliamentarians – in May of 2013, a law was passed banning swearing on TV and radio, as well as in films and public performances.

The other article from 2014, published in The Calvert Journal, writes about the same topic – the Duma committee for culture trying to protect the Russian language from the influx of foreign words, especially Anglicisms (Beard). The story again revolves around the drafters of the law who are displeased by the lack of effort that has been made to stop the borrowing and adapt already existing Russian words instead.

The RT also published the article related to this topic. Firstly, it caused a stir with the headline “*Grammar Nazi style: Russian MPs aim to ban foreign words*”. In addition, the whole article was written in a sarcastic tone. The author of the article, Vladimir Pesnya, writes about legislators' suggestion: use Russian substitutions or face a penalty. Furthermore, he draws the attention to the hypocrisy of the promoters of the bill – those who advocate the bill are fine with the borrowings that already entered the language (such as *computer* – *компьютер (kompiuter)*, *soccer* – *футбол (futbol)*, *printer* – *принтер (printer)*, *video* – *видео (video)*, that would be hard to replace with any Russian word), but they want to root out the new ones. Often these borrowings name something essentially new to the borrowing language. It is, in deed, not quite clear and defined the use of which specific words the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia proposes considering “excessive”, since in the name of the Liberal Democratic Party itself all the words are long-established borrowings from other languages. So the bill would apparently spare the words “democratic”, “liberal” and “party”, all of which were borrowed from Greek and Latin respectively.

A law that was supposed to prohibit the use of “Americanisms”, as well as other foreign words, was put forward by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy – “one of Russia's most popular and most populist politicians” (Pereltsvaig). As it was planned in the bill proposal, there was supposed to be a list of foreign words that Zhirinovskiy and his associates deemed inadequate, and those who would still use the listed words, especially if the words are used in the public domain and the media, would be fined and would risk losing their jobs. Pereltsvaig in her article on foreign words in the Russian language expresses her own opinion on Zhirinovskiy and his political activities: “This scheme is very much in line with Zhirinovskiy's overall penchant for bombastic yet half-baked ideas, such as inviting the Japanese, in the aftermath of the 2011 Tōhoku earthquake and tsunami, to leave 'the dangerous islands' and move to the Magadan Oblast, which has experienced severe depopulation; another invitation extended around the same time offered Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi permanent residence in Moscow” (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”). Pereltsvaig continues by providing the examples of how different sources characterise this Russian politician: “Known as the 'buffoon of Russian politics' and referred by *The Economist* as 'the ... clownish leader of Liberal Democratic Party', Zhirinovskiy is not taken seriously by many people” (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”). She finishes the article with a closing thought on Zhirinovskiy's deeds and the subsequent reactions they have provoked: “Yet this proposal to purge Russian of foreign words has a positive ring to it, even for many of those who are not his fans, if the comments on Zhirinovskiy's official party website are any indication” (“Should the Russian language Be Cleansed of Foreign Words?”).

This proposition of ban on foreign words was not welcomed by the Russian president Vladimir Putin who did not see it as something necessary, stating that the existing language regulations are sufficient, and that any additional one would be a sign of an excessive language control. Since it is discussed in the political context and since Zhirinovskiy and Putin are known to be close associates, the proposition of the bill can be seen as a way of advancing the nationalist atmosphere that has been consistently built by the president of the Russian Federation. It is not quite sure what triggered such a decision by Zhirinovskiy, but it comes at the same time as the increased government control over everything foreign, which became even stronger after a souring of Russia's relations with the West over Russia's annexation of Crimea.

