

Linguistic Integration of the Newest Anglicisms into the Russian Language

Ksenia Bogomolets
University of Colorado, Boulder

Abstract

This paper represents a study of usage of the newest English loan words in modern Russian. The data for this research were extracted from the main subcorpus of the Russian National Corpus. This corpus provides examples of usage of over thirteen thousand tokens with *-ing* suffix. New words with *-ing* suffix are analyzed for degree of linguistic integration into Russian. We examine the processes that loan words undergo while getting integrated into the Russian language on every linguistic level, as well as dispersion of the new loans across semantic fields. Analysis of the Russian National Corpus data lets us distinguish between those loan words that occur only once, or a couple of times (*occasional* loans), and those used by many speakers (*widespread* loans). This analysis makes it possible to draw a conclusion about integration of the loan words and their phonological, grammatical, and derivational characteristics.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with the notion of the most recent borrowings from English into Russian, namely with one group of neologisms - the words with the *-ing* suffix. Several issues will turn out to be crucial. Firstly, there is the issue of *semantic* classification and *stylistic* features of the new loan words. Secondly, there is a need to describe *phonological* and orthographic problems that the neologisms pose for a Russian speaker. Thirdly, the recent borrowings display specific *morphological* and *syntactic* features that need to be discussed. Finally, the material that we analyze will let us draw a conclusion about different stages of assimilation to the system of the Russian language that loan words undergo.

The structure of this paper is as follows: In section 1, we will introduce the notion of a borrowing and a loan word; we will discuss the main linguistic and extralinguistic reasons for borrowing English words into Russian. Section 2 will briefly mention the history of the *-ing* borrowings from the 18th century till present time. In section 3, we will examine semantic and stylistic classification of the new words, as well as the way the words of different semantic groups function in the discourse. Section 4 focuses on the issues of phonological and orthographic assimilation of the neologisms. In section 5, we will describe some morphological and syntactic properties of the *-ing* borrowings. In section 6, we will offer some conclusions and paths for further research.

1.1. The notion of borrowing

It is customary to use the terms *recipient language* for the language that acquires a word, and *donor language* for the language that is the source of the loan word. A *loanword* 'can be defined as a word that is transferred from a donor language to a recipient language' (Haspelmath 2009, 4).

Linguists distinguish two groups of reasons for acquiring new words. The first group includes purely *linguistic* factors (Krysin 1968, 12), (Breyter 1997, 132-135):

1. The first and the most important reason for borrowing a new word is to denote a new concept. Breyter claims that about 15% of the latest Anglicisms were borrowed simultaneously with borrowing a new concept (Breyter 1997, 132).

2. A loan word can be used when there is no word specific enough to denote a concept in the receiving language. Examples of this kind can be found if we look at the names of literary and cinematic genres that were borrowed into the Russian language: [fentez'i] ('fantasy'), [horar] ('a horror movie or a book') etc.

3. A loan word can be used if it is shorter than the native term, if it is easier to pronounce it, or if its etymology is more transparent. For example, the recent borrowing [prais'list] ('price list') has displaced the older borrowing from German [pr'eiskurant], because the etymology of the Anglicism is a lot more transparent for a Russian speaker.

4. A loan word can be acquired to specify different meanings of a native polysemantic word. For instance, the English word *image*, borrowed into Russian, has specified the Russian word *obraz*, which was highly polysemantic. Now, *image* has adopted some of the functions of the native term. In the modern discourse there are contexts that allow using only *image*, while other contexts require the usage of *obraz*.

5. A loan word can have a special emphatic function, referring to foreign contexts.

6. A loan word can have additional positive or negative connotations, which the native equivalent would lack. On the other hand, a loan word can help to avoid some unwanted negative or positive connotations, which the native term would have. For example, the English word *killer*, which was borrowed into Russian in the 90s, does not imply a strong negative connotation that the Russian equivalent has. *Killer* in Russian means someone whose job is to kill for money, while the Russian word *ubijca* has very strong negative and judgmental connotations.

The second group of reasons for borrowing a foreign word includes the *extralinguistic* factors:

1. Reinforcement of relationships between two societies;
2. Prestige and fashion;
3. Shift in the mentality of a people;
4. Another important social reason for intensified borrowing from English is the fact that more people nowadays tend to learn English, to use it as their working language or to go abroad, where they have to speak English. Diakov claims that this factor makes it possible for a Russian speaker to switch their code when they talk about foreign countries or concepts (Diakov 2001, 156).

1.2. Data for the research

The data for our research are taken from the Russian National Corpus. The Russian National Corpus (RNC) incorporates over 500 million words. The corpus represents the Russian language 'in all the variety of genres, styles, territorial and social variants of usage, etc' (<http://ruscorpora.ru/en/corpora-intro.html>). The RNC consists of 10 subcorpora: the main corpus, dialectical corpus, poetical corpus, corpus of modern newspapers, parallel corpus, educational corpus, oral corpus, accentological corpus, corpus of multimedia, syntactic corpus. For the purpose of our research we were using the main corpus. *The main corpus* includes texts that represent standard Russian. It consists of 3 parts: modern written texts (from the 1950s to the present day), a subcorpus of real-life Russian speech (recordings of oral speech from the same period), and early texts (from the middle of the 18th to the middle of the 20th centuries) (Apresyan 2005, 193). By default, the search is carried out in all the three sub-groups, but in our research we have customized the search parameters to browse only through the first two parts of this corpus. We then have created a subcorpus that includes

only texts for the period of 1980-2012, so it is the time of Ottepelj, the collapse of the Soviet Union and the Post-Soviet period. The subcorpus incorporates 88 675 118 words. Usage of corpus not only lets us observe the massive data, but also allows comparison of frequency for different borrowings, comparison of later and earlier contexts of usage of a word.

