

ENGLISH BORROWINGS IN RECENT SOVIET RUSSIAN

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1. Introduction

The purpose of this paper is to investigate the nature and scope of the influence of English on Russian as it was written in the Soviet Union during the 1970s. The two languages have, of course, been in contact for centuries, but perhaps at no time has their interaction been greater than in the second half of this century when, after World War II, the United States and the Soviet Union (albeit soon to be followed by China) emerged as the two major superpowers in the world. On the one hand, English has adopted certain Russian words (Derbyshire 1971) such as *sputnik* and *cosmonaut* from the late 1950s and early 1960s. More recently, it has not only included the terms *glasnost* and *perestroika* into its everyday vocabulary but has also codified them in the most recent edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1989). On the other hand, Russian has at the same time borrowed very extensively from English and it is precisely these loans that will be the focus of this study.

Several works which treat exclusively English borrowings in Russian have been written. Aristova (1978) analyzed those words which Russian had borrowed from English before the beginning of the twentieth century. A subsequent study by the same author (Aristova 1985), though shorter, also included loanwords from the twentieth century. Wójtowicz's (1984) study was based on Russian words that had been borrowed from English during both the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. While these studies are very thorough and were up-to-date at the time they were written, the newest loanwords treated by them are those which entered Russian in the 1960s. The most recent dictionary used by Wójtowicz (1984), for example, was *Novye slova i značeniya: Slovar'-spravočnik po materialam pressy i literatury 60-x godov* (hereinafter *NSZ-60*). Moreover, both concentrate on a particular kind of borrowing, namely, that which in the literature is referred to as a loanword, that is, a word borrowed by trying to recreate the graphic or phonetic form of the original. At the beginning of his book, Wójtowicz (1984:2,13) states that his goal is to analyze nouns belonging to the category of proper loanwords, i.e.,

those nouns which do not exhibit morphological substitution. Aristova (1978:7) also specifies that her study deals with English borrowings which entered Russian as graphic or phonetic loanwords. In other words, neither English terms which entered Russian after the 1960s nor those words which came into Russian as loan-translations, that is, as calques, have yet been systematically treated.

In the present study, therefore, we will concentrate our attention on examining the recent decennial dictionary of Soviet Russian neologisms, namely, *Novye slova i značeniya: Slovar'-spravočnik po materialam pressy i literatury 70-x godov* (hereinafter *NSZ-70*) and will treat all methods of borrowing as well as the semantic areas to which the borrowed words belong. In particular, the *NSZ-70* is designed to reflect new elements in the lexicon and phraseology of the Russian literary language as seen in the journalistic and belletristic writing of about 130 Soviet periodicals published between 1972 and 1976. The dictionary also includes neologisms that appeared in the 1960s or in some cases even earlier but only gained widespread usage in the period under consideration. The writings upon which such dictionaries as *NSZ-60* and *NSZ-70* are based provide a very fruitful source for the study of loanwords because, according to Wójtowicz (1984:8), "podavljajuščee bol'sinstvo sredi anglijskix zaimstvovanij v russkom jazyke sostavljajut slova, zaimstvovannye pis'mennym putëm."

To be sure, some observations concerning English (as well as other) loans found in the *NSZ-70* have been made by Rothstein (1985). However, because this article represented a survey of several dictionaries, it could include only select examples from the *NSZ-70*. In the present study, we will also include all of the borrowings which can practicably be shown to be of English origin in this dictionary.

2. Types of borrowing

2.1. Loanwords

The corpus contains several different types of loanwords. For example, Russian may borrow an English lexical item by transliterating its spelling, that is, graphically. The state name of Texas, for instance, is rendered in Russian as *Texas* where the English letter "x" /ks/ is rendered by the Russian letter "x" with its different and characteristically Russian sound value of /x/. Examples of such graphically-based words from the *NSZ-70* include a Russian neologism based on Texas, namely, *texasy* 'special type of jeans'. They also include instances where at least some of the English vowel letters in a word are copied according to their spelling rather than their pronunciation, for example, *buffalo* 'buffalofish', *fosbjuri-flop* 'Fosbury flop (style of high-jumping developed by 1968 U.S. Olympic champion D. Fosbury)', and *kampus* 'campus: grounds of U.S. college or university; dormitory (in some European schools)'.¹ Of the 198 borrowings in the corpus, the 32 graphic loans comprise 16.2% of the total.

¹ In order to illustrate the various types of borrowing involved, Russian words are glossed with their English equivalent even when the two are graphically quite similar. Expanded definitions or ex-

In a great number of cases, however, words are borrowed not as they are written but rather as they sound in order to approximate English pronunciation. Consider, for example, phonetic renderings of English diphthongs in the words *blejzer* 'blazer (sportcoat)', *dajdžest* 'digest (a brief, condensed summary)', *dizajn* 'design (artistic drawing, model, construct; branch of art and science dealing with design)', and *tajmer* '(oven or range) timer'.