Maryam Omidī wrote an article for *The Calvert Journal* in which she compares the situation in Russia with George Orwell's *1984*. In the novel, Orwell wrote about the fictional language called *Newspeak* that was designed to restrict and to control free thinking. She compares it with the bill that also attempts to put the language under a restriction. She points out that the use of any language is deeply political and as an example gives the comparison of “Obama government's Countering Violent Extremism and the Bush administration's War on Terror”, in which she shows that both examples refer to the same thing (“WTF? Profanity, purity and politics — the battle for the Russian language”). Omidī continues with the problem of quick disappearance of the world's languages, which then entails the subsequent disappearance of cultures and customs connected to that languages. It is not only the language that disappears in this process – it is the way that that language refers to the world, its nuances and its humour. Nevertheless, Omidī does not give credit to “Russian preachers” who tend to see only one side of the story (“WTF? Profanity, purity and politics — the battle for the Russian language”). She criticises Russia's rhetoric regarding language preservation because it neglects the other languages on its own territory that might soon become extinct. Omidī refers to the “*UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*”, that lists more than 100 languages used on the Russian territory that are either vulnerable, definitely endangered, severely endangered or critically endangered, mostly from the Siberia and from the Caucasus area (“WTF? Profanity, purity and politics — the battle for the Russian language”). She explains that it is the Russia's government fault – it tends to neglect those languages, all in favour of the supremacy of the Russian language. Despite the variety of languages on the territory of the Russian Federation, all of its citizens are obliged to understand and speak the Russian language, while the care for other, minority languages is mainly in hands of smaller local communities. The supremacy of the Russian language on the territory of the former USSR was used as one of the justifications in recent political decisions regarding the annexation of the Crimea peninsula to the territory of the Russian Federation. More than a half of people living in Crimea identify themselves as ethnic Russians, so the Russian government decided that the annexation of the peninsula was the solution to what they saw as the “Ukrainian repression of Russian culture and language” (Omidī). Omidī considers that the Russian language should not be completely equated with the Russian identity, and as an argument gives the example of Kazakhstan that uses the Russian language as its official language, but where the most of the population belongs to the Kazakh ethnic group and identifies themselves as such. In the conclusion of the article, Omidī gives her view

on lexical borrowing from another angle. While Omidi emphasises that the endeavour to conserve languages together with the cultural heritage they are linked to is a very praisable venture, mentioning that it saved languages such as Manx, Livonian and Cornish from extinction, she also reminds us that it is important to let the language develop and evolve (“WTF? Profanity, purity and politics — the battle for the Russian language”). The beauty of any living language is in its flexibility and ability to change its form and adapt in time and place. As Omidi states: “Don’t have a word for a new concept? That’s okay, because you can create one. It is this mutable nature of language that makes it so poetic whether those changes come in the form of coinages, portmanteaus, bastardisations or, even loanwords, a fact that drives purists mad” (“WTF? Profanity, purity and politics — the battle for the Russian language”). At the end of the article, a very important and on-point remark is being given: “Each new word encapsulates a very precise cultural reference and imparts a greater level of nuance to the language which it slips into. To cite Mark Twain this is important because, ‘The difference between the right word and the almost right word is the difference between lightning and a lightning bug’” (Omidi).

4.3. *Other factors on which depends a linguistic purism in the Russian language*

One of the main factors that encouraged linguistic purism in the Russian language was certainly the diminishing importance of the Russian language that happened after the dissolution of the USSR. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, about 130 million people stopped considering the Russian language as their national language. The English language became more influential and important, both internationally and in the countries of the former USSR. The Russian language lost the international significance in the wake of the English language turning into the main language of science, technology and economy. That change was welcomed in many former Soviet Union countries since many of them decided to turn away from the Russian language as a sign of protest and turned to the “western” variant of lingua franca. The reasons for such decision were numerous – Russia's longtime status of the leader, unresolved historical issues, the promising potential of the English language, development and liberalization that were associated with the English language and the support from the West that was granted to the countries that were under a regime for a long period of

time. Fishman considers the roles of elites, political, social and economic powers associated with the interest in the (English) language (Eddy 25), which then consequently influences the general attitude of a borrowing community towards the English language, and in this case the loss of interest towards the Russian language.

Purists see the English language as a menace not only to the Russian language, but to the Russian culture as well. Globalization, borrowing and Anglicisms are often considered to be synonyms for Anglo-Americanization. This premise was discussed in detail in Duszak and Okulska "*Speaking from the Margin. Global English from a European Perspective*". Some even argue that globalization, and language borrowing along with it, cause the radicalization of public discourse. "Public discourse", also called "public reason", is the main principle of "political liberalism". Political liberalism is a quite new concept for a country that stood on the grounds of communist and socialist political ideals until the late twentieth century. The premise of a liberal society is that individuals are free and even encouraged to form their own idea of what is good. Each member of society decides for himself/herself what they think and believe a good life is. Accordingly to such a great extent of liberty and free will, a liberal society must use public reason or public discourse. A citizen of a liberal society should not talk about, nor insist on his concepts of good life in a public discourse. Insisting one's views of good life on others leads to treating others as inferiors. The talk of good must be eliminated from the public discourse. Instead, citizens must talk about things that are shareable across different concepts of good. When citizens practice this "intellectual modesty", they are using public reason. Proponents of the theory that globalization and language borrowing cause the radicalization of public discourse believe that liberalism is just a platitude, and that radicalization is beyond a doubt still happening, of course, in favor of Anglo-American ideals and values.