1.3. Methods

The goal of this work determines the way research was carried out. The main goal of this paper is not to try to describe or to list the words with the *-ing* suffix, but rather to describe the main processes that one group of borrowings is undergoing on every linguistic level while getting integrated into the system of the Russian language. The subcorpus that we created includes 7,200 documents with the *-ing* borrowings, and about 4,200 of them contain the recent *-ing* borrowings that are common nouns. For some parts of the current research it was important to search through all 4,200 documents (for example, to define the main semantic groups of the *-ing* borrowings); for other parts of the research it was more important to analyze a much smaller amount of examples. For instance, for the analysis of syntactic functions of the *-ing* borrowings, it seemed sufficient to find examples of those borrowings performing the same syntactic functions as the native Russian nouns, rather than trying to describe their syntactic roles in every document out of 4,200. All the examples used in this paper were taken from the subcorpus created; they were translated and transliterated or given a broad transcription, if that was needed.

2. History of *-ing* borrowings

2.1. Borrowings with the *-ing* suffix in the 18th-20th centuries

The *-ing* borrowings constitute one of the largest groups of the latest loan words in the Russian language. According to the data of Russian National Corpus, the first *-ing* borrowings came into Russian in the 18th century.

At the end of the 18th century a massive wave of loan words was assimilated by the Russian language. The contexts of usage show that most of the *-ing* borrowings in this massive were used as technical terms in construction, shipbuilding, military organization and sciences:

(1) By the evening, the wind became milder, and at 6 am we began to take off the **anchor** (a specific type of anchor – [f'irtoing]).

К ночи он по обыкновению стих, и мы в 6 часов поутру стали сниматься с **фертоинга**... (Ф. П. Литке. Дневник, веденный во время кругосветного плавания на шлюпе «Камчатка» (Кронштадт) (1817))

Occasional borrowings of this derivational group came into the Russian language in the 19th century with the fashion for British culture: [smok'ing] (smoking jacket),

Dramatical social changes of the beginning of the 20th century brought new loan words into Russia: [m'it'ing] (rally, political meeting), [r'ejt'ing] (rating). From an historical point of view, it is noteworthy, that some of those borrowings became habitual, stylistically neutral part of Russian lexicon (both examples above). These words were assimilated by the system and became derivative stems for other words in the Russian language:

(2) [m'it'ing] – [m'it'ingavat] ('a rally' - 'to arrange a rally')

This word turned out to be extremely productive in Russian. Not only can it be a derivative stem for verbs and adjectives, but it can also be the base for compounds:

(3) The secretary of the Central Committee ordered to arrange an urgent **radio rally** in Hebrew...

«Секретарь ЦК дает мне указание — срочно созвать **радиомитинг** на еврейском языке... (Александр Борщаговский. Несыгранный «Гамлет» (1994))

At the same time, the corpus provides us with examples of occasional borrowings that did not turn out to be productive and did not become part of the system of the Russian language:

(4) ...our feet are sliding, our stomachs are shaking. No one has any bounds. It's not life, it's a **skating** ring.

...ноги скользят, животы трясутся. И никто ни к чему не привязан. Это — **скетинг-ринг**, а не жизнь... (В. В. Розанов. Уединенное (1900-1911))

The corpus shows that the neologism [*sk'ejt'ing*] (*'skating'*) was “occasional” for that time (there is only one example), but it will be 'reborrowed' in the late 20th century to denote a new type of sport activity.

2.2. The *-ing* borrowings in general during the period of 1980-2012

The collapse of the Soviet Union caused an increase of Western influence. Large amounts of new concepts came into the everyday life of Russian people. L. P. Krysin argues that 'the majority of Russian people started to recognize our country as a part of civilized world. We began to follow the Western culture in sports, trade, fashion, music' (Krysin 1968, 7). Such a drastic sociological change has influenced the Russian language: a huge wave of loan words was acquired by the Russian speakers during the last twenty years. A vast majority of these new words came from English, and it is no surprise for English is becoming the language of international communication and achieving worldwide prestige. Due to fashion for everything Western and American in Russian culture, English words began to displace the native terms. Lately, English [*interv'ju*] (interview), [*loft*] (loft), [*bojfriend*] (boyfriend), [*pr'iz'intacija*] (presentation) and many others have almost driven the Russian equivalents out of use. The English language has become so popular and prestigious in Russia in the late 20th century, that Anglicisms have started to replace the earlier loan words that were borrowed from other languages. For example, the recent borrowing [*glamur*] (glamour) replaced the earlier word [*gl'an'its*], borrowed from German [*glanz*]; new borrowing [*d'isplej*] (display) replaced the older French loan word [*ekran*].

During the last 20-30 years the Russian language has been actively borrowing not only certain words, but also certain patterns, word structures, and certain affixes.

One of the most productive English suffixes in modern Russian is the suffix *-ing*. Krongauz notes that "what is funny is not the suffix itself, not the fact that we have borrowed it, but how fashionable it seems to the speakers" (Krongauz 2008, 160). Indeed, the *-ing* model seems to be one of the most productive derivational patterns across the most recent borrowings in Russian. Figure 1 displays dynamics of acquiring the *-ing* words during the period of 1980-2010.