In some cases, the attempt to imitate English pronunciation is so exacting that it produces spellings which violate traditional Russian orthographic rules. For example, the "impermissible" vowel letter è appears after velars in the words *gèg* 'prof. gag (comical trick)', *kèp* 'cq. prof. cap (contracted form of captain (of a vessel))', *kèš'ju* 'cashew' and *xèppi-ènd* 'happy ending ("in works of American literature, drama and film ...")'.² Other words that could conceivably be thought of as international lexical items because of their Greek or Latin root composition betray their English origin precisely by exhibiting such phonetic rather than strictly orthographic spelling. For instance, in addition to the normative Russian spelling given as the main entry word for the term *stereoskan* 'stereoscan (type of electron microscope)', one can also find in the citations accompanying the entry the phonetically more faithful variants *stereosken* and even *stereoskèn*.³

Clearly, the rendering of at least some English sounds is not always stable or consistent. The different versions of the word *stereoskan* illustrate the kind of graphic vacillation that can occur when Russian borrows the sound /ä/ (see Holden 1980 and Wójtowicz 1974). The same phenomenon is illustrated by the term for "(political) establishment", which is also listed with three different variants under the main entry, namely, the graphic *èstablíšment*, the semi-phonetic *èsteblišment*, and the more phonetically faithful *èstèblišment*. A similar kind of vacillation can occur in borrowings with the diphthong /ej/. First, some words containing /ej/ are

planatory information with regard to borrowings are given if the word can have more than one meaning in English or if it is a relatively uncommon term. If, in addition to the gloss, a definition from the *NSZ-70* is used, it is set off from the gloss by a colon, e.g., *dajdžest* 'digest: a brief, condensed summation'. Explanatory notes that accompany the glosses but are not direct citations of the dictionary definition appear in parentheses, e.g., *skrining* 'screening (of data, information)'. In general, words cited a second time in the paper will not be glossed unless, of course, they occur with a different meaning. Also, any abbreviations given in the *NSZ-70* to denote the stylistic domain of a word, e.g., *cq.* for colloquial style or *prof.* for professional speech, accompany the gloss.

² The latter two examples are also listed with alternative spellings that adhere to Russian orthographic rules, namely, *keš'ju* and *xeppi-ènd*.

³ Phonologically, the inclusion of graphic forms containing hard velars followed by front vowels reinforces the view, already acknowledged by the Academy of Science's *Russkaja grammatika* (1980:79), that the hard and soft velars are independent phonemes rather than positional variants since both can now occur before /e/. In addition to foreign lexical borrowings, other sources for the creation of such sound combinations (all *NSZ-70* entries) are forms of foreign place names (*gèdèèrovskij* 'pertaining to the GDR'), compound words (*dvuxètažka* 'cq. two-story building') and acronyms (*kèv* for *kiloèlektronvol't*). Interestingly enough, there are two previously existing acronyms which are homonyms of the already cited *NSZ-70* English loans *kèp* and *gèg*, namely, *KÉP* for *kontrol'no-èvakuacionnyj punkt* 'central evacuation point' or *komandnyj èlektričeskij pribor* 'electrical appliance' and *GÉK* (assuming final devoicing in *gèg*) for *gosudarstvennaja èkzaminacionnaja komissija* 'state examination commission'.

entered in the *NSZ-70* with two variants, namely, a graphic and a semi-phonetic version, e.g., *èskapizm* and *èskepizm* 'escapism'. Secondly, there is at least one case of two English loans containing a phonetically identical morpheme with /ej/ that are nevertheless rendered differently, namely, *frivej* 'freeway' and *xajvèj* 'highway'. Altogether, the 42 phonetic loans constitute 21.2% of the corpus.

Finally, some words are borrowed by attempting to retain both phonetic and graphic elements (including those which do not correspond to pronunciation), a method of borrowing referred to most commonly in Russian as *smešannyj* *sposob*. For example, the English word "kidnapping" has been codified in the *NSZ-70* as *kidnèpping*. On the one hand, we see an attempt to closely approximate the pronunciation of the second English vowel sound /ä/; on the other hand, we also see that graphically both letters "p" are retained even though in borrowed words such doubled consonants are seldom realized in actual speech.⁴ But perhaps the most striking case of such a loan is the English colloquialism O.K., rendered in Russian as either *o'kej* or *o'kèj*. While great lengths have been gone to in order to reproduce English pronunciation (including in the latter variant violation of the spelling rule mentioned above), the word nevertheless contains an apostrophe, a symbol that has absolutely no meaning in the Russian spelling system. Moreover, the spelling of O.K. with an apostrophe (after the "o", that is) in English cannot even be found in major dictionaries such as Webster's (1986), Webster's (1988) or Random House (1987). This group of mixed loans is represented by 11 words (5.6%) in the corpus.

To be sure, there are cases where it is difficult to distinguish whether a certain borrowing is graphic or phonetic. This occurs where English spelling and pronunciation coincide at least to the point where the word would be rendered the same way by letters of the Russian alphabet (*bingo* 'bingo (game)', *disk* 'disc (usually LP-record)', *pepsi-kola* 'Pepsi-Cola', *retro* 'retro (style of art)'). Such words account for a fair number of loans, namely, 27 or 13.6% of the corpus. Altogether, there are 112 loanwords of all varieties that comprise 56.6% of the corpus.