Language purism operates on a psychological level as well. Metaphors of danger (in this case it is the English language, threatening the Russian language) induce a reaction of fear, which consequently causes the rejection. Elements of the English language are seen by Russian purists as foreign and intruding. Such beliefs, and reactions concordant to them, are then used as a tool for constructing national identity and nationhood. Although borrowing from other languages, including the English language, enriches and facilitates communication and it is a natural result of a language contact that exists ever since the language contact itself,

purists justify their attitude by giving language a greater importance than the communicational one – they see language as a means of cultural and national identification. That is why Russian purists believe that the use of the English language intensifies the influence of Anglophone social and cultural values and standards. As one of the main indicators of nationality, language, combined with the cultural heritage, customs and prominent historical figures, has the power to build a strong base for constructing the national identity. That is what purists want to do with their own language and that is why they recognize the danger of the same impacts by other languages. Also, a fear can be induced in the case of a direct language use, if a new linguistic item is encountered in an otherwise familiar linguistic environment. In such situation a listener/reader tends to be surprised and feels insecure. For example, the Russian press uses a lot of borrowings in their texts and in that way imposes a need on the Russian readers to learn the English language in order to understand what is being said. This causes a great frustration in those who fail to do so because the newly arisen situation is not familiar to them and they do not have a ready-made template for the situation.

Purists see the excessive use of Anglicisms as an act of pretentiousness. On one hand, the English language enjoys the prestigious status in the Russian society and on the other hand, there are the ones that see the linguistic purism as a way out of the pseudo-cosmopolitan pretentiousness of their fellow citizens, caused by the excessive and unrestrained use of Anglicisms, especially by those living in the urban areas. The excessive and correct use of Anglicisms “(...) can give an impression of cosmopolitan and expert knowledge, while strongly adapted forms are in some cases considered as obsolete or interpreted as a sign of lacking education” (Schweickard, qtd. in Fischer and Pulaczewska 29).

For example, a frequently used term *фейсконтроль* (feiskontrol) first appeared in the Russian language sometime around 1997 and it refers to an identity check (or check of any other kind) at the nightclub entrance, or at the entrance of some similar kind of institution or event. The term has no transparent meaning in the English language, but it is composed of the English elements and it is widely perceived as being of foreign origin. The term is used mostly in the context of a nightlife, where Russians (according to the opinion of many young Russian people) come to be seen and to meet and socialize. Many of Russian young people can not afford visiting the nightclubs, so it is exclusive and reserved only for those who are well off. The term *фейсконтроль* (feiskontrol) suggests prestige, sophistication, luxury,

pompousness – exactly what the owners of the clubs aim at. The names of the clubs and shopping malls are often borrowed from the English language and spelled in Latin alphabet (*California, The Queen's Pub, Fiost* (as for *First*)). It is interesting to point out the example from my personal experience in the Russian city of Kaliningrad. There are many shopping malls and the one on the main square is named *Europa*. In conversation with citizens of Kaliningrad, I found out that very few of them actually shop there, since it is the one they consider to be the most expensive and exclusive. However, in reality, prices do not differ much from those in other shopping malls (of course, it mainly depends on the brand). With this example I wanted to point out that a foreign name of the facility helps in creating the effect of prestige and brands the products sold there. The affinity towards the English language can be seen not only in the domains of entertainment and leisure. Moreover, Maximova mentions that in the 1960s, schools of English were opened across Moscow and other cities because the demand on English increased due to its prestigious and fashionable status (Görlach 200).

