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RUSSIAN LOANWORDS IN THE *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY* REVISITED

INTRODUCTION

Even a cursory glance at anglophone literature shows that lexical borrowing from Russian has received scant attention. Over the last century, most authors have failed to trace any significant influence of Russian on the development of English vocabulary.¹ A handful of articles published in British and American journals, some of which give no more than a bird's-eye view of this issue,² whilst others focus on newly-borrowed words,³ round off the picture.⁴

¹ See M. Serjeantson, *A history of foreign words in English*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1935; C.L. Wrenn, *The English language*, Methuen, London 1954; A.C. Baugh, T. Cable, *A history of the English language*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, London 1981; G. Hughes, *A history of English words*, Blackwell Publishers, Oxford 2000; R.P. Stockwell, D. Minkova, *English words: History and structure*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge 2001.

² R.H. Stacy, *A note on the Russian words in an American dictionary*, "Slavic and East European Journal" 1961, no. 5 (2), pp. 132–138; T. Wade, *Russian words in English*, "Linguist" 1997, no. 36 (4), pp. 102–104.

³ For example, W. White, *Sputnik and its satellites*, "American Speech" 1958, no. 33 (2), pp. 153–154; M. Benson, *English loan words in Russian sport terminology*, "American Speech" 1958 no. 33 (4), pp. 252–259; M. Benson, *Russianisms in the American press*, "American Speech" 1962, no. 37 (1), pp. 41–47.

⁴ The only notable exceptions are articles by Leeming (1968; 1969), researching sixteenth-century Russianisms publicised by Hakluyt's *Principal navigations...* (1598–1660); Lehnert (1977), discussing Slavic words in English; and Kabakchi (1997), analysing Russian loans and calques. H. Leeming, *Russian words in sixteenth-century English sources*, "Slavonic and East-European Review" 1968, no. 46 (106), pp. 1–10; H. Leeming, *Russian words in sixteenth-century English sources*, "Slavonic and East-European Review" 1969, no. 47 (108), pp. 11–36; M. Lehnert, *Slawisches Wortgut im Englischen, Dem Wirken Hans Holm*

Only recently have attempts been undertaken to comprehensively examine this state of affairs. Mirosława Podhajecka indicates that, although the pool of Russian loans in unabridged dictionaries amounts to approximately 500 words,⁵ they have steadily been absorbed into English since the mid-sixteenth century, and some have been less peripheral than is generally assumed.⁶ Similarly, in his highly-acclaimed monograph on foreign elements in English, Philip Durkin considers Russian the fourteenth most important donor language in the history of English.⁷ This is a truly astonishing finding for a language that had long been entirely marginalised.⁸ One may thus assume that Russia and things Russian came to be well-reflected in English.

This study revisits Russian loanwords in the third edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth, OED3)⁹ in order to discuss their lexicographic treatment, including the quality of etymological references.¹⁰ Arguments behind the choice of this dictionary are

Bielfeldts gewidmet, “Slawistik in der DDR” 1977, no. 8, pp. 17–61; V.V. Kabakchi, *Russianisms in modern English. Loans and calques*, “Journal of English Linguistics” 1997, no. 25 (1), pp. 8–49.

⁵ M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English: A dictionary and corpus study*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Opolskiego, Opole 2013, pp. 155–156. They have been found in British and American unabridged dictionaries, of which so-called *Webster’s Second* (1934) was the largest English dictionary compiled in the twentieth century.

⁶ Two editions of *Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English* (1987 and 1995), a learner’s dictionary, include 28 words of Russian origin, of which both share such words as *apparatchik*, *balalaika*, *Bolshevik*, *intelligentsia*, *Kalashnikov*, *mammoth*, *pogrom*, *politburo*, *steppe*, *troika*, *tsar*, and *vodka*.

⁷ P. Durkin, *Borrowed words. A history of loanwords in English*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, p. 25.

⁸ In addition to this, there is an article that seeks to show “the full picture of the Russian contributions to the vocabulary of modern English lexicon”. See K. Egorova, *The Russian contributions to the English language: A case of OED record*, in: *Proceedings of the XVII EURALEX International Congress: Lexicography and Linguistic Diversity*, ed. T. Margalitadze and G. Meladze, Ivane Javakhishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi 2016, p. 576. Despite the author’s ambitious aims, however, it is rather brief.

⁹ OED3 = *OED Online. The Oxford English Dictionary*, third edition, red. J. Simpson, 2000–2013; M. Proffitt, 2013–, Oxford University Press, Oxford, <http://www.oed.com/> (31.05.2018).

¹⁰ For a previous study limited to the alphabet range M–P, see M. Podhajecka, *The third edition of the OED and lexical transmission: Towards a consistent research methodology*, in: *Webs of words. New studies in historical lexicology*, ed. J. Considine, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2010, pp. 141–190.

clear-cut: not only is OED3 the most exhaustive dictionary of English, but it also “offers the fullest etymological analysis of the whole of the lexis of English available anywhere”.¹¹ Space restrictions preclude the inclusion in the dictionary every word of Russian origin in English texts. In the past, lexical items had to occur in at least five different sources to ensure inclusion, whereas the frequency necessary to include a word into OED3 today is reckoned in hundreds or even thousands.¹²

OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (henceforth, OED1),¹³ originally titled *A New English Dictionary*, was published in fascicles between 1884 and 1928 under the general editorship of James Murray, a Scottish philologist. It was intended to be a dictionary based on the so-called historical principles; in other words, its primary objective was to provide evidence of the development of English vocabulary from Anglo-Saxon times up to the present. This was possible thanks to five million quotations taken from English texts, many of them sent to Oxford by voluntary readers from both sides of the Atlantic. Unsurprisingly, OED1 soon came to be recognised as a truly ground-breaking undertaking in English lexicography.¹⁴

In 1933, the accumulated lexicographic material was republished in twelve huge volumes together with a single-volume supplement edited by William Craigie. Between 1972 and 1986, a four-volume supplement was edited by Robert Burchfield. In 1989, OED1, the

¹¹ P. Durkin, *Etymology and the OED: The uses of etymology in a historical dictionary*, in: *English historical linguistics 2008. Selected papers from the Fifteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL 15), Munich, 24–30 August 2008*, ed. H. Sauer and G. Waxenberger, vol. 2: *Words, texts and genres*, John Benjamins, Amsterdam 2012, p. 4.

¹² I am grateful to Dr Durkin for sharing this information with me (e-mail of 12 February 2008).

¹³ *The Oxford English Dictionary. A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*, first edition, ed. J. Murray et al., vols. 12, 1884–1928. Supplement, ed. W. Craigie, vol. 1, 1933. Supplement, ed. R. Burchfield, vols. 4, 1972–1986, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

¹⁴ As Brewer puts it, OED1 was acclaimed a “cultural treasure-house” of the English language. C. Brewer, *English: Treasure-house of the language. The living OED*, Yale University Press, New Haven 2007, p. 4.

supplements and around 5,000 entries discarded by Burchfield were consolidated into one dictionary edited by John Simpson and Edmund Weiner. It came to be known as the second edition (henceforth, OED2).¹⁵ The electronic version was launched onto the market in 1994.¹⁶

Soon afterwards, plans were made for a top-to-bottom revision of the dictionary, which, despite its modern appearance, was still steeped in nineteenth-century lexicographic practice.¹⁷ The revision was initiated in 2000 by John Simpson and, after he retired in 2013, his editorial duties were taken over by Michael Proffitt. Unlike the previous editions, OED3 exists only in electronic form and covers much of OED2's lexicographic material. This requires a word of comment. The editors began to revise the dictionary from the middle of the alphabet until they reached the end of the letter section R, covering every headword from M to RZZ, and then continued from the beginning of the alphabet. Since 2014, the revision has not progressed beyond the alphabet range ALZ,¹⁸ but batches of revised entries from across the alphabet are added quarterly.

All this means that the quality of lexicographic information is variable depending on the part of the dictionary. As might be expected, the revised entries are better in every aspect: they include corrected etymologies, improved definitions, consistently labelled sources of citations, as well as a great many antedatings, some of which push back the first recorded uses by dozens or even hundreds of years.¹⁹ The unrevised entries require a closer scrutiny.