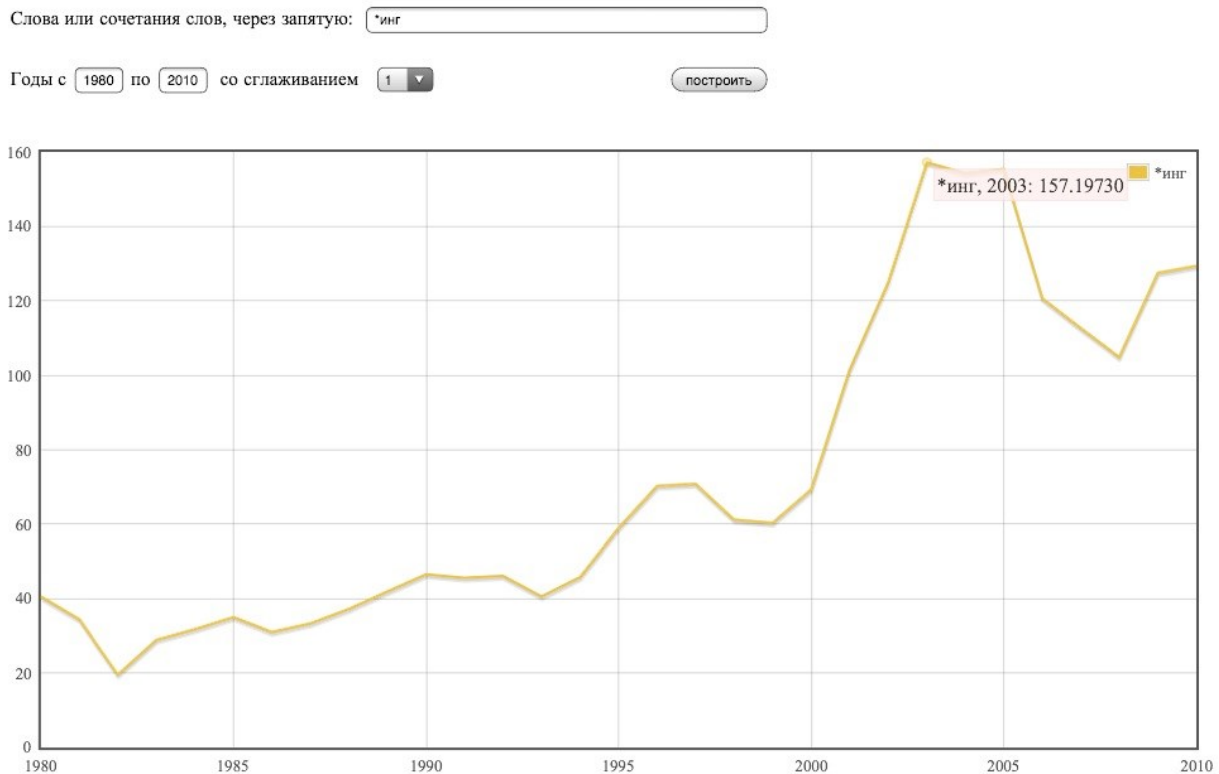


Figure 1: Distribution of the *-ing* borrowings in 1980-2010

Figure 1 illustrates increasing 'popularity' of borrowings with *-ing* suffix. It shows the amount of *-ing* tokens for a million words. The RNC provides us with 21,273 tokens of words with *-ing* suffix for the period of 1980-2010. During this time, the morpheme *-ing* became more independent in the Russian language. As the number of loan words with this suffix was increasing, it was becoming more productive and, as a consequence, more independent derivationally. In 1996, Sh. Seshan claimed that a foreign word with the *-ing* suffix gets acquired as a whole unit and cannot be segmented into morphemes in the Russian language (Seshan 1996, 48). This view suggested that there was no such thing as a productive derivational morpheme *-ing* in Russian. In 2001, A. Diakov argued against this point of view, giving examples of occasional neologisms with native Russian stems and the *-ing* suffix. He argued that this morpheme can be added both to borrowed and native stems and it forms nouns with a general meaning of a processual event or action: "...For example, *пластмассовые блю-инги* (*plastic dish-ing*), *сардел-инги* (*sausage-ing*) (examples are taken from the poem by A. Levin "In the mirror of press")" (Diakov 2001, 73).

3. Semantics

Scholar studies of loan words offer multiple semantic classifications for new words in the Russian language. O. Egorova and D. Nikitin suggest that all new borrowings can be

categorized in the following groups: "...concepts of food; home and house holding; clothes; arts; communication; science; transport; society; economics and finance; politics; professions; sport" (Egorova, Nikitin 2011, 140-141).

Analysis of the *-ing* borrowings in the Russian National Corpus lets us define the following main semantic categories among the loan words of this derivational type.

3.1. Sports

One of the largest semantic groups of *-ing* borrowings describes different types of sports. Most of these words were borrowed when a new type of sport activity appeared in Russia: [kajt'ing] (playing with flying kites), [bejzdzamp'ing] (base jumping - "the activity or sport of parachuting from a high structure as a building, tower, or bridge or cliff" (Merriam-Webster dictionary)), [zorb'ing] (zorbing - "a sport in which one is secured inside a large transparent ball which is then rolled along the ground or down hills" (Oxford dictionary)), [boul'ing] (bowling), [dajv'ing] (diving), [raft'ing] (rafting). It is noteworthy, that speakers recognize these words as strange, unusual. The Russian National Corpus gives us a lot of examples of such perception:

(5) We hope that those times when we had to be afraid of everything foreign are gone. So we call this sport **kejving**. Yes, it sounds unusual, but this name is correct.