2.2. Morphological adaptation

During the process of borrowing, Russian may also grammatically adjust a word so that it can be more easily incorporated into its morphological system. With regard to nouns, which constitute nearly all loans in the corpus, morphological adaptation usually involves converting English plural substantives into Russian

⁴ Although the vowel sound /ä/ in this word has been rendered several ways (see the variant forms *kidnèpping* and *kidnapping* which appear in some of the accompanying citations), the retention of double (i.e., identical) consonants in the spelling of borrowed words follows a traditional Russian pattern. Consider, for example, such words as *gruppa* and *apparat*. The pronunciation of these same clusters (pp), however, is simplified into a single consonant sound in intervocalic position, e.g., *apparat* [p], *opponent* [p] and *opportunist* [p] (Avanesov 1984:173). With regard to the word *gruppa*, the pronunciation of the consonant "p" may be either single or double in intervocalic position but can only be single in final position. For a detailed treatment of the pronunciation of doubled consonants in Russian, see Avanesov (1984:168-78).

ones. Historically this has been accomplished either by 1) morphological addition, i.e., joining the Russian plural morpheme -y/-i to the English loan ending in the plural desinence -s (*butsy* 'boots', *džinsy* 'jeans', *rel'sy* 'rails') or by 2) morphological substitution, i.e., replacing the English plural desinence with the Russian one (*kedy* 'Keds', *šorty* 'shorts'), a kind of "grammatical calquing."

The only English loan in the *NSZ-70* which can exhibit the kind of morphological addition mentioned above is the noun *kom(m)andos* 'commandos'. Although listed either as masculine singular or as indeclinable, all cited forms have plural meaning. Some also have plural form ("letučie komandosy," "bandy ... komandosov") while others do not ("izrailskie komandos"). Because it is apparently still possible to use different forms in the same context, e.g., either *komandos* or *komandosy* for the nominative plural, the noun has not fully acquired a stable form. Rather, it seems to be undergoing the early stages of assimilation for plural loans as described by Wójtowicz (1973a, 152-55). Another noun which at least in some cases retains the English plural desinence "-s" is the Russian term for Chicano (U.S. citizen of Mexican descent). It has the singular form *čikano* and the variant plural forms *čikano* and *čikanos*. In all cases, however, it is indeclinable and it is perhaps too early to predict its final formal status. The word *spiričuèl* 'spiritual (song or hymn)', however, presents a particularly interesting example since the plural form is listed in the *NSZ-70* as being made by adding the suffix -s, i.e., *spiričuèls*. Whether or not it yields to analogy in the future, it currently offers a very rare example of an English grammatical desinence being borrowed into Russian.

In the *NSZ-70*, there are six apparent examples of morphological substitution involving the nominal plural desinence -y (*evrodollary* 'Eurodollars', *jastreby* 'hawks (a calque pertaining to political views)', *maskony* 'mass concentrations', *neftedollary* 'petrodollars (a semi-calque)', *onkornavirusy* 'onco-RNA-viruses', and *šekl'tony* 'footwear for mountain-climbing (named after English Antarctic explorer Sir Ernest Henry Shackleton)'). Although each of these terms has a singular form as well, all are listed with their main entry in the plural indicating that they are used most often in this form.

Another part of speech which can undergo morphological adaptation is the adjective. Such forms can be readily identified not only because of their declensional ending, but also because Russian typically adds a suffix to the stem of the adjective being borrowed. Of the eleven adjectives borrowed from English in this manner, six are formed with the suffix -n- (*mul'tinacional'nyj* 'multinational', *non-figurativnyj* 'nonfigurative', *nuklearnyj* 'nuclear', *pilotnyj* 'pilot', *referentnyj* 'reference', *variabel'nyj* 'variable'⁵), three with the suffix -ov- (*ping-pongovyj* 'ping-pong', *popsovyj* 'pop (as in pop music)' and *trampovyj* 'tramp (type of cargo ship, fleet or transportation)') and two with the suffix -(e)sk- (*kvadrafoničeskij* 'quadrasonic' and *psixodeličeskij* 'psychedelic'). The majority of these adjectives are used in set

⁵ The *NSZ-70* notes that an alternate or additional source for this adjective is French variable.

calqued phrases or expressions and are therefore treated semantically and included numerically in the total for items comprising the following section.

A relatively new trend in Russian is the appearance of the indeclinable adjective. Three examples of English origin were found in the corpus (*midi* 'cq. midi (length)', *mini* 'mini (length)', *retro* 'retro (style of art)').

Only one verb was borrowed from English and subsequently morphologically adapted with the suffix *-ova-* (*parkovat* 'to park (a vehicle)').

Besides adapting a foreign desinence, Russian can also adapt the suffix of a borrowed word in order to make it conform to the traditional Russian pattern. Typically, these suffixes are of Greek or Latin origin (although this does not necessarily mean they are borrowed from these languages). Examples of neoclassical English loans with suffixal adaptation from the *NSZ-70* are *meritokratija* 'meritocracy', *stagfljacija* 'stagflation', *teknokratija* 'technocracy', and *telekommunikacija* 'telecommunication'. Other portions of English loanwords containing Greek or Latin elements besides the suffix can be adapted as well, for example, *èkocid* 'ecocide' and *kommercializm* 'commercialism'. Altogether, there are 18 words of English origin that have been adapted in some manner and they comprise 9.1% of the corpus.

2.3. Loan-translations (calques)

In addition to loanwords, Soviet Russian of the 1970s also contains many complete or partial loan-translations, that is, calques or semi-calques (the latter also sometimes referred to in the literature as loan-blends), of various English words, phrases and expressions. Among these words are complete calques such as *zapečatlenie* '(biological) imprinting', *korzina* 'basket (section of the Helsinki accords)' and the abovementioned *jastreby*. Other words represent semi-calques, i.e., a combination of a borrowed foreign lexical element with a translated one. They may be either compounds (*neftedollary*, *supergorod* 'supercity', *telesvjaz* 'telecommunications') or hyphenated compounds (*pop-iskusstvo* 'pop art', *pop-kul'tura* 'pop culture', *press-sekretar* 'press secretary'). The corpus also includes phrasal calques such as *iskusstvennyj razum* 'artificial intelligence', *mozgovej trest* 'brain trust', and *status naibol'shego blagoprijatstvovanija* 'most-favored nation (trade) status'.