¹⁵ *The Oxford English Dictionary*, second edition, ed. J. Simpson, E. Weiner, vols. 20. Clarendon Press, Oxford 1989. *The Oxford English Dictionary* on CD-ROM, Oxford University Press, Oxford 1994.

¹⁶ The machine-readable version, with its search facilities, opened prospects of research unimagined before.

¹⁷ This refers to, among other things, the classification of borrowings in OED1 (and, hence, OED2) into four distinct categories: casuals, naturals, denizens, and aliens, of which denizens denoted partly integrated words and aliens — unintegrated foreignisms. The last category was accompanied by the graphic symbol ||, which was indicative of Murray's linguistic conservatism. D. Kastovsky, *Word and word-formation: Morphology in OED*, in: *Lexicography and the OED. Pioneers in the untrodden forest*, ed. L. Mugglestone, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2000, p. 107.

¹⁸ Cf. P. Durkin, *Borrowed words. A history of loanwords in English*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, p. 23.

¹⁹ *Rubashka*, dated to 1921 in OED2, has been traced to 1587 in OED3. Cf. M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English...*, p. 79.

CLASSIFICATION OF BORROWINGS

In dealing with foreign borrowings, OED3 conforms to the classification adopted in the field.²⁰ It distinguishes the following categories based on the degree of morphemic substitution:

loanwords — lexical items composed of native morphemes which show no morphemic substitution (e.g. Eng. *samizdatchik* < Russ. *samizdatčik*; Eng. *trojka* < Russ. *trojka*);

loanblends — lexical items formed by merged elements from both the donor and the borrowing language, which show partial morphemic substitution (e.g. *bitski* < Eng. *bit* + Russ. *-ski*; *sputnikism* < Russ. *sputnik* + Eng. *-ism*);

loan translations — lexical items in which all native morphemes have been replaced, and which show complete morphemic substitution (e.g. Eng. *black soil* < Russ. *černožëm*; Eng. *Decembrist* < Russ. *Dekabrist*; Eng. *fellow traveller* < Russ. *popučik*);²¹

semantic loans — lexical items which have extended their meaning as a result of association with the meaning of other words in other languages (e.g. Eng. *pioneer* < Russ. *pioneer* ‘in the Soviet Union, a member of the Young Pioneers, a junior section of the Komsomol’; Eng. *liquidate* < Russian *likvidirovat’* ‘to liquidate, wind up’).

In theory, the above classification is neat and tidy. In practice, however, one may experience problems, since borrowing is far from an uncomplicated phenomenon. Let me quote Durkin at this juncture:²²

Borrowing is often a very complex process, in which an initial interlinguistic borrowing between languages is normally followed by intralinguistic borrowing as a word spreads within a language. The motivation and other circumstances may vary considerably in each stage of the process. It can also at times be difficult to distinguish borrowing from lexical transfer (when a group of speakers abandon one language for another), and also from code-switching.

The emphasis on interlingual and intralingual processes deserves special mention. Words taken up in the course of a cross-linguistic encounter undergo intralingual processes of adaptation on the phonetic, graphemic, morphological, word-formation, and semantic

²⁰ See E. Haugen, *The analysis of linguistic borrowing*, “Language” 1950 no. 26 (2), pp. 214–215; R. Filipović, *Meaning transferred and adapted – semantic problems in contact linguistics*, in: *Plurilingua. Recent studies in contact linguistics*, ed. W. Wölch and A. de Houwer, Dümmler, Bonn 1997, p. 122; P. Durkin, *The Oxford guide to etymology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 286.

²¹ Loan translations have also been called calques.

²² P. Durkin, *The Oxford guide to etymology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 286.

planes, in which they become tailored to the system of the borrowing language.²³ Some scholars prefer to speak of grammatical integration and its consequent “scale of effects ranging from complete non-adaptation to full grammatical integration”.²⁴ In any case, what should be seen as importation and what as substitution, particularly when the elements in the donor and the recipient languages are similar, marks a major watershed in language contact studies.

Another issue that has aroused some controversy is the concept of the donor language. According to Rot,²⁵ words are often transferred in chains, so one needs to distinguish three major sources: historical (or direct); primary historical (or indirect), and genetic (or ultimate). They are responsible for three acts of borrowing: from L_1 (the genetic source) to L_2 (the primary historical source), from L_2 (the primary historical source) to L_3 (the historical source), and from L_3 (the historical source) to L_4 (the recipient language). Only items taken from the direct source ($L_3 \rightarrow L_4$) meet the legitimacy criteria, since the other sources are remotely related to the final act of borrowing, both in time and place.²⁶ Yet there are exceptions to this rule. In the history of English, words from Arabic and Hebrew were imported into English almost exclusively via intermediaries, and such trajectories have also proved valid.²⁷

Since no language exists in a vacuum, speakers of one language come into contact with speakers of other languages, particularly if both inhabit the same territory. This is also the case with Russian. The Russian empire and, subsequently, the Soviet Union had a very complex language situation: Russian, as the official language, coex-

²³ In the literature, they are also known as assimilation, integration or nativisation.

²⁴ U. Weinreich, *Languages in contact. Findings and problems*, Mouton, The Hague 1970, p. 44.

²⁵ S. Rot, *Language contact*, Peter Lang, Frankfurt am Main 1991, p. 38.

²⁶ For example, *bashlik*, which was borrowed from Russian in the nineteenth century, had itself been a borrowing from Turkish, Krym Tatar, Azerbaijani or Tatar *başlyk*. M. Vasmer, *Etimologičeskij slovar' russkogo jazyka*, translated from German and corrected by O.N. Trubačev, edited and prefaced by B.A. Larin, second edition, Progress, Moskva 1986. For a description of inconsistent etymologies in the *Century dictionary...* (1889–1891) see M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English: Similarities and differences in lexicographic description*, in: *Selected Proceedings of the 2005 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX)*, ed. R.W. McConchie, O. Timofeeva, H. Tissari, and T. Säily, Cascadilla Proceedings Project, Sommerville 2006, pp. 126–127.

²⁷ P. Durkin, *Borrowed words. A history of loanwords in English*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, pp. 383–386.

isted for centuries with languages and dialects of five different language families, which contributed to its lexical stock in various ways. Since some of the words were later transferred to English, Russian loans represent “influences of the vast Euro-Asiatic cultural area”.²⁸

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

OED3 is an electronic dictionary operated by a search engine, which allows users to perform both simple and advanced searches. The latter include queries in the full dictionary text, in the list of headwords, in the definitions or in the illustrative quotations. It is also possible to combine searches. For example, one may select not only the subject (e.g. Theatre), language of origin (e.g. Russian), region (e.g. Politics), and area of usage (e.g. Archaic), but also a specific date range or parts of speech. All this makes the search engine a powerful device.

In my research, I used two search facilities. Firstly, the ‘Search in etymology’, with Russian as the key word, provided me with a list of 1222 entries. This result is, of course, far from reliable because Russian words in OED3, in addition to calques and hybrid forms, are also given as cognates (e.g. Russ. *bezmen* in the entry for *bismar*) and analogues, i.e. words introduced for comparison (e.g. Russ. *Aljaska* in the entry for *Alaska*). Secondly, by using the ‘Language of origin’ option, I obtained a list of 392 entries. The two were then compared and, in the course of a manual analysis, I gathered 399 headwords with what may be termed potentially Russian etymology.²⁹

I intended to combine the search for the ‘Language of origin’ and the ‘Subject’ in order to classify the loanwords into thematic categories. This, however, would have been difficult: firstly, OED3 offers a very narrow selection of categories, so only a proportion of Russian loans may be classified, and, secondly, this classification is somewhat misleading.³⁰

²⁸ M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English...*, p. 158.

²⁹ Cf. K. Egorova, *The Russian contributions to the English language: A case of OED record*, in: *Proceedings of the XVII EURALEX International Congress: Lexicography and Linguistic Diversity*, ed. T. Margalitadze and G. Meladze, Ivane Javakishvili Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi 2016, pp. 573–574.