A certain attitude the country has towards Anglicisms is dependent on various factors. It, first of all, depends on the history of a discussed country. The former and current relationships and connections the country has with the Anglophone and Western world greatly affect the acceptance of English borrowings. Fisher and Pulaczewska also list the size of the country and the frequency of a contact as relevant factors (11), since they play an important role in setting the superior-inferior relationship in political and international relations. If foreign influences are generally negatively accepted, forms which exhibit foreign features should be expected to be negatively received as well, and vice versa – if foreign influences are welcomed and seen as a source of enrichment, a more positive attitude can be expected. Some linguistic communities have a strong desire to emphasise their linguistic independence, while some value their close relations to the SL and their international relations in general. Also, an attitude towards borrowing is largely defined by the presence or the absence of an officially organised long-term language policy.

4.4. *Alternative solutions to the contact-induced linguistic issues*

Language contact is essential in the development of a language. If there is no word for a new concept in the already existing vocabulary, there surely is a word or least an inspiration

for it in some other language. Language borrowing brings more than just new words into the borrowing language – it can enrich a borrowing language as well as a culture of a community that is borrowing, it can change how people perceive the world, it can open some new horizons, help in better understanding of other cultures and teach people tolerance, integrity and community. All of that can be achieved only if borrowings are seen as an auxiliary material, as a content that came into other language in order to enrich it, not to devour it. That is why speakers need to be aware of the value and the importance of their language, and at the same time respect other languages and cultures. If banning of foreign words becomes the main method of fighting against excessive loan word influx, much of it is at stake. To avoid any misinterpretation or ideological manipulation, the responsibility of scholarly investigation is socio-cultural in a way that it should provide more objective analyses of the influence the English language has on the Russian language. The public discourse on this topic should be critically analyzed, results publicly accessible, researchers should investigate the actual occurrence and the integration of the English elements, giving the numerical and structural situation of the English language influence on the Russian language. There is an article named “*Without Foreign Words, Here's What Russians Can't Talk About Anymore*” that lists all the losses that would be caused by the ban of the loan words in the Russian language; it lists words from various spheres: from building ships and traveling the oceans, through apocalypse, adventures, job and leisure, business, to some of the Russia's main attractions, such as the Hermitage Museum (The Moscow Times).

The purist movement is aimed at restricting the intake of foreign words but its main drawback is that it ignores the historical development of the language, that is, purists admit that there are old borrowings in a language, and they accept them as they are, but they fight against the new ones. Being such a selective, extreme, idealistic, and subjective process, linguistic purism is not a very sustainable idea. “A state-sponsored campaign for the purity of the language is a sign of a certain ideological idealism, an attempt to impose an ideal language that reflects the principles of the state”, says Yevgenia Basovskaya, adding that bans usually have only a short-term effect (qtd. in Shilovskaya). A life-span of language purism can be equated with a life-span of a certain ideology, as it could be seen from a paragraph on history of purism in Russian society.

To prevent and avoid the negative overtone of borrowings coming from a language which facilitates the international communication, as it does the English language, Juliane House suggests a distinction between “*languages of communication*” and “*languages of identification*” (qtd. in Fischer 4). By distincting those two roles and/or types of language, the English language and one's own national language are put in a position of complementary languages (complementing each other to facilitate communication), rather than in a competitive position. Thus, Anglicisms should be used for communication rather than for identification (Fischer 4). In an article about the contact between Anglophone world and Finland, Kate Moore and Krista Varantola remark:

As long as a language can assimilate the linguistic loan, play with it and mould it to fit its own patterns, there is no danger. On the contrary, the changes are normal developments in language contact. What would be worrying, however, is if Finnish speakers began to underestimate the status of the language spoken in their own country and instead began to overestimate their skills in English (qtd. in Fischer 11).

Although there is many attention and activity around language purism in Russia, there are also many prominent linguists and scholars, who consider borrowing to be inevitable byproduct of globalization, such as the head of the Pushkin Institute, the most prominent language school in Russia, Vitaly Kostomarov:

Russian has been changing for centuries, as a product of our contacts with the world. (...) In the modern, globalized world, the language must develop even faster. The only way to halt the process would be to impose complete isolation. Who wants that? It is a bit worrisome. (...) How can you make a language follow orders? Language changes along with society, and the best way to ensure that spoken Russian reflects a free and dynamic society is probably to leave it alone (qtd. in Pereltsvaig).