In a few cases, certain calques from English have been subjected to Russian's own characteristic processes of compounding, that is, combining the first syllable(s) of a multiword expression in order to produce a new abbreviated compound form of the type *kolxoz* (from *kollektivnoe xozjajstvo* 'collective farm'). For example, the English phrase "mass culture" was translated into Russian as *massovaja kul'tura* and was subsequently compounded into *masskul't*. Similarly, the term "mass concentration(s)" ('regions of positive anomalies in the gravitational field of the moon resulting in a surplus or abundance of masses') was converted into the Russian form *maskon(y)*.

Two other very interesting compounds made according to the same pattern are actually not so much borrowings as they are joint English-Russian neologisms and

in this sense they may be the first examples of their kind in the history of Russo-English linguistic relations. Both resulted from the 1975 Apollo-Soyuz Test Project (ASTP). The first term, *ruston*, is a compound made from the Russian word *ruskij* and the name of the U.S. city Houston (site of the Lyndon B. Johnson Space Center) and designates a language composed of English and Russian elements developed for communication between U.S. astronauts and Soviet cosmonauts during the Apollo-Soyuz mission. The second term, *ÈPAS*, is the Russian counterpart of ASTP and is made by combining the first sounds of Apollo and Soyuz. Another word from the *NSZ-70*, although not an English loan, was nevertheless inspired by the U.S. lunar space program. In particular, a mineral that was discovered by researchers at the Siberian Divisional Branch of the Geological Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences was named *armstrongit* in honor of astronaut Neil Armstrong.

Finally, let us note that the same English word can be borrowed in different ways and that the resulting forms then coexist with each other. For example, the psychological phenomenon of imprinting can be rendered in Russian either by the loan *imprinting* or by the calque *zapečatlenie*. Also, the ten-event competition from the Olympics now occurs in Russian both as the graphic loan *dekaton* and as *desjatibor'e*, the latter calqued form already having been listed in Ožegov (1968). Other cases of coexistence may involve a calque and a semi-calque (*sverxderžava* and *superderžava* 'superpower') or a semi-calque and a (albeit morphologically adapted) loan (*telesvjaz* and *telekommunikacija*).

Altogether, there are 20 semi-calques in the corpus (10.1%) and 48 calques (24.2%). By combining the two (68), we see that loan translations account for slightly over one-third (34.3%) of all Russian borrowings from English in the period under study.

In summary, borrowed words form an entire spectrum based on the degree to which the original English form has been adapted into Russian. At one end, graphic loans are transliterated from English with virtually no alterations made during the borrowing process. Mixed and phonetic loans either partially or completely alter the structure of the written English word in accordance with its pronunciation. Morphological loans use native Russian elements to adapt the word's morphological features, be they suffixal or desinential. Finally, at the other end of the spectrum, semi-calques and calques either partially or completely replace the English word by translating it with the help of Russian lexical elements.

Our data show that the majority of borrowings (56.6%) are graphic, mixed, and phonetic loanwords. Among these loanwords phonetic borrowings form the largest group (42), but they are followed closely by graphic (32) and indistinguishable (27) loans. In this regard, the data for the 1970s agree with conclusions drawn by other researchers about Russian borrowing that had occurred earlier in the twentieth century. For example, Aristova (1985:43) notes that in the twentieth century (as compared to the nineteenth) "the process of transphoning is increasing in comparison with transliterating." Furthermore, both Krysin (1968a:58) and Wójtowicz (1973b:65) conclude that while graphic and mixed loans are common, the

predominant method of incorporating a loanword into Soviet Russian is through phonetic means.

With respect to all varieties of borrowing, it is generally regarded that for Russian of the Soviet period the nearly exclusive type of borrowing is the loanword (of whatever variety). The most numerous group of Russian words borrowed directly from English during this time is made up of "sobstvenno zaimstvovannye slova, t. e., strukturnyj tip slov bez morfoložičeskoj podstanovki." (Wójtowicz 1977:174; see also Wójtowicz 1973b:61,75) Conversely, up to the early sixties, "častinoe ili polnoe kal'kirovanie inoazyčnyx slov nabljudajetsja krajne redko" (Krysin 1968b:91; see also Krysin 1968a:59).

With regard to this trend our data, based on Soviet Russian borrowings from English in the 1970s, stand in sharp contrast to earlier patterns. Whereas before calquing was considered rare, in the 1970s approximately one-third of all borrowings represented calques or semi-calques. In fact, there are more complete calques in the corpus (48) than there are phonetic loans (42). In the seventies, therefore, calquing was an important and common method of borrowing.

In addition to the types of hyphenated and compound words discussed above that can with certitude be regarded as calques, the *NSZ-70* also contains a large number of compound words which were clearly formed under the influence of English. This type of compound, noted by Rothstein (1985:465), consists of an indeclinable foreign (though by now probably well-known in Russian) element followed by a declinable, usually Russian, second element. For example, words preceded by the element *rok-* form such hyphenated compounds as *rok-muzyka* 'rock music', *rok-gruppa* 'rock group', *rok-pevica* '(female) rock singer', and *rok-zvezda* 'rock star'.⁶ It could be maintained, however, that many of these words are semi-calques of English terms insofar as rock music and many terms associated with it originated in the United States. If these words are treated as a variety of loan-translation rather than as Russian words influenced by an English pattern, the percentage of calques in the corpus would be even higher and would lend further support to the conclusion that calquing is becoming a major method of borrowing.