³⁰ The category ‘Sport and leisure’, for example, includes *borzoi*, *Cesarewitch*, *nagaika*, *sambo*, and *sputnik*, of which *sputnik* and *nagaika* look odd. Upon closer analysis, it is *Sputnik double* ‘a take-out double of a suit overcall of one’s partner’s opening bid’ (a bridge term), not *sputnik*, that is needed, whereas *nagaika* ‘a short,

The words in question were thus categorised independently of OED3 (see Appendix 2).

RESULTS OF THE ANALYSIS

COVERAGE

The dictionary editors decided to keep all the headwords that had previously featured in OED2. At the same time, they raised the standards: only lexical items with an acknowledged frequency of use are now likely to be included in OED3. Ephemeral and nonce words, which had found their way into OED1 and OED2, are no longer admitted.

OED3 includes 39 more words of Russian provenance than OED2. There are also some qualitative differences between the two wordlists. While a handful of words are recognised as Russian loans in OED3, the etymologies of others have changed. Appendix 1 lists the words that display shifts in etymology.

The last Russian words to appear in OED2 are two symbols of political change: *perestroika* (1981) and *glasnost* (1981).³¹ Analysis shows that most of the Russian newcomers in OED3 are words overlooked in the compilation of OED1 and its supplements, such as *Ossetin* (1788), *Popovtsy* (1875), *baba* (1882), *Baba Yaga* (1857), *osetrova* (1928), and *narod* (1938). Only three therefore are more recent borrowings:

Spetsnaz 'In Russia and (formerly) the Soviet Union: a highly trained, elite armed force used in top-security international operations' (1982).

Mir '(The name of) a space station built in the Soviet Union to a modular design' (1986).

OMON 'In Russia or (formerly) the Soviet Union: an elite subdivision of the state militia formed in 1987 to deal with organized crime and keep public order at mass meetings, and used (esp. in the early 1990s) to counteract anti-government and regional separatist movements' (1989).

thick, plaited leather whip, probably of Nogai origin, traditionally used in Russia', with its pejorative connotations, remains an awkward case.

³¹ The first citation for *perestroika* was pushed forward to 1986 in OED3.

The dictionary includes no loanwords with the first attestation between 1990 and 2017. This may signify that the Russian influence is losing momentum, but one may venture an alternative explanation: perhaps the lexicographers are reluctant to admit words in the dictionary until they prove frequent.³² Relatively common Russianisms include *FSB* (Russ. *federal'naja služba bezopasnosti*), *Tetris* (Russ. *tetris*), and *Yezhovshchina* (Russ. *ežovoščina*). The first is an abbreviation for the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation; the second is a name for “the most widely played computer game of all time”,³³ while the last comes from the name of Nikolaj Ežov, the head of the NKVD, and denotes the most intense period of terror in Russia (1937–1938). Somewhat less robust but still visible is *seksot* (Russ. *seksot* < *sekretnyj sotrudnik*), a Soviet prison slang word for a secret collaborator.³⁴ *Batushka*, *Butyrki*, *Glavlit*, *gubernia*, *khozyain*, *narodnichestvo*, *oprichnik*, *oprichnina*, *Putinism*, *RYaN*, *SVR*, *Yeltsinism*, and *zapovednik* are further items with confirmed diachronic usage, at least in Google Books.³⁵

OED3, unlike OED2, provides information on the frequency of each headword in the form of a graph, in which dots stand for eight different frequency bands. It is explained as follows:

The underlying frequency data is derived primarily from version 2 of the Google Books Ngrams data. This has been cross-checked against data from other corpora, and re-analysed in order to handle homographs and other ambiguities [...] At present, we are only indicating the frequency that each word has in modern English (1970–). This is calculated by averaging the frequencies found for each decade from 1970 to the present day. If a word is more recent than 1970, we average the frequencies found for each decade from the word's first recorded use.³⁶

There is no doubt that such frequency information, obtained from the Google Books Ngram data,³⁷ may be very useful. On the other

³² Both old and new Russianisms in the American press have been discussed by Zimmer, Solomon, Carson, and Farina. B. Zimmer, J. Solomon, C.E. Carson, and D.M. Farina, *Among new words*, “American Speech” 2017, no. 92 (3), pp. 340–367.

³³ J.P. Gee, *Why video games are good for your soul: Pleasure and learning*, Common Ground Publishing, Melbourne 2005, p. 13.

³⁴ As is the case with other Russian loans, *seksot* pluralises both in the regular (*seksots*) and irregular way (*seksoty*).

³⁵ It is worth considering other spelling variants, which increase the frequency of the words (e.g. *hozyain* / *hoziain* / *hozjain* / *chozyain* for *khozyain* and *chervonetz* / *tchervonets* / *tchervonetz* for *chervonets*).

³⁶ <http://public.oed.com/how-to-use-the-oed/key-to-frequency/> (13.06.2018).

³⁷ Google Books Ngram Viewer 2.0, launched in 2012, is an online search engine

hand, it runs counter the idea of a historical dictionary, which values diachronic rather than synchronic information.

ETYMOLOGY

The revision of OED2 aims at updating every aspect of lexicographic description, including etymologies. Etymological references in OED3 are usually excellent; by looking at a sample of entries, such as those for *mammoth*, *Okhrana*, *prikaz*, and *raskol*, one sees how the quality and quantity of information has improved. Sometimes, however, the etymologies seem inconsistent. In what follows, I shall make a brief survey.

OED3 includes a significant number of scientific terms, mainly names of minerals, formed either from toponyms or personal names. Their etymologies are largely standardised, which goes for both the information labelled ‘Origin’ and ‘Etymology’. *Posnjakite* may serve as a suitable example:

posnjakite, *n.*

Origin: From a proper name, combined with an English element; modelled on a Russian lexical item. **Etymons:** proper name *Posnjak*, *-ITE suffix*¹.

Etymology: < the name of Eugene Waldemar *Posnjak* (1888–1949), U.S. geochemist + *-ITE suffix*², after Russian *poznjakit* (Komkov & Nefedov 1967, in *Zapiski Vsesojuznogo Min. Obščestva* 96 58).

We are led to believe that such terms are loanblends composed, as they are, of a Russian morpheme and an English suffix. Unrevised entries do not follow this scheme of description fully consistently, but even revised entries diverge from it. Let us look at the following:

obručevite, *n.*

Origin: A borrowing from Russian. **Etymon:** Russian *obručevit*.

Etymology: < Russian *obručevit* (1955 in the passage translated in quot. 1955) < the name of Vladimir Afanas’evič *Obručev* (1863–1956), Russian geologist + *-it -ITESuffix*¹.

that charts frequencies for words and strings of words (so-called N-grams) on the basis of 8 million books extracted from the digitised collection of Google Books, allowing for searches in eight languages. No wonder Zimmer calls it “a supremely useful tool for both casual and serious historical research”. B. Zimmer, *Bigger, better Google Ngrams: Brace yourself for the power of grammar*, “The Atlantic” 2012. Online at www.theatlantic.com/technology/archive/2012/10/bigger-better-google-ngrams-brace-yourself-for-the-power-of-grammar/263487/ (13.06.2018).

plyometrics, *n.*

Origin: Apparently a borrowing from Russian. **Etymon:** Russian *pliometričeskij*.

Etymology: Apparently < Russian *pliometričeskij*, adjective (Z. M. Zaciorskij *Fizičeskie Kačestva Sportsmena* (1966; < a first element of uncertain origin (see note) + *-metričeskij* -METRIC *comb. form*; compare also *pliometrika*, *pliometrija*, nouns); compare -IC *suffix* 2. Compare later PLYOMETRIC *adj.*

When it comes to intralingual processes governing integration, there is no difference between the three terms, but their etymological treatment is divergent.

A handful of lexical items in OED3, such as *cosmonaut* (Russ. *kosmonaut*), *knez* (Russ. *knjaz'*), and *stroganoff* (Russ. *Stroganov*), are treated as icons of Russian culture, but they are not formally loanwords. The point is that even words strongly connoting Russian culture may be imported from, or created on the basis of, a language other than Russian. *Cosmonaut* is considered a loanblend, in which the morpheme *-navt* was substituted by *-naut*, as in *astronaut*, which native speakers of English were already familiar with.³⁸ In the entry for *knez*, the editors focused on the form (identical with Serbian and Slovene) rather than the chronology of occurrences, despite the first two citations referring explicitly to Muscovy Russia.³⁹ *Stroganoff*, on the other hand, comes from the Gallicized name of the Russian Count Pavel Stroganov.