К счастью, прошли времена, когда нам приходилось бояться всего иностранного, как чумы. Итак, **кейвинг**¹. Непривычно, но суть верно. (Константин Серафимов. Экспедиция во мрак (1978-1996) // , 1994)

Even though all of these words were borrowed relatively recently, some of them became more usual than others. While [s'orf'ing] (surfing), [dajv'ing] (diving), [boul'ing] (bowling) today seem to be stylistically neutral, less popular and less known sports names can be seen as unintegrated borrowings: "Reading an article about extreme sports I encounter *kajting*, *bandzidzamping*, *zorbing*, *vejkbording*, and only *dajving* gives me some relief, because I've heard about it before" (Krongauz 2008, 58). This observation can be proven with the data retrieved from the corpus. We encounter 86 tokens for lemma [s'orf'ing] (surfing), 88 tokens for lemma [dajv'ing] (diving), 234 tokens for lemma [boul'ing] (bowling). The numbers for the new, less integrated names of new sports are completely different: we find only 12 tokens for [kajt'ing], 3 tokens for [bejzdzamp'ing], and 2 tokens for [zorb'ing].

Some of these new terms have already acquired derivatives. For instance, [dajv'ing] ('diving') now has several cognates in the Russian language: [dajv'ing'ist] ('a person who dives'), [dajv'ingavat] ('to dive').

Some words can acquire new, additional meanings in the process of their assimilation in the Russian language. An example of such semantic development is the word *doping*. It was borrowed into the Russian language with its main meaning: the use of a substance (as an anabolic steroid or erythropoietin) or technique (as blood doping) to illegally improve athletic performance (Merriam-Webster dictionary). According to the data of the Russian National Corpus, today this word undergoes the process of semantic broadening and acquires the second meaning: some means and ways to excite someone, to give someone energy, to cheer someone up.

¹ /keiving/ is a type of sports activity. Participants explore caves in the mountains.

(6) Going to new boutique shops is a real **doping** for most women.

Пройтись по новым бутикам — это настоящий **допинг** для большинства женщин. (Невинный допинг (2002) // «Домовой», 2002.04.04)

(7) Active thinking is the strongest stimulus (**doping**) for your brain. It makes your brain more powerful, creative, and productive.

Активное мышление является сильнейшим **допингом** для ума, который становится сильным, находчивым, творческим и продуктивным. (Алексей Яшкин. Программа индугирования. Оздоровление организма, развитие силы воли, силы духа, храбрости и смелости каратиста (2003) // «Боевое искусство планеты», 2003.12.08)

Some words of this semantic group illustrate the process of *transnomination*. For example, the earlier loan word [kul'tur'izm] ('bodybuilding') is getting replaced with a new borrowing [bod'ib'ild'ing].

3.2. Politics, economics, finance, and business

The Russian language has borrowed a great amount of words related to political and economic systems. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, these systems underwent major changes. New political and economic paradigms required new concepts and new words to denote those concepts. E. V. Rosen claims that there are two trends related to borrowing new lexical terms into this semantic class: 1) desire to express concepts, facts, and ideas as precisely and as fully as possible; and 2) shift from strict terminology towards artistic, creative, expressive denominations (Rosen 1991, 99).

A lot of words in this category are narrow terms; they are used only by professionals in a specific field: [anderajt'ing] ('underwriting'), [autsors'ing] ('outsourcing'), [kl'ir'ing] ('clearing'), [franchajz'ing] ('franchising') etc. A small group of words in this semantic category is being fully acquired by the Russian language. We can make such a conclusion, because now there are words derived from those borrowed terms: [demp'ing] ('dumping') – [demp'ingavyj] (Adj. for 'dumping'); [kansalt'ing] ('consulting') – [kansalt'ingavyj] (Adj. for 'consulting'); [mark'et'ing] ('marketing') – [mark'et'ingavyj] (Adj. for 'marketing').

(8) It is noteworthy, that even when the market demand went down, no one offered **dumping** prices.

Интересно, что при таком снижении спроса на рынке не появлялось **демпинговых** цен на туры в Израиль. (Маргарита Парфененкова. Земля необетованная (2009.01.21) // <http://www.rbcdaily.ru/2009/01/21/market/398195.shtml>, 2009)

All of the *-ing* borrowings in Russian function as nouns. In the latter examples we see that the most frequent borrowings acquire productive Russian suffixes that change them into words of another grammatical category.

Russian social-political vocabulary lately has borrowed words from criminal jargon, drug dealers' speech: [shopl'ift'ing] ('shoplifting'), [k'idnep'ing] ('kidnapping'), [trafik'ing] ('trafficking') and others.

(9) **Trafficking** is the illegal trade of women and children for the purpose of sexual exploitation.

Траффикинг — это незаконный вывоз женщин и девушек, а также детей за границу с целью сексуальной эксплуатации. (Ирина Подлесова. Найдена альтернатива проституции (2002) // «Известия», 2002.01.23)

Another interesting process in this category can be illustrated with the word [bank'ing] ('banking'). The high frequency and productivity of suffix *-ing* made it possible for this word to substitute the paraphrastic term for the same concept, which was in use in the Russian language: [bankavskaji apsluzhivanii] (lit.: 'bank services').

3.3. Technology and communication

Egorova and Nikitin claim that Anglicisms related to modern technology and new ways of communication constitute about 20% of the most recent borrowings (Egorova, Nikitin 2011, 139). This semantic group incorporates lexemes related to the modern Internet and computational technologies, mobile communication, television. These borrowings are 'numerous, frequent and productive' in the Russian language (Egorova, Nikitin 2011, 140).

This group, obviously, cannot be homogeneous frequency-wise. Most of the borrowings in this semantic class are only used by specialists of the field; we would describe them as *professional terms*, for they are used by professionals who work with computers.