5. Conclusion

Language contact and lexical borrowing enabled the great deal of Russian slang to be borrowed directly from the English language. This, along with the number of borrowings that entered other layers of the Russian language, resulted in the excessive borrowing of Anglicisms. As the Russian language represents a symbol of political and cultural unity, which is now being disturbed by foreign influences, the situation in the Russian language again starts to lean toward the purist tendency. Purists do not feel comfortable with a possible threat the English language poses to the Russian language and culture and they do not approve the influence the English language has on political, economic and cultural sphere. Although Russian purists do have a point in stressing the importance of their national language, the elimination of foreign words is unlikely to produce a desirable effect. The problem of foreign influence demands a discreet and unbiased attitude as there is no use in struggling against borrowing while the international language contact exists. The English language should be used as an international means of communication that facilitates the connection with the rest of the world, helps in better understanding of one's own culture and heritage, and helps to protect it and promote it in all parts of the world.

The conducted analysis proved that most of the Anglicisms that enter the Russian language belong to the colloquial vocabulary and enrich the informal style of the Russian language. What is more, it was again established on the example of previous experiences and mentioned scholar works that linguistic purism is a selective process that is often related to some kind of ideology, and as such, it is not a very sustainable idea. This paper underlines the need for other solutions to the linguistic problems that rise in the context of language contact.

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7. ANGLICISMS IN THE RUSSIAN LANGUAGE: colloquialisms and linguistic purism in the Russian language: Summary and key words

Anglicisms came to the Russian language via language contact with the English language that became more frequent in the past few decades as a result of major socio-political changes in the Russian Federation. A great number of Anglicisms were imported in the most flexible layer of the Russian language, the Russian colloquial speech. Colloquial speech is not regulated by the strict rules so it serves as a convenient base for various types of borrowings. As the influx of Anglicisms rises, it influences the overall language situation. Part of the Russian society finds it undesirable and thus advocates the practice called linguistic purism. Purists are trying to stop the process of borrowing, considering the already existing Russian vocabulary sufficient. The situation in Russian society is specific, since the Russian purists are often motivated by many extralinguistic factors, as well. It is, however, not a sustainable practice, since language contact and word borrowing can not be stopped, and that is why it is important to deal with this topic and find the other solution to the linguistic problems that are inevitable byproduct of high influx of foreign words into one's language.

Keywords: language contact, borrowing, Anglicisms, the Russian language, the English language, purism, socio-political factors, colloquial speech.

8. ANGLICIZMI U RUSKOM JEZIKU: kolokvijalizmi i jezični purizam u ruskom jeziku: Sažetak i ključne riječi

Anglicizmi su ušli u ruski jezik putem jezičnog dodira s engleskim jezikom, koji je postao sve učestaliji u posljednjih par desetljeća nakon velikih socio-političkih promjena kroz koje je Ruska Federacija prošla. Veliki broj anglicizama ulazi u najfleksibilniji sloj ruskoga jezika – ruski kolokvijalni govor. Kolokvijalni govor nije reguliran strogim pravilima i kao takav služi kao plodno tlo za razne vrste posuđenica. Rastom broja posuđenih anglicizama mijenja se sveopća situacija jezika. Dio ruskoga društva smatra takve promjene nepoželjnima i iz toga razloga se okreće lingvističkom pokretu zvanom jezični purizam. Puristi nastoje zaustaviti proces posuđivanja stranih riječi, smatrajući da je već postojeći vokabular dostatan za ispunjavanje svih jezičnih potreba. Situacija u ruskome društvu je na određeni način specifična, budući da uz jezične faktore mnoge ruske puriste motiviraju i razni izvanjezični faktori. Jezični purizam, međutim, nije održivo rješenje s obzirom na to da jezični dodiri i jezično posuđivanje ne mogu biti zaustavljeni. Upravo je iz toga razloga vrlo važno baviti se ovim temama i pokušati pronaći drukčija rješenja za jezične probleme koji neminovno nastaju prilikom visokog priljeva stranih riječi u materinji jezik.

Ključne riječi: jezični dodiri, jezično posuđivanje, anglicizmi, ruski jezik, engleski jezik, purizam, socio-politički čimbenici, kolokvijalni govor.