A significant feature which distinguishes most calques from other types of borrowings is the number of words they contain. In particular, almost two-thirds of all calques (30/48) consist of two or more independent (unhyphenated) words. In fact, all unhyphenated phrases found in the corpus are calques (*čelnočnyj korabl'* 'space shuttle', *kinetičeskoe iskusstvo* 'kinetic art', *obščestvo potreblenija* 'consumer society', *teorija igr* 'game theory'). There is not a single example in the *NSZ-70* of a borrowed phrase made up of two or more unhyphenated words that would be rendered solely by either phonetic or graphic borrowing. In our set of data, therefore, an English word or phrase can be incorporated into Russian as a loanword only so long as it becomes either an individual word (*bit* 'beat music') or a hy-

⁶ The term *rok-opera*, however, is certainly a semi-calque of English origin because the first rock opera, "Tommy", was released by the British rock group The Who in 1969.

phenated compound (*big-bit* 'big beat'). On the other hand, an English phrase that is ultimately rendered in Russian by two or more unhyphenated words is incorporated only by calquing (*popsovaja muzyka* 'pop music', *kinetičeskoe iskusstvo*). In addition, certain phrases can be made more accessible by calquing them into Russian rather than by stringing together a series of unfamiliar loanwords. For example, *obščestvo potreblenija* is more descriptive and may be more readily understood than a hypothetical **konsjumer sosaeti*. Borrowing an English phrase as a series of graphic or phonetic loanwords could also be counterproductive since the lack of morphological endings on the English words would instantly deprive the utterance of syntactic information.

The only exceptions to this rule in contemporary Russian (and these are found only outside the corpus) are renderings of English proper nouns when they appear in names of periodicals, organizations, companies, etc. such as *Industrial Kemistri* 'Industrial Chemistry', *Duglas korporejšn* 'Douglas Corporation', *Manxèten Bènk* 'Manhattan Bank' (Aristova 1985:43). Within the realm of common nouns, however, no such exceptions were noted.

3. Determination of source language

A central question to this study, naturally, regards the ascertainment of words that can be treated as English loans. One source of verification can be found in the *NSZ-70* entry itself. In particular, the entry (and this occurs especially in the case of phonetic loans) may include a footnote indicating a borrowed word's origin. For example, *o'kèj*, *komp'juter* 'computer', *telekommunikacija* and *nuklearnaja sem'ja* 'nuclear family', are specifically noted as coming from English. A fair number of borrowings, however, and these are almost exclusively calques, are not listed as being borrowed from English. For example, the entries *mozgovej trest*, *stereo* 'cq. stereo record player or tape recorder' and *supergorod* are given without any indication as to their etymology. Their source, therefore, must be determined on the basis of 1) knowledge of English, by 2) confirming their specifically English origin in references to the etymology or other relevant information provided in an English-language dictionary such as Webster's (1988) or Random House (1987) or by 3) ascertaining their English origin in non-lexicographic reference works. All of the words treated here as borrowings from English, therefore, are either explicitly marked that way by the *NSZ-70* or have been verified according to the three other criteria mentioned above. In addition, each English loan has been listed either in the section of the paper that involves classification of borrowing types or their semantic distribution.

Uncertainty about a borrowed word's precise language of origin, however, may arise especially in the vast realm of scientific and technical vocabulary. First, because this terminology is typically based on Greek and Latin roots regardless of the country where a neologism may first have been coined, it can easily obscure the language where it originated. Secondly, the amount of technical inventions and their application in industry is so great and the dissemination of this termino-

logy throughout the world's scientific community so swift that it becomes even more difficult to trace neoclassical neologisms to their source.

To be sure, the origin of such terms can occasionally be determined if, for example, their inventor is known (*radio, telegraf, telefon*), or if they are specifically marked by the *NSZ-70* as coming from a certain language (consider the English loans *telekommunikacija, ekosistema* 'ecosystem'), or if both the inventor and language of origin are known. In the majority of cases, however, the precise source of international scientific vocabulary is difficult to determine and Webster's (1986:16) has even deemed such a task "impracticable" and has labelled this group of words as a separate category of the lexicon known by the abbreviation "ISV." For this reason, words appearing in the *NSZ-70* that belong to this category (*mikrogramm* 'microgram', *polièster/polièstr* 'polyester', *psixosomatičeskij* 'psychosomatic') will not as a rule be included in our data unless they are with certainty known to be of English origin. A consequence of this method is that occasionally an original English scientific or technical term may be omitted and it is for this reason that the present study does not purport to provide a complete list of English loans in the *NSZ-70*. Having made this qualification, we should point out that it is still possible using the methods outlined earlier to find a very large amount of English loans and to examine to which area of the lexicon they belong.

4. Semantic areas of borrowing

In this section we will examine the various semantic groups to which the borrowed words belong. In general, words in this section will not include those cited previously unless it is necessary to illustrate or supplement a certain semantic group. Naturally, some of the examples in this section could be interpreted as belonging to more than one category.