- (10) Unix Operating System is the most popular in network **computing**...
Операционная система Unix — самая популярная в сетевом **компьютинге**...
(Алексей Алексеев. Компания Sun Microsystem (1996) // «Коммерсантъ-Daily», 1996.01.25)
- (11) Who can offer the best security system for a program? The one which could be run, but which would only display the **listing** if you know the password?
Кто предложит наилучший вариант защиты программы на бейсике, которая будет работать, но перезаписываться на пленку и выводить свой **листинг** на экран будет только по паролю? (Вячеслав Алексеев. Программируем игру SOKOBAN // «Техника - молодежи», 1991).

At the same time, more and more professional terms from this semantic group became widely-used by Russian speakers. Words [roum'ing] ('roaming'), [host'ing] ('hosting') do not sound that strange for a Russian ear anymore.

- (12) Democracy, capitalism with a human face, virtual reality and Internet, leasing and \ franchising, and even tuning and **roaming**.
Демократия, капитализм с общечеловеческим лицом, виртуальная реальность с Интернетом, лизинг с франчайзингом и даже тюнинг с **роумингом**. (Екатерина Костикова. Азь есмь космонавтомъ (1997) // «Столица», 1997.12.22)

The frequency of the 'more integrated' and the 'less integrated' words of this category in the corpus prove our observation. We were able to find 28 tokens for the lemma [host'ing] ('hosting'), 31 tokens for the lemma [roum'ing] ('roaming'), and only 6 tokens for [komp'jut'ing], and only 3 tokens for [l'ist'ing].

3.4. Fashion and beauty

The Russian beauty industry is a quickly developing field. It is no surprise that the semantic group of borrowings that refer to the new types of beautifying tools, procedures and techniques is very large and productive. Most of the new procedures and concepts were also borrowed 'from the West': [p'il'ing] ('peeling' - a body treatment technique), [l'ift'ing]

('facelift' - a type of cosmetic surgery procedure); [f'eisb'ild'ing] ('face building' - another cosmetic procedure). Most of these borrowings take active part in derivational processes and easily acquire adjectival and verbal suffixes.

- (13) Modern trends of the beauty industry require a beauty salon to offer multiple medical and relaxing procedures, including **peeling**, anti-aging programs, facial correction and cosmetic surgeries (body and **facelift** etc.).

Современные тенденции рынка красоты требуют наличия в салоне большого числа медицинских и релаксационных процедур, включая **пилинг**, (...) подтяжку тканей, **лифтинг** бюста и т. д. (Анастасия Костюченкова. Почему красивый бизнес? (2004) // «Бизнес-журнал», 2004.03.16)

Terms for youth subcultural concepts constitute an interesting subgroup of this semantic class. Most of these terms denote some kind of identity markers that young people would need to have to become a part of a specific social group. In this group we can find words like [brend'ing] ('branding' - process in which a mark is burned into the skin of a person, with the intention that the resulting scar makes it permanent); [kat'ing] ('cutting' - process in which a mark is cut onto the skin); [p'irs'ing] ('piercing'), and others. It is interesting, that the word 'piercing' underwent the process of semantic narrowing when it was borrowed into Russian. In English, *piercing* is defined as 'a hole made through a part of human's body for putting jewelry there, or the process of making these holes' (Longman Dictionary). In Russian, interestingly this word cannot refer the ear piercing, although it is widely used to refer to any other kind of piercing (14).

- (14) Why don't you put a scarf on your head and make tattoos and **piercing** all over your body?

Почему не бандана, татуировки и **пирсинг** по всему телу? (Алексей Пугачев. Мое отношение к персонажу РМ (2000) // «Рекламный мир», 2000.03.30)

The explanation for this case of semantic narrowing of the original meaning of the word *piercing* is of cultural and historical kind. There exists a Russian word for denoting ear piercing since that kind of body decoration has been common in Russia for centuries. The fashion for putting jewelry in other part of one's body came to Russia in the 20th century and required a new term which was then borrowed from English.

4. Phonological assimilation and spelling

New words in a language require phonological and orthographic standardization or nativization. A lot of scholars consider phonological assimilation to be the first stage of borrowings acquisition (Aristova 1997, Breyter 1997, Timofeeva 1991). Diakov argues that at this stage of acquisition speakers use phonetics of the donor language, then 'English pronunciation starts following the rules of Russian phonology' (Diakov 2001, 24). When the Russian language lacks a specific sound used in English, it gets replaced with an articulatorily similar phoneme. Graphic and phonological representation of borrowed neologisms can be carried out in two different ways in the Russian language. Some of the Anglicisms get transliterated, while the others get transcribed. V. Aristova claims that 80% of loan words in Russian get transliterated, and only 20% appear in their transcribed form (Aristova 1978, 44). Sometimes both forms, transcribed and transliterated, can be present in the language system at the same time, which causes spelling variation. As an example of such variation we looked at the word [resl'ing] ('wrestling') that can be spelled either with the

silent *t* in the stem, or without it, depending on whether the word is transliterated or transcribed: *рестлинг* - *реслинг*.

- (15) And now she is training the first female **wrestling** team in Russia.
А теперь она тренер первой в России Федерации женского **реслинга**.
(Налбандян Лиана. БОЙ-БАБЫ // Труд-7, 2006.12.09)
- (16) The biggest global **wrestling** federation WWE wants to hire Valuev for their shows.
Крупнейшая мировая федерация **рестлинга** WWE хочет получить Валугева для своих шоу. (Ирина Крот. Николая Валугева зовут в рестлеры // РБК Daily, 2010.08.10)

The RNC provides us with 94 examples of using the transliterated form with the silent *t*, and with 49 examples of the same word being used without the silent consonant. This data support Aristova's findings mentioned above: the transliterated form of this *-ing* borrowing appears to be twice as frequent as the transcribed form.