It may be hard to establish the etymology for a Slavic word if several Slavic cognates look alike and *voivode* is a case in point: OED3 would have it derived from Bulgarian and Serbian *vojvoda*, Czech *vojevoda*, Polish *wojewoda*, and Russian *voevoda*. In fact, such a multiplicity of influences indicative of “the multiple language use of the culture in which they arise” is the norm rather than the exception.⁴⁰ Therefore, when historical evidence is scarce, and it is impossible to determine only one source of borrowing, OED3 proposes the so-called mixed etymology. This is how Durkin explains his concept:⁴¹

³⁸ M. Lehnert, *Slawisches Wortgut im Englischen, Dem Wirken Hans Holm Bielfeldts gewidmet*, “Slawistik in der DDR” 1977, no. 8, pp. 54–55.

³⁹ It may be interesting to note that the early spelling *Knes* must have been influenced by Sigismund Herberstein’s compendium of knowledge on Russia, originally published in Latin. S. Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum commentarii*, Egidius Aquila, Vienna 1549.

⁴⁰ P. Durkin, ‘Mixed’ etymologies of Middle English items in OED3: Some questions of methodology and policy, “Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America” 2002, no. 23, pp. 146–147.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 143.

The term “mixed etymology” might be taken to refer to either of two distinct categories of etymology. First, there are the etymologies of what one might term “hybrid” words, resulting from the merger in English of two words of quite distinct etymologies; for example, sixteenth-century *mien* ‘the look, bearing, or manner of a person’, which has normally been explained as showing an aphetic form of the word *demean* merged with a loan from the totally unrelated French word *mine* ‘appearance’.

As my research shows, several Russian headwords in the revised and unrevised parts of OED3 fall into this category. They may be classified into four groups:

(1) Influences between Russian and major languages:⁴²

Abaza “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from French. Partly a borrowing from Russian”

prikaz “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from French. Partly a borrowing from Russian. **Etymons:** French *pricas*; Russian *prikaz*”

shaman “German *schamane*, Russian *šaman*, < Tungusian *samân*”

(2) Influences between Russian and other Slavic languages:

britchka “Either (i) a borrowing from Russian. Or (ii) a borrowing from Polish. **Etymons:** Russian *brička*; Polish *bryczka*”

spartakiad “Czech, Russian *spartakiáda*”

zubrowka “Polish *źubrówka*, Russian *zubrovka*, derived forms of Polish *źubr*, Russian *zubr* European bison”⁴³

(3) Influences between Russian and Yiddish:

-nik “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from Yiddish. Partly a borrowing from Russian”

pogrom “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from Yiddish. Partly a borrowing from Russian”

vigorish “Probably < Yiddish, < Russian *výigrýsh* gain, winnings”

(4) Influences between Russian and minor languages:

Mari “< Mari *Mari*, self-designation, lit. ‘man’, probably via Russian *mari*”

⁴² Many Russianisms were borrowed, more or less at the same time, into several European languages, primarily French and German. It may therefore be useful, as Stachowski indicates, to look at the words from a broader multilingual perspective. M. Stachowski, *Das Wort Mammut in etymologischen Wörterbüchern*, in: *Studia in honorem Stanislawi Stachowski dicata*, “Folia Orientalia” 2000, no. 36, pp. 301–314.

⁴³ The earliest citations record the word in the Russian spelling *zubrovka*. See, for example, “gulping the Zubrovka-vodka one pony after another, he was declaiming...” or “Vodka, Zubrovka (Russian brandy), Scotch whisky, and Martini cocktails flowed without stint”. M. Gorki, *The magnet*, translated from the Russian by A. Bakshy, J. Cape & H. Smith, New York 1931, p. 409; G. Abell, E.P. Gordon, *Let them eat caviar*, Dodge Publishing Company, New York 1936, p. 117.

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parka “< Nenets *parka* skin coat (and similar forms in other Samoyedic languages), in most early uses via Russian *parka*”

seecatch “? Aleutian Indian; the plural is Russian in form”

Still other influences that may be imperceptible at first sight involve Russian and Turkic languages. As Urban argues, there is a group of foreign loans in English (e.g. *bashlik*, *caftan*, *koumiss*, *paranja*, *saffian*, *shashlik*, and *visney*) whose etymologies have been derived from different sources, including Russian and Turkic.⁴⁴

Proper nouns are not etymologised in exactly the same way as common nouns, so one might wonder what principles guided the editors. It is again worth mentioning Durkin’s stance:⁴⁵

It is something of an open question whether names can truly be said to belong to any language. We can adduce certain pieces of evidence which appear to suggest quite strongly that they do [...] However, in most cases a more-or-less settled modern practice is only the outcome of a process of standardization; for instance, English *minikin*, the name of a type of lute string which Munich was famous for producing in the sixteenth century is from *Miniken*, an older form of the city in English, which itself reflects German *München*, an older trisyllabic form of the place name.

The lack of certainty as to the direct source from which a proper noun was, or may have been, imported encouraged OED3’s editors to adopt a simple encyclopaedic formula:

balaclava < Named after the Crimean village of *Balaclava* near Sebastopol, the site of a battle fought in the Crimean war, 25 October 1854.

Stechkin < the name of Igor Yakovlevich *Stechkin*, Soviet engineer, its designer.

Personal Russian names in OED3, often given in Gallicized spelling, include *Belousov-Zhabotinsky*, *Cerenkov*, *Fabergé*, *Jablochkoff*, *Kirlian*, *Korsakoff*, *Makarov*, *Malakoff*, *Markov*, *Nassanoff*, *Oblomov*, *Nesselrode*, *Pavlov*, *Potemkin*, *Przewalski*, *Rasputin*, *Romanowsky*, *Stanislavsky*, *Stolypin*, and *Tokarev*. *Kalashnikov* (< the Russian engineer Mihail Kalashnikov), *pavlova* (< the Rus-

⁴⁴ M. Urban, *The treatment of Turkic etymologies in English lexicography. Lexemes pertaining to material culture*, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego, Kraków 2015. In fact, the number of such words may be far higher, since Urban discusses only those Turkisms which belong to material culture.

⁴⁵ P. Durkin, *The Oxford guide to etymology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 275.

sian ballerina Anna Pavlova), and *stroganoff* (< the Russian diplomat Count Paul Stroganov) have become lexicalised in English; *Stechkin* and *Tokarev* may also fall into this category, even though they maintain upper-case initial letters. As for *Molotov*, there is solid evidence against its Russian origins.⁴⁶ Taken together, only *Ivan* and *Oblomov* are described as loanwords proper.

In light of the above, it should come as no surprise that the origin of some lexical items is unclear. Two headwords exemplify etymological ambiguities: *chai* “perhaps borrowed afresh from Russian or Arabic” and *crash* “of uncertain origin: compare Russian *krashenīna* coloured linen”. Neither the forms nor their meanings contain sufficient clues, but chances are that such etymological riddles will be successfully solved in the future. After all, as has been aptly summarised by Durkin, “etymology is a crucial tool for investigating the language and thought of the past. It opens up a field of research where a very great deal remains to be discovered”.⁴⁷

SPELLING

Practically every Russian loanword in OED3 has more than one spelling. This results from the fact that Russian lexical items had to be transliterated from the Cyrillic alphabet into the Roman alphabet or, in the case of phonetic forms, transcribed.⁴⁸ Difficulties in expressing Russian characters or sounds in written English have contributed to the introduction of a great many graphic variants, some of which are predictable and some not.⁴⁹ Since most of the

⁴⁶ D.L. Gold, *Studies in etymology and etiology: With emphasis on Germanic, Jewish, Romance and Slavic languages*, selected and edited, with a foreword by Félix Rodríguez Gonzáles and Antonio Lillo Buades, Publicaciones de la Universidad de Alicante, Alicante 2009, pp. 193–235.

⁴⁷ P. Durkin, *The Oxford guide to etymology*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2009, p. 287.

⁴⁸ See also M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English...*, p. 157. Evidence suggests that it was only a little less difficult in the twentieth century than in the sixteenth century. For example, although OED3 records only two variants of *rezidentsia*, Google Books provides the following: *rezidentsia*, *rezidentia*, *residentzia*, and *residentsia*.