The greatest number of loans occurs in the fields of science, technology and industry. In fact, over a quarter of all loans (54/198 or 27.3%) in the corpus belong to this semantic group. Some refer to scientific concepts or terms (*gennaja/genetičeskaja inženerija* 'genetic engineering', *obratnaja svjaz* 'feedback', *oranžerejnyj/partnikovij èffekt* 'greenhouse (Callendar) effect', *parton* 'parton (hypothetical particles such as quarks that are held to make up nucleons)', *psi* 'psi-particle', *texnotronika* 'technotronics', *trek* 'track: trail left by flying elementary particle', *èkosfera* 'ecosphere', *xoming* 'homing', *čèrnaja dyra* 'black hole') while others refer to scientific procedures and methods of investigation (*metod prob i ošibok* 'method of trial and error', *pilotnaja ustanovka* 'pilot set-up: laboratory apparatus for conducting experiment', *skrining* 'screening (of data, information)', *čèrnyj jaščik* 'black box (in cybernetics)').

There is also a large number of loans which represent the practical applications and manifestations of scientific discoveries in the fields of technology and industry. This group of words includes *baggi* 'type of single-seat sports car', *boing* 'Boeing passenger or airfreight plane', *flomaster* 'Flowmaster (felt-tipped pen)', *kompozit* 'composite: reinforced material', *kserokopija* 'Xerox copy', *lendrover* 'Landrover',

luping 'looping: part of oil or gas pipe built as temporary supplement to main pipeline', *premixs* 'premix', *reaktor-množitel* 'breeder reactor', *ro-ro* 'ro-ro ship (from roll-on, roll-off ship)', *slajd* 'slide', *spandeks* 'Spandex', *stellarator* 'stellerator (closed magnetic trap for maintaining high-temperature plasma; device that investigates production of thermonuclear reaction by changing magnetic fields to confine plasma)', *tiristor* 'thyristor', *trampovyj, trejler* 'camper trailer, mobile home'.⁷ Under the influence of English semantic induction, the Russian word *bank* has developed the meaning of "organ, tissue or cell repository" and is used in such phrases as *bank genov/gennyj bank* 'gene bank', *bank kostnogo mozga* 'marrow bank', and *bank organov* 'organ bank'. Finally, there is the term which describes the ability to produce and operate all the technological innovations mentioned above, namely, *noy-xay* 'know-how'.

At first glance, there appear to be only six entries or subentries pertaining to computer science and technology (*bank dannyx* 'data bank', *bit* 'bit (from "binary digit")', *displej* 'display (monitor, screen)', *iskusstvennyj razum, komp'juter, terminal* 'terminal'). If we were to look at words or phrases that occur in the accompanying citations, however, we would find a fair number of possible calques such as *komp'juternaja pamjat* 'computer memory', *komp'juternaja texnika* 'computer technology', *operator komp'jutera* 'computer operator' and so on. Furthermore, entire dictionaries of computer terminology were published in the Soviet Union⁸ so the influence of English in this field, as perhaps in other technical fields, may be greater than would be expected if one were to judge solely on the basis of the data contained in the *NSZ-70*. It should be noted, however, that the *NSZ-70* is a general dictionary and not a specifically technical one so an exhaustive listing of highly specialized terms should not be expected.

The second highest number of loans (43 or 21.7% of the corpus) occurs in two areas of the social sciences, namely, politics and society. English-based terms describing political groups, processes, institutions, etc. include *impičment* 'impeachment', *press-sekretar*, *èstèblišment, kremlenolog* 'Kremlinologist',⁹ and *paternalizm* 'paternalism (defined as capitalist policy to distract workers from the "class and revolutionary struggle")', *ping-pongovaja diplomatija* 'ping-pong diplomacy (referring to the invitation by China to a U.S. table tennis team in April of 1971 that led to consultations between the two countries and ultimately to President Nixon's visit there)', *pljuralizm* 'pluralism', *stormont* 'Stormont: Parliament of Northern Ire-

⁷ Note also the more phonetically-oriented variant *trejler*, found in one of the citations accompanying the entry.

⁸ The most recent of these is the fifth edition of the *Anglo-russkij slovar' po vyčislitel'noj texnike* (1989) which contains approximately 42,000 entries.

⁹ The origin of this very interesting word can be established because its first root contains (a slightly altered form of) the English word "Kremlin" rather than the shorter Russian form *Kreml'* and also because of its definition. We have, therefore, an example of a Russian word, *Kreml'* or, more precisely, its unattested form **kremlyń* (Fasmer 1967:370-71) which was borrowed into English (through the intermediary of the now archaic German form "Kremlin") and which was then borrowed back into Russian based on the English-derivative form "Kremlinologist."

land from 1920-72', *tëmnaja lošadka* 'dark horse (in political campaign)', *tenevoj kabinet* 'shadow cabinet', *xoumlend* 'homeland: reservation, place for forced settlement of native inhabitants of Namibia and South Africa', and *junktad* 'UNCTAD: United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (an international term of English origin)'.

Other terms pertain to various aspects or segments of American society or to life in other English-speaking countries. Some refer to various social types, groups or systems (*belye vorotnički* 'white-collar workers', *bič* 'poor, drunken person who does seasonal work (elliptical formation from beachcomber)', *džentl'meny udači* 'gentlemen of fortune', *gang* 'gang', *klan* 'Klan', *sinie vorotnički* 'blue-collar workers', *skvotter* 'squatter: in England, a homeless person who occupies a vacated apartment'). Other borrowings refer to social theories or philosophies (*kommunalizm* 'communalism', *nonkonformizm* 'nonconformism'). Still others simply describe various social phenomena (*megalopolis* 'megalopolis', *porno* 'porno', *psixodeličeskij* 'psychedelic' (used in expressions such as *psixodeličeskaja muzyka*, *psixodeličeskij èksperiment* and *psixodeličeskaja rubaška*), *striker* 'streaker', *striking* 'streaking', *supergorod*).