The group of the *-ing* borrowings display one more type of spelling variations. Geminated consonants, which in English are historically caused by the rules of English phonology, present a challenge for Russian speakers²:

- (17) a. Shop - **shopping**
b. Jog - **jogging**
c. Blog - **blogging**
d. Control - **controlling**, and many others.

In the Russian language these words introduce alternations which are not typical for the Russian system. Russian speakers now have to deal with pairs of cognates, one member of which has a single consonant in the stem (e.g. [*blog*]), while the other one has geminated consonants (e.g. [*blogging*]). This kind of alternations has never existed in the Russian language before. The variations in spelling of new *-ing* borrowings let us assume that these words are not fully acquired by the language system yet. The RNC provides us with the following data:

Lexeme	Surface representation	Gloss	Number of tokens with a single consonant	Number of tokens with geminated consonants
Шоппинг	[shop'ing]	Shopping	56	67
Джоггинг	[dzog'ing]	Jogging	1	8
Контроллинг	[kantroll'ing]	Controlling	0	19
Спиннинг	[sp'in'ing]	Spinning	1	122
Киднеппинг	[k'idnep'ing]	Kidnapping	11	10

Table 1: The *-ing* borrowings with geminated consonants

² The term 'geminated consonants' is used as a reference to the spelling traditions, for these consonants are not phonetically geminated either in English or in Russian.

Table 1 shows that variants with geminated consonants are in general more frequent.

These words have to be distinguished from another group of *-ing* borrowings with geminated consonants. The words in this group originally have geminated consonants as a part of their stem. Geminated consonants are not conditioned by the phonological environment here:

- (18) a. Press - pressing
b. Toll - tolling
c. Dress – dressing

These words do not display any variations in spelling when they are borrowed into Russian; they are consistently spelled with geminated consonants.

Stress in the new words poses another problem for a Russian speaker. Most of *-ing* borrowings keep the original stress when they are borrowed into Russian. For example, *marketing* in English has the first syllable stressed. The same stress pattern is observed in Russian. At the same time, some modern dictionaries display the variation: stress in this word moves to the second syllable, which is more natural for Russian stress system. Some of the new borrowings display stress patterns that are unnatural for a Russian speaker. Those words undergo stress shifting as a part of phonological assimilation. For instance, the word *merchandising* has a stress on the first syllable in English, while for a Russian word it is unnatural to have three post-stressed syllables, so stress shifts: [m'irčindajz'ing]. These variations are documented by the accentological subcorpus of the RNC and by the dictionaries (Dictionary of Russian Orthoepy; Dictionary of Foreign Words).

5. Morphological and syntactic properties of the *-ing* borrowings

5.1. Morphological integration of the *-ing* borrowings

Every loan word has to undergo the process of grammatical assimilation in the recipient language. This means that a loan word is supposed to function according to the grammatical rules of the language that borrows it. Words borrowed into Russian must first be assigned to a grammatical category. All of the *-ing* borrowings function as nouns in the Russian language. Usually, the loan noun gets included in one of inflectional paradigms of the recipient language. The differences between the contacting languages lead to reinterpretation of grammatical gender and number of the loan words in the recipient language. Although there is no category of grammatical gender in modern English, all Anglicisms in Russian get categorized to one of three gender classes: neutral, masculine, feminine. In terms of gender, the *-ing* borrowings do not pose any problems for a Russian speaker. All of them get easily assimilated to the category of masculine gender, for they all end with a consonant. The majority of Russian nouns of masculine gender end with a consonant (or have so-called *zero inflection*) in Nominative Case.

It does not seem to be a problem for a Russian speaker to use an *-ing* borrowing with a plural referent. All of the *-ing* borrowings, except for those that have semantic restrictions for plural, get regular masculine plural inflection.

Integrated *-ing* borrowings can be used in any of six Russian cases, following the rules of declension for masculine nouns with the zero inflection in Nominative Case:

- (19) **Nom.** Ведь **шоппинг** - это, прежде всего, позитивные переживания, а уж потом рациональный выбор. (Владимир Ляпоров. Молодая гвардия. Искусство быстрого завоевания новых рынков сбыта (2003) // «Бизнес-журнал», 2003.10.23)
 First and foremost, **shopping** is positive emotions, and not a rational choice.
Gen. Избавь его от **шоппинга** (Обрати внимание // «Даша», 2004)
 Save him from **shopping**.
Acc. Вы совершаете **шоппинг** в торговом пассаже, украшенном вывесками «Отец Федор» и «Мадам Грицацуева». (Александр Согомонов. Современный город: стратегия идентичности // «Неприкосновенный запас», 2010)
 You go **shopping** to a mall, decorated with signs "Father Fyodor" and "Madame Gritsatsueva."
Dat. Мы можем предаваться **шоппингу** часами, а некоторые — даже сутками. (Курс - на материк! (2004) // «Homes & Gardens», 2004.04.30)
 We can spend hours for **shopping**, and some of us - more than 24 hours.
Instr. Оказывается вчера, во время гуляния дочь успела ещё и **шоппингом** позаниматься. (Наши дети: Подростки (2004))
 It turned out my daughter spent some time **shopping** yesterday.
Prep. Окружающие помешаны на **шоппинге**? (Кирилл Кобрин. набросок новой революционной практики // «Неприкосновенный запас», 2010)
 Did everyone around me go mad about **shopping**?

Examples from the RNC, listed above, show that the *-ing* borrowings follow the paradigm of masculine declension, regular for native Russian masculine nouns with the zero inflection.