⁴⁹ Cf. *isvoskoï* for Russ. *izvozčik*, and *sdrastui souda* for Russ. *zdravstvujte*. M. Podhajecka, *The third edition of the OED and lexical transmission: Towards a consistent research methodology*, in: *Webs of words. New studies in historical lexicology*, ed. J. Considine, Cambridge Scholars Publishing, Newcastle-upon-Tyne 2010, p. 144.

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loans are nouns, they often pluralise both with English (e.g. *pirogs*) and Russian inflectional endings (e.g. *pirogi*). Let us look at the following example:

babushka, *n.*

Inflections: Plural *babushkas*, *babushki*.

Forms: 18– **babooshka**, 18– **babuschka**, 18– **babushka**, 19– **babuszka** (in sense 2).

Throughout the history of Anglo-Russian language contact, the most troublesome Russian consonants have included the following: [c], as in *Bezpopovtsy* (*Bespopoftsi*, *Bezpopoftsi*, *Bezpopoftsy*, *Bezpopovtsi*, *Bezpopovtsy*, *Bespopovtsy*, *Bespopovets*, *Bezpopovets*); [č], as in *chernozem* (*tchernozem*, *tschernozem*); [š], as in *droszky* (*drosky*, *droitzschka*, *drojeka*, *droskcha*); [šč], as in *borsch* (*borscht*, *borsht*, *bortsch*, *borshch*); and [x], as in *mahorka* (*makharka*, *makhorka*). Russian vowels have been recreated more consistently, but there is variation here too, as in *matryoshka* (*matryoshka*, *matreshka*) or *malossol* (*malasol*, *malassol*, *malosol*). The phenomena of *akan'e* and *ikan'e* must to some extent be responsible for variable spelling.⁵⁰ From the diachronic perspective, spellings are subject to the preferences of users (and, hence, lexicographers), which is why some headword variants in OED2 have been replaced with more widespread wordforms in OED3 (see Appendix 1).

OED3 includes a number of abbreviations and acronyms derived from Russian (e.g. *AK*, *Gay-Pay-Oo*, *GPU*, *KGB*, *MGB*, *MiG*, *MVD*, *NEP*, *NIR*, *NKVD*, *Ogpu*, *OMON*, *ROA*, *RSFSR*, *SMERSH*, *S.S.R.*, and *Tass*), which are treated as common nouns. One example is atypical: *Gay-Pay-Oo* is thought to represent the Russian pronunciation of *G.P.U.*

PRONUNCIATION

OED3 provides headwords with phonological information. Although it accompanied many headwords in OED2, it was never as well-established as now. Let us look at the entry for *babushka*:

⁵⁰ *Akan'e* is a change in the pronunciation of unstressed /o/ to /a/ in the syllable(s) preceding the stressed one (e.g. Russ. *goroda* /gara'da/), and *ikan'e* consists in the pronunciation of unstressed /e/, *ë*/ and /ja/ as /i/ (e.g. Russ. *berega* /biri'ga/).

babushka, *n.*

Pronunciation:

Brit. /bə'bu:ʃkə/, /bə'bu:ʃkə/, /bə'buʃkə/, /bə'buʃkə/, U.S. /bə'buʃkə/

One may hypothesise that such rich information allows for assessments of the phonological assimilation of Russian loans. The analysis of OED2's data reflects three degrees of transphonemisation, or the substitution of native phonemes by those in the inventory of the recipient language:⁵¹

Limited transphonemisation — a high degree of similarity in pronunciation; the words map the original stress, and substitute Russian vowels and consonants for their closest counterparts in English.

Russ. <i>kibitka</i>	>	Eng. <i>kibitka</i> [kɪ'bitkə]
Russ. <i>starover</i>	>	Eng. <i>starover</i> [stɑrə'vjeɪ]

Changeable transphonemisation — two (or more) parallel forms developed, of which the chronologically earlier one is patterned on the Russian pronunciation, whereas the subsequent one conforms to the phonological system of English.

Russ. <i>Ivan</i>	>	Eng. <i>Ivan</i> ['aɪvən], [i'væn]
Russ. <i>muʒik</i>	>	Eng. <i>mouʒik</i> , <i>muzhik</i> [ˈmu:(d)ʒɪk], [mu:'zi:k]

Significant transphonemisation — the English replica differs considerably from the Russian model, both in terms of stress and substitution of phonemes.

Russ. <i>ikonostas</i>	>	Eng. <i>iconostas</i> /aɪ'kɒnəstæs/
Russ. <i>ukaz</i>	>	Eng. <i>ukase</i> /ju:'keɪs/

Regrettably, such a classification is no longer possible in OED3. The revision has brought in the phonetic transcription for each headword in the world's Englishes, usually British English and American English, but the presumably diachronic pronunciations recorded in OED2 have been discarded. Let us consider the following entry:

pirozhok, *n.*

Pronunciation: Brit. /ˈpɪrəʒɒk/, /ˈpɪrə'ʒɒk/, U.S. /ˈpɪrəˌzɑk/, /ˈpɪrə'zɑk/

Forms: Plural 19– **piroshki**, 19– **pirotchi**, 19– **pirozhi** Brit. /ˈpɪˌrɒʒki/, /ˌpɪrɒʒ'ki/, /ˈpɪˌrɒʃki/, /ˌpɪrɒʃ'ki/, U.S. /pəˌrɑʒki/, /pəˌrɑʃki/, 19– **pirozhok** (*irreg.*), 19– **pyrochki**.

Singular 19– **piroshok**, 19– **pirozhok**, 19– **pirozok**, 19– **pirozsok** (*irreg.*).

Gathering so many pronunciation variants for so many different spellings, both singular and plural, is impressive, but it obviously

⁵¹ M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English...*, pp. 82–83.

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comes at a price: to be able to keep the modern variants, the editors have ignored the outdated variants. Thus, despite being a historical dictionary, OED3 favours solely modern pronunciation patterns.

SENSE DISCRIMINATION

A word is usually imported in one specific meaning, which may subsequently shift once it has entered the recipient language. Historical linguists differentiate between different semantic changes, such as broadening, narrowing, amelioration, and pejoration. Such extensions are not fully typical of Russian loans, many of which express culture-specific concepts (e.g. *balalaika*, *kazachok*, and *samovar*) used for their foreign flavour. Still, headwords with a more varied semantic distinction are not infrequent, and *babushka* is a good example:

babushka, *n.*

1. In Russia: a grandmother. More generally: an elderly Russian woman. Also as a form of address.

2. orig. *N. Amer.* A headscarf tied under the chin, typical of those traditionally worn by (elderly) Russian women.

3. More fully *babushka doll*. = *MATRYOSHKA n.*

As OED3 shows, *babushka* entered English around 1834 in the meaning equivalent to its Russian etymon's: 'a grandmother, an elderly Russian woman'. A hundred years later, the word developed another sense 'a headscarf tied under the chin', whose use was originally confined to American English. In 1948, the word acquired another sense, and came to denote a *babushka* doll, otherwise known as a *matryoshka*.⁵²

Russian loans recorded in OED3 are predominantly free morphemes, as there are only two bound morphemes (the suffixes *-nik* and *-ski*). Nouns and adjectives are prevalent, and the only verbal forms are semantic extensions (e.g. *gley*, *karyotype*, *knout*, and *po-grom*). This is how *knout* acquired its secondary meaning:

knout, *n.*

Etymology: < French spelling of Russian *knut*.

A kind of whip or scourge, very severe and often fatal in its effects, formerly used in Russia as an instrument of punishment.

⁵² It may be interesting to note that the first attestation in English for *matryoshka* is also dated to 1948.

knout, *v.*

Etymology: < *KNOUT* *n.*

trans. To flog or punish with the knout.

knouted, *adj.*

knouting, *n.*

Semantic development in loanwords is a sign of their integration into the system of the borrowing language. New meanings, just like derivatives (e.g. *boyardism*, *Cominformism*, *knouted*, *Kulakization*, *pogromist*, *shamanka*, and *zemstvoist*)⁵³ and compounds (e.g. *mammoth tree* and *Soviet bloc*),⁵⁴ indicate that the Russian loans have become more deeply-rooted in English than others.