The third most numerous group of loans (23 terms or 11.6% of the corpus) pertains to the areas of art, culture and entertainment. In the field of music, for example, contemporary Western and especially U.S. and British styles of music became very popular in the USSR (and continue to be popular in many of the independent states of the former Soviet Union) and this popularity is well-reflected in the new lexicon. Loans include words that describe general styles of music (*big-bit*, *bit* 'beat music', *bljuz* 'blues', *pop-mjuzikl* 'pop musical', *sving* 'swing', *spiričuèl*). As noted earlier, some roots describing Western styles of music are very productive in the formation of compounds which, although not specifically marked as English loans, are quite probably translations of English terms. Like the root *rok-*, the root *bit-* also produces compounds such as *bit-gruppa* 'beat group', *bit-muzyka* 'beat music', and *bit-ritm* 'beat rhythm'. Other loans from English pertaining to the field of music are *bas-gitara* 'bass guitar', *bitloman* 'Beatlemaniac', *bitlomanija* 'Beatlemania', *disk*, *kompakt-kasseta* 'compact cassette', *pop-festival* 'pop-music festival', *popsovaja muzyka* 'pop music', and *stereo*.

Russian has also carefully recorded trends in art and the English terms which describe them (*bodi-art* 'body art: ultramodern trend in avantgarde painting', *kinetizm* and *kinetičeskoe iskusstvo* 'kinetic art (art objects made with moving parts, machines, mechanisms)', *kitč* 'kitsch', *nonfigurativnoe iskusstvo* 'nonfigurative art', *pop-iskusstvo* 'pop art', *retro* 'retro art: style of Western art in the 1970s characterized by detailed descriptions of the past').

Other terms from this field include *pop-kul'tura* 'pop culture', *serial* 'TV or movie series', *superzvezda* 'superstar (in sports as well as entertainment)', and *šoy-biznes* 'show business'.

The field of economics is represented by fifteen terms (7.6%) in the corpus (*agribiznes* 'agrobusiness', *broker* 'broker', *marketing* 'marketing', *menedžer* 'manager', *menedžerizm* 'managerism', *menedžment* 'management', *mul'tinacional'naja*

kompanija 'multinational company (corporation)',¹⁰ *opek* 'OPEC', *obščestvo potreblenija*, *plavajuščaja valjuta* 'floating currency', *rand* 'unit of currency in South Africa (also Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland)', *stagfljacija*, *princip naibol'shego blagoprijatstvovanija* 'most-favored nation (trade) principle', *supermarket* 'supermarket').

Another common area of borrowing (13 terms/6.6%) is that of sports terminology (*ajs-rev'ju* 'ice review', *bendi* 'bandy', *bobslej* 'bob-sleigh (both the sled and the sport of bobsledding)', *bullit* 'penalty shot in hockey', *vindsërfing* 'windsurfing', *vindsërfer* 'boat with sail used for windsurfing', *dekatlon*, *fol* 'foul and penalty given for foul', *profī* 'cq. professional athlete in foreign countries', *rejting-list* 'rating list (ranking of chess players)', *sparring-partnër* 'sparring partner (can refer to an individual boxer or to an entire team in any sport)', *sredneves* 'middleweight', *ul'tra-si* 'ultra-C[?], the most (i.e., ultra) complicated and difficult moves or maneuvers in sports').

A number of words and phrases from English colloquial or professional speech (12 terms/6.1%) have also been borrowed (*vykručivanie ruk* 'arm twisting', *gulliver* 'cq. a very tall person; anything large', *ot dveri do dveri* 'cq. prof. door-to-door (delivery)', *žirnyj kot* 'fat cat', *kto jest' kto* 'Who's who', *vyzyvat' na kovër* 'cq. to call on the carpet', *o'kèj* and *fifti-fifti* 'cq. fifty-fifty').

There are also several borrowed words in each of the following areas: fashion and clothes (6 terms/3%) (*blejzer*, *maksi* and *midi* 'maxi- or midi-length dress, skirt or coat', *sëssun* 'type of short haircut for women (named after hairstylist Vidal Sassoon)'; food (6 terms/3%) and drink (*buffalo*, *džonatan* 'Jonathan apple', *këš'ju*, *pepsi-kola*, *rastvorimyj kofe* 'soluble coffee',¹¹ *tonik* 'tonic water (mixer)' as in *džin s tonikom* 'gin and tonic'; five words (2.5%) from military terminology (*džiaj* 'G.I.', *zelënye berety* 'Green Berets', *kom(m)andos*, *polaris* 'U.S. or British nuclear submarine with missile complex "Polaris"', *fantom* 'U.S. fighter plane Phantom'); card games (3/1.5%) and gambling (*bingo*, *king* 'king: simplified version of preference', *odnorukij bandit* 'one-armed bandit').

Interestingly enough, only five loans (2.5%) pertain to psychology (*introvert* 'introvert',¹² *mizoneizm* 'misoneism', *psixolog* 'industrial psychologist',¹³) or to social

¹⁰ This term was borrowed into Russian even though it already had a word meaning multinational, namely, *mnogonacional'nyj*. The latter term, however, is typically used in different contexts, e.g., *mnogonacional'noe sovetskoe socialističeskoe obščestvo* 'multinational Soviet socialist society' in Oegov (1968).