Case	Native Russian noun <i>стол - a table</i>	<i>-ing</i> borrowing шоппинг - shopping	Inflection
Nom.	стол-∅ [stol]	шоппинг-∅ [shop'ing]	-∅
Gen.	стол-а [stala]	шоппинг-а [shop'inga]	-a
Acc.	стол-∅ [stol]	шоппинг-∅ [shop'ing]	-∅
Dat.	стол-у [stalu]	шоппинг-у [shop'ingu]	-u
Instr.	стол-ом [stalom]	шоппинг-ом [shop'ingom]	-om
Prep.	стол-е [stal'e]	шоппинг-е [shop'ing'e]	-e

Table 2: Comparison between declension of a native Russian masculine noun and an *-ing* borrowing

Depending on the degree of productivity, morphological assimilation can be followed by derivational integration. For example, the word *шопинг* [*shopping*] - *shopping* acquires adjectival and verbal suffixes. It is of interest that the *-ing* suffix clearly gets perceived as a productive derivational morpheme in Russian:

- (20) To succeed in '**second-handing**' one needs to have good imagination, be patient and strong.

Необходимые условия успешного **секондхэндинга** — развитое воображение, терпение, умение переносить невзгоды. (Василий Корецкий, Екатерина Гончаренко. Люди со вторыми руками (1997) // «Столица», 1997.04.01)

In the example (21) we can see that the *-ing* suffix gets attached to the loan word 'second hand' which is normally used in Russian as an adjective. The *-ing* suffix in this case is employed to turn the adjective into a noun. The opposite derivational process can be observed in the example of the word *хэппи энд* [*happ'i end*] - *happy ending*, where the suffix gets deleted.

5.2. Syntactic integration of the *-ing* borrowings

The *-ing* forms in English can be used in various ways, as nouns, adjectives, and to form progressive aspect verb forms. In English 'the status of *-ing* constructions can range from very nominal in character to very verbal' (Berk 1999, 250). As we stated above, all the borrowings of this derivational type were assigned to the grammatical category of nouns in the Russian language. Integrated *-ing* borrowings in Russian, therefore, can perform any syntactic role that a Russian noun can perform:

- (21) *Subject*. Пропорции такие: на столовую ложку масла столько же сухого ингредиента — и всё, мягкий **пилинг** готов! (Чудо-эликсиры из зернышек берегут твою молодость // «Даша», 2004.

Take the following: one table spoon of oil, one spoon of powder - and your mild **peeling** is ready!

Object. Обязательно делай **пилинг** и прочие отшелушивающие процедуры минимум раз в неделю. (Гладкие, как шелк! // «Лиза», 2005)

You have to do **peeling** and other procedures at least once a week!

Predicate. Лучшее средство - **пилинг**! (Гладкие, как шелк! // «Лиза», 2005)

The best solution **is peeling**!

Oblique. Еще одна разновидность **пилингов** — те, в составе которых гликолевые или фруктовые кислоты. (Мария Перова. Наш ответ мойдодыру (2002) // «Домовой», 2002.08.04)

Another type of **peelings** - those that contain fruit acids.

The fact that the *-ing* borrowings were regularly assigned to the noun class in the Russian language causes important differences in usage of the *-ing* forms between the recipient and the donor languages.

It has been noticed, that 'English words that function as modifiers and get the role of adjectives in the donor language, function as head-nouns in the recipient language' (Vorobjeva 2009, 5). This observation can be illustrated with the example of functioning of the word [*park'ing*] (parking lot) in Russian. *Parking* functions as a modifier in English: *parking lot, parking spot, parking space etc.* In Russian, this word has acquired the meaning 'parking lot' and got integrated in the grammatical category of nouns. This means that now

[park'ing] can be used with all types of Russian modifiers and gets included in regular number and case paradigms: [padz'emnyi park'ing] - 'underground parking-lot', [moi park'ing] - 'my parking-lot' etc³.

On the other hand, according to the corpus data, some of the most frequent *-ing* borrowings can become a part of endocentric compounds. In this case, the *-ing* nouns are used in adjectival sense without acquiring adjectival morphology: [shop'ing-mol] ('shopping mall'), [shop'ing-tsentr] ('shopping centre'), [shop'ing-man'iya] ('shopping mania'). We assume that this derivational model, unusual for Russian grammar, becomes more productive by analogy with the way the loan words are used in the donor language. At the same time, interestingly, we notice the Russian language finds an alternative way to express the same notions with more regular and natural means of its own system. For instance, for the word 'peeling cream' in the RNC we find both [p'il'ing-kr'em] and [p'il'ingavyi kr'em], the first being an English-like compound and the second being [p'il'ing] plus productive Russian adjectival suffix.

6. Conclusion

In the current paper we examined the integration or assimilation of the most recent Anglicisms in the Russian language, both in terms of linguistic (phonological, morphological, syntactic) categories, and in terms of their historical development, their level of usage, and their dispersion across semantic fields. The main goal of this paper was to describe the main processes that one group of borrowing is undergoing on every linguistic level.

Between the time when an English word first appears in Russian discourse and the time (if ever) it is fully-assimilated, many changes in form and usage can occur. 'There is no natural way of identifying a discrete point within this interval before which the word is not an integrated loan, and after which it suddenly becomes one' (Miller, 1988, 50). Analysis of the Russian National Corpus data lets us distinguish between those loan words that occur only once, or a couple times (*occasional* loans), and those used by many speakers (*widespread* loans). Current research, with no doubt, shows that borrowing is a process over time rather than a sudden transition.