OED3's semantic distinction does not tell us whether we are dealing with a new meaning or with a reborrowing. So far, the only Russian loanword claimed to have been reborrowed into English is *troika*: the first sense was borrowed in 1842, and the second in 1945.⁵⁵

troika, *n.*

1. A Russian vehicle drawn by three horses abreast.

2. A group or set of three persons (*rarely* things) or categories of people associated in power; a three-person commission or administrative council. Also *attrib.*

As well as denotational meaning, there is also connotational meaning. The latter is of particular significance, since loanwords are often associated, either positively or negatively, with their native culture. We have a plethora of words to choose from in this case. *Nitchevo* and *nyet*, among others, have been used in English to evoke specifically Russian connotations.⁵⁶ The list is, of course, far longer because

⁵³ Derivational productivity in the case of Russian loans is low, but there are exceptions: *Soviet* and *Bolshevik* have turned out to be prolific sources of derivatives (e.g. *Sovietic*, *Sovietophobia*, *bolsh*, and *bolshevikism*).

⁵⁴ The reason why the dictionary has no mention of *mammoth proportions*, which is the most common collocation, is unclear.

⁵⁵ In a similar way, as stressed by Durkin, *salsa* 'kind of dance music of Latin American origin...' (1975) is a reborrowing (cf. *salsa* 'a variety of sauce served with meat' is dated to 1845). P. Durkin, *Borrowed words. A history of loanwords in English*, Oxford University Press, Oxford 2014, p. 367.

⁵⁶ Anthony Burgess's Russian coinages in his *Clockwork orange* (1962), of which only *droog* has found its way into OED3, provide ample evidence for the stylistic use of Russian-derived words. A. Burgess, *A clockwork orange*, Penguin Books, London 1962.

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a number of lexical items have pejorative connotations with the Soviet Union, particularly its oppressive regime (e.g. *Cheka*, *Gulag*, *KGB*, *pogrom*, *prikaz*, *rezidentura*, *Smersh*, *stukach*, and *zek*).

ILLUSTRATIVE CITATIONS

What makes OED3 valuable for historical research is that the headwords and senses are illustrated with citations documenting their usage from a diachronic perspective. Let us look at the original examples of use gathered in the entry for *strelitz* ‘a soldier belonging to a body of Russian troops composed of infantry raised by the Tsar Ivan the Terrible (1533–84) and abolished by Peter the Great in 1682’:

1603 R. JOHNSON tr. G. Botero *Hist. Descr. Worlde* 155 5000 attend aboute the city of Mosco, or where the emperour shall abide, and two thousande, Stremaney Strelsey, or gunners at the stirroppe, aboute his owne person.

1662 J. DAVIES tr. A. Olearius *Voy. & Trav. Ambassadors* 7 Our Musketiers, or Strelits.

1662 J. DAVIES tr. A. Olearius *Voy. & Trav. Ambassadors* 78 The Strelitz, who are spying up and down.

a1670 S. COLLINS *Present State Russia* (1671) 111 With these he [the Czar] pays his Strelsies or Janzaries.

1799 W. TOOKE *View Russ. Empire* II. 471 Without mentioning the strelitzes.

1833 R. PINKERTON *Russia* 300 The officers and common soldiers of the Strelitzi.

1841 *Penny Cycl.* XX. 259/1 The first acts of his [sc. Ivan IV, 1533–84] reign were the institution of the corps of Strelitzes (archers), the first regular army of Russia.

1841 J. L. MOTLEY *Corr.* (1889) I. iv. 112 Peter the Great disbanded and annihilated the Strelitz or Russian janissaries.

1904 F. WHISHAW *Tiger of Muscovy* xxxi A Strelitz soldier lay sleeping at the door leading to the corridor... To the Strelitz the Tsar said: ‘Go quickly,...and follow the Boyar Nagoy.’

One of the goals of the revision process is to find antedating and postdating citations for OED3’s headwords and senses to better establish their development. It is primarily the antedatings that are recognised as essential for sketching the word’s history in English. With a fully-fledged revision, the alphabet ranges M–RZZ and A–ALZ are admirable in this respect, and further antedatings will clearly follow suit. The illustrative citations in the unrevised parts of the dictionary, however, leave much to be desired. Fortunately, with massive collections of digitised text (e.g. LEME, EEBO

and Google Books),⁵⁷ searching for antedatings has become a fairly straightforward task.

To provide a few examples, *knish* (OED3 1930) appears in *An American in the making: A life story of an immigrant* (1917) by M. E. Ravage, one of the Jews who, lured by tales of success, made his way to America (“Farther on I came upon another, laboriously pushing a metal box on wheels and offering baked potatoes and hot knishes to the hungry, cold-bitten passers-by”).⁵⁸ *Corsak* (OED3 1838) can be antedated to 1832 (“Under this name it breaks into two branches, one of which takes its course to the west and north-west, taking the name of Korsak (fox of the steppes), whilst the other runs to the north, as far as the gold river, which separates the mountains of Guberlinsk”).⁵⁹ Richardson’s *Fauna Boreali-Americana...* takes it even further back (“It seems to be the American representative of the corsac, inhabiting similar districts; and possibly like the corsac its fur changes its colours with the seasons”).⁶⁰

The merits of antedatings are not limited to providing an earlier attestation; in some cases, they may also contribute to a change in etymology. Let us look at a handful of examples to be considered by OED3’s editors.

In OED3, *barchan* (1888) is regarded as a borrowing from “a language of central Asia”. However, it can be found in an account of the Russian expedition to the Amu Darya published thirteen years earlier (“White chalk was found, however, at one spot only, the prevailing rocks of cretaceous age consisting of sand and sandstones. These latter, not being bound together by vegetation, supply the steppe winds the material for the sand ridges, known by the name of Barkhan”).⁶¹

Nu (OED3 1892), derived from Yiddish, may well be traced to Russian. This word was employed frequently in Russian literature, so it is also common in its English translations, such as Tol-

⁵⁷ LEME = Lexicons of Early Modern English. Online at <http://leme.library.utoronto.ca/>; EEBO = Early English Books Online. Online at <https://eebo.chadwyck.com/home>; Google Books. Online at <https://books.google.com>.

⁵⁸ M.E. Ravage, *An American in the making: A life story of an immigrant*, Harper & Brothers, New York 1917, p. 68.

⁵⁹ *Account of the Ural Mountains*, “The Asiatic Journal and Monthly Register for British and Foreign India, China and Austrolasia” 1832, vol. 8, p. 225.

⁶⁰ J. Richardson, *Fauna Boreali-Americana; or the zoology of the northern parts of British American...*, John Murray, London 1829, p. 99.

⁶¹ *The Amu Darya expedition*, “The Geographical Magazine” 1875, vol. 2, p. 263.

stoy's *Anna Karenina* ("I am going day after to-morrow, Agafya Mikhailovna; but I had to finish up my business." "Nu! Your business, indeed! Haven't you given these *muzhiks* enough already?").⁶² In fact, a few first citations in OED3 come from translated sources (see *babushka*, *kazachoc* and *solyanka*).

Mukuzani, which originally comes from a proper noun, is a Georgian name for a dry red wine. A passage in English from *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR...*, antedating the first citation for the headword in OED3, may suggest that it was taken directly from Russian ("One of the West-Georgian varieties was taken from Eastern Georgia (Mukuzani) together with Saperavi and Rkatsiteli").⁶³ It is worthy of mention that Saperavi, another kind of Georgian wine, is given Russian etymology in OED3.

The first use in the entry for *spartakiad* comes from the 1928 press correspondence concerning a huge sporting event in Czechoslovakia, which may explain the word's Czech etymology. An earlier passage may help in establishing the Russian origins of the word ("The Sportintern is preparing a world Red Spartakiad, to take place in Moscow. This Sportintern, to which many sport clubs have become affiliated, also exercises control over a section of the so-called sporting press").⁶⁴

The idea behind these antedatings is far from speculative because Russian, the official language of the Russian empire and the Soviet Union, was the main channel of communication with the West.