¹¹ *Introvert* provides a good example of the circuitous path a neoclassical scientific term can follow in the borrowing process. Although noted by the *NSZ-70* as being borrowed from English (where it has undoubtedly gained wide currency), the terms *introvert* and *extrovert* were first coined by Swiss psychiatrist Carl Jung in his German-language work *Psychologische Typen*. The reason for omitting *èkstravert* as an entry by the *NSZ-70* is unclear since the term is actually used alongside *introvert* in a citation for that entry and it had not been codified earlier in the *NSZ-60*.

¹² Soluble coffee is the industry name for the product more popularly known as instant coffee. It was invented by Japanese chemist Sartori Kato while living in Chicago.

¹³ In all probability, the newly-attested meaning of the Russian word *psixolog* 'industrial psychologist' was also derived from English via semantic induction since industrial psychology was developed in the United States in the early 1900s.

psychology (*panel* 'panel: series of objects taken into account during sociological study according to a specified program', *referentnaja grupp* 'reference group').

The remaining 13 (6.6%) words are miscellaneous terms (*brifing* 'briefing', *gorjačaja točka* 'hot spot', *pab* 'pub', *parking* 'parking lot', *parkovat*, *pen-klub* 'Pen Club', *press-reliz* 'press release', *salun* 'saloon', *seksapil* 'sex appeal', *zebra* 'zebra (crossing)'¹⁴).

In some respects, the relative amount of borrowing from certain semantic areas in the 1970s represented a continuation of borrowing trends that were established or developing before the beginning of the decade in question. As noted earlier, the largest number of borrowed words (27.3%) in the *NSZ-70* came from science, technology and industry. This percentage is very similar to the ones (29.6% and 29.9% respectively) obtained by Wójtowicz (1984:139-140) and Aristova (1985:20) for the twentieth century before the 1970s. Both of them also found the influence of English to be greatest in this semantic field.

In other respects, however, the influence of English on certain semantic areas seems to be changing. On the one hand, even if we do not take into account the English-influenced compounds discussed earlier, the amount of *NSZ-70* loans in the fields of art, culture and entertainment (11.6%) is still proportionally greater than found in the other studies (6.9% in Wójtowicz and 9.3% in Aristova). Furthermore, the *NSZ-70* also has a significant amount of borrowings from English colloquial and professional speech which suggests a growing familiarity with the spoken language. Such a category was not even singled out in previous works.

On the other hand, the relative amount of borrowing seems to be decreasing in some other areas. For example, the relative percentage of sports terms (6.6%) is much lower than noted either by Aristova (10.8%), Wójtowicz (16.4%) or Reinton (1978:222, 224), who wrote in a thorough specialized study that "sport terminology is probably that part of the language where the influx of English loanwords has been greatest, especially in this century." Although the results of a specific terminological study such as the latter cannot always be compared with analyses of more mainstream vocabulary which exclude highly specialized terms, it seems clear that much of English sports terminology had already been borrowed before the seventies began.

The most pervasive characteristics of borrowing in the 1970s, however, were the great quantity of English words borrowed and the fact that they came from virtually all areas of the lexicon. Whereas borrowing in earlier decades of the 20th c. was confined to specific semantic groups at specific times (Krysin 1968a:153, 193-95), the seventies represented an intensification of a trend which began in the mid-fifties and early sixties, namely, the borrowing of words from numerous and diverse semantic areas.

¹⁴ Although used in British and other varieties of English (Webster's 1988:1553), the possibility of Polish as an intermediary for the borrowing of *zebra* has been suggested (Rothstein 1985:463).

5. Conclusions

Although, as noted earlier, the present study does not claim to provide an exhaustive list of English words and phrases borrowed into Russian in the 1970s, it nevertheless provides a representative picture of both the type and scope of borrowing that occurs and the areas of the lexicon to which it pertains. It also compares borrowing in the 1970s with Russian borrowing from English in earlier time periods. On the one hand, loanwords (phonetic, graphic and mixed) continue to comprise the majority of English words entering Russian. Of the three types, phonetic loans have a slight plurality. On the other hand, our data have also shown that the seventies witnessed a great rise in the number of loan translations and established calquing as a major method of borrowing. Calquing was found to be the sole method of borrowing for phrases that were rendered in Russian as two or more unhyphenated words.

Both the rise of transphoning and calquing could be at least partly attributed to the greater contacts between the peoples of the Soviet Union with those of the English-speaking world in the 1970s as compared to previous years. Greater knowledge of spoken English and its pronunciation would make one more likely to reproduce an English word phonetically while a greater knowledge of English vocabulary and syntax would abet the process of translating and, therefore, calquing.

In addition, words borrowed from English represent nearly all semantic areas. The most prolific source of loans continues to be scientific, technical and industrial terminology. In comparison with earlier periods, however, there appears to be a significant increase in the relative number of loans pertaining to arts, culture and entertainment as well as to colloquial and professional speech but a decrease in the number of loans pertaining to sport terminology. Indeed, the influence of English on Russian was very substantial in the 1970s. It will be interesting to see whether the continually and rapidly growing contacts between peoples of English-speaking countries and the Soviet Union that occurred in the 1980s will result in an even greater amount of English (or other) loans in the next decennial edition of *Novye slova i značeniya*. Furthermore, given the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, an equally intriguing subject of study should be the influence of English on Russian in the current decade.

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