Semantically, the *-ing* borrowings disperse across multiple categories. The analysis of corpus data and scholar accounts made it possible for us to distinguish several main semantic classes: 1) *sports*, 2) *politics, economics, finance and business*, 3) *technology and communication*, and 4) *fashion and beauty*. The analysis of these four groups of borrowings showed that they do not always function in the same way in the discourse. Some of them seem to be better integrated into the Russian language than others.

Examining *phonological* and *orthographic* characteristics of the new words, we noticed multiple reasons for spelling variations. Although written data do not provide too many opportunities for a phonological research, we were able to notice some accentual variations as well.

The borrowed *-ing* forms display specific features in the distribution of *grammatical* categories. All of those borrowings were assigned to the category of nouns, although they can be attested in multiple categories in the donor language. In the question of gender assignment, number and case formation new loan words follow Russian patterns from an early stage of assimilation.

On the *syntactic* level, the *-ing* borrowings get inserted in the same syntactic slots that are appropriate for native Russian nouns. Some of the most frequent borrowings can also perform adverbial functions in compounds.

³ All examples are extracted from the corpus.

The major *conclusion* of this work is the following. The *-ing* borrowings in the Russian language form a specific hierarchy: from fully-assimilated and integrated units to partly assimilated Anglicisms (for example, if a word does not display any phonetic and spelling variations but is not integrated derivationally), to 'occasional', unproductive and barely assimilated words.

Analysis of the data allows us to draw a conclusion about the stages of integration of a loan noun:

1. Establishment of a phonological and orthographic invariant;
2. Integration into one of productive gender, number and case paradigms, assigning of the syntactic status;
3. Derivational integration;
4. Semantic assimilation (on this stage, loan word can acquire new metaphorical meanings, stylistic characteristics).

There is no clear evidence that the process of integration of a new noun has to occur in this particular order, and the issues of systematicity of the stages of integration might be analyzed in *further research*.

Another issue, left for further research, is *stylistic* diversity of the *-ing* borrowings. Corpus provides a researcher with multiple contexts of different stylistic character. It is known, that most of the *-ing* borrowings become a part of the standard Russian language through different types of jargons: professional jargons of programmers, engineers, economists, athletes etc; adolescent slang, criminal jargon (e.g. Krysin 1968; Diakov 2001 etc.). The stylistic modifications that loan words have to undergo to get from one restricted type of jargon to widely used or even standardized discourse seem to be of great interest.

References

- Apresyan, Yu. D., Boguslavskij I. M., Iomdin B. L. (2005). Syntactically and semantically annotated corpus of the Russian language: modern state and perspective. *Russian National Corpus: 2003-2005*, 193-214.
- Aristova V. M. (1978). Morphological structure of Anglicisms in the Russian language. In: Aristova V. M. *Anglo-Russian linguistic contacts*. Leningrad: LGU, 44-47.
- Aristova V. M. (1997). On the notion of Anglo-Russian linguistic relations and borrowings. *Semantic units in the Russian language in diachrony*, Kaliningrad, 12-19.
- Berk L. M. (1999). *English syntax: from word to discourse*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Breyter M. A. (1997). *Anglicisms in the Russian language: history and future: A Handbook for foreign students*. Vladivostok: Dialog.
- Diakov A. I. (2001). *Derivational integration of Anglicisms in the Russian language of the 20th century*. Novosibirsk: Nauka.
- Egorova O. S., Nikitin D. S. (2011). Semantic classification of the new Anglicisms. *Yaroslavsky Pedagogichesky Vestnik*, 1 (1), 137-141.
- Haspelmath M., Tadmor U. (2009). The Loan word Typology project and the World Loan word Database. In: Haspelmath, Martin & Tadmor, Uri (eds.) *Loan words in the World's Languages: A Comparative Handbook*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1-34.
- Krongauz M. A. (2008). *The Russian language on the edge of breaking down*. Moscow: Znak.
- Krysin L. P. (1968). *Loan words in the modern Russian language*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Miller Ch., Poplack S., Sankoff D. (1988). The social correlates and linguistic processes of lexical borrowing and assimilation. *Linguistics*, 26, 47-104.

- Rosen E. V. (1991). *New words and collocations in the German language*. Moscow: Nauka.
- Seshan Sh. (1996). -Ing nouns as symbol of American expansion. *Russkaya Rech*, 3, 46-49.
- Timofeeva G. G. (1991). Written fixation of the loan words of English origins. *Rusistika. Journal of Association for Language Learning*, 3, 33-39.
- Vorobjeva S. V. (2009). Grammatical assimilation of the newest Anglicisms in the Russian language. *Vestnik minskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogicheskogo universiteta*, 5 (42), 178-186.

Dictionaries

- Burtseva V. V., Semenova N. M. (2005). Мерчендайзинг - merchandising. In *Dictionary of Foreign Words*. Moscow: Russky Yazyk Media.
- Ivanova T. F. (2004). Маркетинг - marketing. In *Dictionary of Orthoepy*. Moscow: Russky Yazyk Media.
- Piercing. (n.d.). In *Longman Dictionary online*. Retrieved from <http://www.ldoceonline.com/search/?q=Piercing>
- Base jumping. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster Dictionary online*. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/base%20jumping>
- Doping. (n.d.). In *Merriam-Webster Dictionary online*. Retrieved from <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/doping>
- Zorbing. (n.d.) In *Oxford Dictionary online*. Retrieved from http://oxforddictionaries.com/us/definition/american_english/zorbing?q=Zorbing

Russian National Corpus. Retrieved from <http://www.ruscorpora.com>

Author contact information:

Ksenia Bogomolets: ksenia.bogomolets@colorado.edu



This work is licensed under a [Creative Commons Attribution 4.0 International License](https://creativecommons.org/licenses/by/4.0/).