CONCLUSIONS

As results from this study, Russian loanwords constitute a subcategory of Russian borrowings in OED3. Because of their number and the relative significance attached to the most recognisable words, they cannot go unnoticed in English. One has to admit that many of the 399 words are culture-bound terms, confined to Russian-related contexts or used for stylistic purposes, but more than a few have acquired new meanings and have been subject to word-formation processes.

⁶² L. Tolstoi, *Anna Karénina*, translated by N.H. Dole, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York 1886, p. 361.

⁶³ *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. Comptes rendus de l'Académie des sciences de l'URSS* 1941, vol. 31, Izd-vo Akademii Nauk SSSR, Leningrad, p. 614.

⁶⁴ *Anti-Bolshevik vade-mecum*, Permanent Bureau, Geneva 1927, p. 38.

The coverage of OED3 is greater than OED2, though perhaps less significantly than might be expected. What is more, the newcomers are mainly items overlooked in the compilation of the previous editions, and there are no Russian words attested from the 1990s onwards. The loanwords have been classified to broad thematic categories, of which ‘Science and technology’ is the largest. This sheds new light on the role of Russianisms in English, which have so far been associated primarily with political and domestic concepts.

Changes in OED3 are not only quantitative, but also qualitative. The revised OED3 reflects, as a rule, rising standards in the field of historical lexicography. Each entry provides a number of variant spellings recorded in English texts, and pronunciation variants for British and American English. Etymologies have been worked out carefully on the basis of scholarly literature, and ways of discriminating meaning and the quotations sections are both remarkable. There is no doubt that advances in historical lexicology and historical linguistics, access to gigantic historical corpora, and machine-assisted ways of extracting data should all be seen as sources of the dictionary’s (and the dictionary-makers’) success.

APPENDIX 1.

CHANGES TO RUSSIAN-RELATED HEADWORDS IN OED3

RUSSIAN LOANWORDS ADDED TO OED3

AK (1963), *Adjar* (1848, “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from French. Partly a borrowing from Russian”), *aulacogen* (1963), *baba* (1882), *Baba Yaga* (1857), *Bezpopovtsy* (1868), *Gay-Pay-Oo* (1923), *Mansi* (1854), *Mari* (1933, “prob. via Russian”) *maskirovka* (1972), *Megrel* (1967), *MiG* (1942), *Mir* (1986), *Molokan* (1814), *moncheite* (1963), *Mordva* (1883), *murmanite* (1924), *narod* (1938), *narodnost* (1945), *Nganasan* (1941), *nilas* (1960), *nitchevo* (1877), *nushnik* (1945), *Okhranka* (1948), *OMON* (1989), *osetrova* (1928), *Ossetin* (1788), *Pamyat* (1987), *papirosa* (1856), *plyometrics* (1933, “app. Russian”), *politruk* (1942), *Popovtsy* (1875), *propiska* (1957), *proso* (1907), *Saperavi* (1926), *spartakiad* (1928), *Spetsnaz* (1982), *Suprematist* (1919), *Udmurt* (1910).

RUSSIAN LOANWORDS WITH CHANGES IN SPELLING

burka (OED2 *burqa*), *Kyrgyz* (OED2 *Kirghiz*), *muzhik* (OED2 *moujik*), *nyet* (OED2 *niēt*), *osetr* (OED2 *osseter*), *pech* (OED2 *peach*), *pelmeni* (OED2 *pelmeny*), *pirozhok* (OED2 *piroshki*), *Politburo* (OED2 *Polibureau*), *pristav* (OED2 *pristaf*), *proletkult* (OED2 *prolet-cult*), *Raskol* (OED2 *raskol*).

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WORDS WITH ETYMOLOGIES CHANGED TO RUSSIAN:

britchka (OED2 Polish > OED3 “Russian *бричка*... or its etymon Polish *bryczka*”), *NEP* (OED2 “the initial letters of *New Economic Policy*” > OED3 Russian), *nerka* (OED2 “source obscure” > OED3 Russian), *parma* (OED2 no references > OED3 Russian), *Permic* (OED2 no references > OED3 Russian), *pivo* (OED2 Slavonic > OED3 Russian), *pope* (OED2 “F., Ger. *pope*, a. Russ. and OSlav. *Pop*” > OED3 Russian), *Slovene* (OED2 “a. G. *Slovene (Slowene)*” > OED3 Russian), *Yurak* (OED2 “Native name” > OED3 Russian);

PARTLY RUSSIAN:

Abaza (OED2 “Native name of the people for themselves; cf. Russ. *abazinskiy*” > OED3 “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from French. Partly a borrowing from Russian”), *-nik* (OED2 Russian > “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from Yiddish. Partly a borrowing from Russian”), *parka* (OED2 “Aleutian f. Russian” > OED3 “Nenets, in most early uses via Russian *парка*”), *pogrom* (OED2 Russian > OED3 “Yiddish *pogrom* and its etymon Russian *pogrom*”), *prikaz* (OED2 Russian > OED3 French *pricas* and its etymon Russian *prikaz*), *pulk* (OED2 “a. F. *pulk*, a. Pol. *polk*, Russ. *polk*” > OED3 “Of multiple origins. Partly a borrowing from Polish. Partly a borrowing from Russian”), *rendzina* (OED2 “a. Russ. *rendzina*, ad. Polish *reździna*” > OED3 “Polish *reździna*... Perhaps originally via Russian *rendzina* (1885 or earlier) and German *Rendzina*”);

NON-RUSSIAN:

Acmeism (OED2 Russian > OED3 “< ACME *n.* + -ISM *suffix*, after Russian *акмеизм*”), *ethnonym* (OED2 “app. a. Russ. *этноним*” > OED3 “Formed within English, by compounding”), *hadron* (OED2 “f. Gr., first used in Russian” > OED3 “A borrowing from Greek, combined with an English element”), *idiogram* (OED2 Russian > OED3 “< IDIO- *comb. form* + -GRAM *comb. form*, after Russian *идиограмма*”), *magnetoid* (OEDA Russian > OED3 “< MAGNET *n.* + -OID *suffix*, after Russian *магнитoid*”), *Mukuzani* (OED2 Russian > OED3 Georgian), *nielsbohrium* (OED2 Russian > OED3 “the name of Niels Bohr, in sense 1 after Russian *нильсборий*”), *Olonets* (“Probably shortened < OLONETSIAN *n.*, but perhaps either < Russian *olonec*- or directly < *Olonec*”, 1952), *ongon* (OED2 Russian > OED3 Mongolian), *Ossetian* (OED2 “f. Russ. *osetin*” > OED3 “< the name of *Ossetia* ... + -AN *suffix*”), *polaron* (OED2 “orig. formed as Russ. *полярон*” > OED3 “after Russian *полжарон*”), *posnjakite* (OED2 Russian > OED3 “the name of E. W. Posnjak, after Russian *познякит*”), *Russ* (OED2 “ad. Russ. *Rus*” > OED3 “Originally < early modern German *russe* ... subsequently < its etymon Old Russian *Rus*”).

APPENDIX 2.

THEMATIC CLASSIFICATION OF RUSSIAN LOANWORDS⁶⁵

ECONOMY AND TRADE:

Economic concepts: *artel*, *Gosplan*, *Intourist*, *Profintern*, *sovnrarkhoz*, *torgsin*;

⁶⁵ The framework of this classification is based on that in M. Podhajecka, *Russian borrowings in English...*, pp. 84–88.

Weights and measures: *arsheen, dessiatine, pood, sagene, tchetvert, vedro, verst, zolotnik*;

Monetary units: *chervonetz, copeck, rouble*.

SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY:

Agriculture: *proso*;

Archaeology: *kurgan, ploshchadka*;

Astronautics and space travel: *lunik, lunokhod, marsokhod, MiR, planetokhod, sputnik*;

Botany: *badiaga, barometz, kamish, kok-saghyz, mahorka*;

Chemistry and petrology: *astatki, kurchatovium, mazut, turanose*;

Ethnology: *Abaza, Abkhaz, Adjar, Chechen, Cheremis(s), Chukchee, Cosack, Gilyak, Ingush, Kalmuck, Kamchadal, Kazakh, Khanty, Kipchak, Kyrgyz, Koryak, Lesghian, Mansi, Mari, Megrel, Mordva, Mordvin, Nenets, Nganasan, Ossetin, Ostyak, Polovtsy, Rus, Samoyed, Sibiriak, Slovene, Svan, Tat, Tavgi, Udmurt, Uzbek, Vogul, Votyak, Yakut, Yurak, Zyrian*;

Geography and geology: *aulacogen, dolina, liman, nilas, parma, polynya, slude, steppe, taiga, thermokarst*;

Linguistics: *Permic, yeri*;

Medicine: *adaptogen, karyotype, miryachit, sulphazin*;

Meteorology: *buran, purga, sastruga*;

Mineralogy: *ferganite, innelite, irinite, karpinskyite, kęsterite, kolouratite, kryzhanovskite, lomonosovite, moncheite, murmanite, nefedyevite, nenadkevichite, nenadkevite, nifontovite, nordite, obruchevite, preobrazhenskite, sakhaite, shcherbakovite, smolyaninovite, talnakhite, tangeite, tochilinite, to-sudite, tundrite, tyuyamunite, uralborite, ureilite, vladimirite, vysotskite, zir-conolite*;

Physics: *tokamak*;

Soil science: *chernozem, podzol, rendzina, sierozem, solod, solonchak, solonetz*;

Technology: *AK, kalashnikov, Katyusha, MiG, NIR*;

Zoology: *beluga, borzoi, gorbusha, hollushchikie, keta, kolinsky, laika, losh, mammoth, nerka, olen, omul, osetr, saiga, seecatch, sevruga, sheltopusik, sterlet, sudak, suslik, tarbagan, tur, zemni, zubr*.

MAN AND SOCIETY:

Communities: *mir, narod, narodnost, otriad, skhod, stanitza*;

Human features: *kulturny, nekulturny, Oblomov, stilyaga*;

Professions: *dvornik, feldscher, provodnik, sanitar, tolkach, yamschik*;

Social class and status: *baba, Baba Yaga, boyar, cantonist, chinovnik, droog, intelligentsia, Ivan, kulak, muzhik, nomenklatura, Russki, shaman, sotnik, starosta, strelitz, tchin, tsar, tsarevitch, tsarevna, tsaritsa*;

Sports and games: *Cesarewitch, plyometrics, sambo, spartakiad*;

Others: *-nik, -ski*.

POLITICAL LIFE:

Administrative divisions: *kray, oblast, okrug, rayon, volost, zemstvo*;

Soviet agricultural concepts: *agrorod, kolkhoz, sovkhoz*;

Committees and organisations: *Cominform, Comintern, дума, Komsomol, Politburo, Presidium, Rabkrin, Sovnarkom, Soviet, Tass, Zemsky Sobor*;

RUSSIAN LOANWORDS...

Political movements, doctrines, theories, and related concepts: *agit-prop*, *apparat*, *apparatchik*, *Bolshevik*, *Bolshevism*, *Bolshevist*, *Cadet*, *commissar*, *Dekabrist*, *glasnost*, *Menshevik*, *Menshevism*, *Menshevist*, *Narodnik*, *Pamyat*, *perestroika*, *proletkult*, *subbotnik*, *tovarish udarnik*, *uprava*, *vozhd*;

Regime-related concepts: *Cheka*, *druzhina*, *Gay-Pay-Oo*, *GPU*, *Gulag*, *ispravnik*, *KGB*, *knout*, *maskirovka*, *MGB*, *MVD*, *nagaika*, *NKVD*, *Ogpu*, *Okhrana*, *Okhranka*, *OMON*, *plet*, *pogrom*, *politruk*, *prikaz*, *pristav*, *propiska*, *pulk*, *residentura*, *rezident*, *rezidentsia*, *ROA*, *sharashka*, *shefstvo*, *Smersh*, *sotnia*, *Spetsnaz*, *Stavka*, *stukach*, *ukase*, *vlast*, *zek*;

Names of states: *RSFSR*, *SSR*;

Others: *nitchevo*, *nyet*.

ART, CULTURE AND EDUCATION:

Dances: *gopak*, *kazachoc*, *prisiadka*;

Education: *Rabfak*, *technicum*;

Language and literature: *bylina*, *skaz*;

Musical instruments: *balalaika*, *gusli*;

Painting: *Cubo-futurism*, *Suprematism*, *Suprematist*;

Publishing: *samizdat*, *tamizdat*;

Theatre: *constructivism*.

HOME AND FAMILY:

Buildings and amenities: *caback*, *choom*, *dacha*, *isba*, *nushnik*, *ostrog*, *prospekt*, *stolovaya*, *terem*, *yam*, *yurt*;

Clothing and materials: *babushka*, *bashlik*, *burka*, *crash*, *daggett*, *karakul*, *paranjah*, *parka*, *ribazuba*, *rubashka*, *saffian*, *sarafan*, *shapka*, *shuba*, *valenki*, *yuft*;

Food and drink: *blin*, *borsht*, *carlock*, *chai*, *coulibiac*, *icary*, *kasha*, *kefir*, *kielbasa*, *kissel*, *koumiss*, *kvass*, *malossol*, *manna-croup*, *obarni*, *osetrova*, *paskha*, *pelmeny*, *pirog*, *pirozhok*, *rassolnik*, *shashlik*, *shchi*, *smetana*, *solyanka*, *tvorog*, *ukha*, *zakuska*;

Household goods: *chark*, *kovsh*, *matryoshka*, *nefte*, *pech*, *samovar*;

Means of transport: *bidarka*, *britchka*, *droshky*, *kibitka*, *struse*, *tarantass*, *telega*, *troika*;

Stimulants: *papirosa*, *pivo*, *samogon*, *Saperavi*, *tolichnaya*, *Tsinandali*, *vodka*, *zubrowka*.

RELIGION:

1. Orthodox Church: *iconostas*, *pope*, *protopope*, *riza*, *sobornost*, *starets*;

2. Schism and sects: *Bezpopovtsy*, *Doukhobor*, *Khlist*, *Molokan*, *Popovtsy*, *raskol*, *Raskolnik*, *Skoptsi*, *starover*, *Stundist*, *Uniat*.

Mirosława Podhajecka

NOWE SPOJRZENIE NA ZAPOŻYCZENIA ROSYJSKIE
W *OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*

Streszczenie

Niniejszy artykuł poświęcony jest zapożyczeniom rosyjskim w *Oxford English Dictionary* (2000–), największym historycznym słowniku języka angielskiego. Koncentrując się na różnicach w opisie leksykograficznym rusycyzmów w drugim i trzecim wydaniu, autorka śledzi zmiany w zawartości słownika, dotyczące m.in. doboru materiału, etymologii, ortografii, wymowy, sposobów wydzielenia znaczeń i przykładów użycia. Zasób tzw. zapożyczeń właściwych obejmuje 399 wyrazów zarejestrowanych przed rokiem 1990, co może świadczyć o spadku zainteresowania językiem rosyjskim w ostatnich latach. Zebrane jednostki leksykalne zaklasyfikowano do kategorii tematycznych, z których „Nauka i technologia” stanowi grupę najliczniejszą. Fakt ten rzuca nowe światło na funkcje pożyczek rosyjskich w angielszczyźnie, do tej pory uznawanych głównie za terminy kulturowe.

Мирослава Подхаецка

НОВЫЙ ВЗГЛЯД НА РУССКИЕ ЗАИМСТВОВАНИЯ В ОКСФОРДСКОМ
СЛОВАРЕ АНГЛИЙСКОГО ЯЗЫКА (*OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY*)

Резюме

Настоящая статья посвящена заимствованиям из русского языка в *Oxford English Dictionary* (2000–), самом большом историческом словаре английского языка. Сосредоточившись на различиях в лексикографическом описании русизмов во втором и третьем издании, автор прослеживает изменения в содержании словаря, касающиеся подбора материала, этимологии, орфографии, произношения, способов выделения значений, примеров использования и др. Запасы т.н. собственно заимствованных слов содержат 399 единиц, зарегистрированных до 1990 г., что может свидетельствовать о падении интереса к русскому языку в последнее время. Собранные лексические единицы классифицируются по тематическим категориям, среди которых самой большой является «наука и технология». Данный факт бросает новый свет на функции русских заимствований в английском языке, которые до сих пор рассматривались, прежде всего, как термины, связанные с культурой.