

ЧЕЛОВЕК В КУЛЬТУРЕ, СОЦИУМЕ И ЯЗЫКЕ

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RUSSIAN-CULTURE-ORIENTED ENGLISH (RCOE)

At the time of globalization and “globanglization” it becomes necessary for non-English-based cultures to master English as their secondary means of self-expression. Original direct inter-cultural dialogue involves a new type of communication, “internal translation”, and formation of a specialized variety of English when applied to Russian culture (RCOE).

Keywords: *cultural orientation, Foreign-Culture-Oriented English, interlinguoculturology, functional duality, culturonyms, “internal translation”*

Globalization coincided with the emergence of English as history’s first global *lingua franca*, which makes it necessary for all non-English nations to use English in virtually all spheres of communication, including promoting their cultures in English. Orienting English towards foreign cultures results in formation of a specialized variety of this language – Foreign-Culture-Oriented (FCO) English which is best studied by resorting to original native English descriptions of the respective cultures, including Russian culture. Abundance of various English texts devoted to it allows us to find out the specific nature of Russian-Culture-Oriented (RCO) English.

FCO English is English in its *secondary cultural orientation*. Cultural reorientation of a language is the result of its “*functional duality*”: the language, although primarily oriented towards its “own” (“*internal*”) culture, is used in application to a foreign (“*external*”), non-English-based culture [Кабакчи, 1998, с. 9]. We call the linguistic discipline devoted to the study of the language in its secondary cultural orientation towards a foreign culture ‘*interlinguoculturology*’ [Кабакчи, 2011].

When we started our research in the early 1980s it was our aim to reach objective results. In our search for objectivity we turned to English texts about Russian culture written mostly by native speakers of English. Fortunately, Russian culture is closely examined by numerous native English authors. It is not by chance that OED [OED Online, 2013] includes three

words used in reference to experts on Russian culture: **Russianist**, **Soviet-ologist**, and **Kremlinologist**. There has been written thousands of books in English (no exaggeration) devoted to various spheres of Russian culture in the last five centuries. That made it possible for us to accumulate a corpus of texts of over 100 books of various genres, from academic papers to fiction and tourist guides to say nothing about numerous articles from the printed media (*Time*, *Times*, *Newsweek*, *National Geographic*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *Moscow Times*, *St Petersburg Times*, etc.), including the most authoritative and reliable publication *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia* (1982, 1994) compiled by 142 leading experts, both UK and US, under a single editorship. We have verified our research by checking the appearance of specific names of elements of Russian culture (Russian 'xenonyms') in most reliable dictionaries – general purpose dictionaries (OED, RHD, W3, WNW), dictionaries of foreign words and phrases, dictionaries of new words as well as specialized dictionaries of Russian cultural terminology. We have had a chance to supply purely academic research by giving talks on Russian culture to English-speaking tourists to Russia since the 1980s.

Here are some extracts from English-language description of Russian culture. For instance, an academic article:

«The gentry or middle service class (*dvoryane*) also figure in numerous graveside inscriptions. A 1677 Pskov memorial, for example, recalls the “Moscow *dvoryanin*” Evsegneii Nikitin *syn* Neelov, while a 1679 inscription remembers another *dvoryanin*, Grigorii Grigor’ev *syn* Chirikov.» [Kaiser, 2004, p. 446].

An extract from notes of a traveler:

«There were three principle sorts of conveyance: the *telega*, a springless, one-horse cart, which had a leather hood and curtain for bad weather; the *kibitka*, which was similarly equipped but could also be converted into a horse-drawn sleigh; and the *tarantass*, a sort of hooded and seatless basket about seven feet long ... [Newby, 1978, p. 77].

Modern guides on Russia sometimes include most unusual texts:

Word of the month: *Vsyo v shokolade*

«*Vsyo v shokolade* (everything in chocolate) – that’s the real way to live! If you’re living *v shokolade* it means that everything in your life is, like the best chocolates, luxurious and tasty. You’ve got the *klassnaya mashina* (cool car), the *shikarny* (chic* and stylish) clothes** and the *klyovy* date on your arm. You eat in *glamurny* (glamorous) restaurants which are *ochen dorogie* (very expensive) and drink with VIPs at the most *eksklyuzivny* (exclusive)

bars in the city. Even Russia's It-girl, the *blondinka v shokolade*, Kseniya Sobchak could be jealous of you. Ah! The power of dreams ...» [*SPbIYP* March 2009].

FCO English is in fact a variety of English for special purposes: it has its own specific vocabulary – ‘xenonyms’, names of elements of foreign cultures, specific ways of creating the text, as well as certain ways of “localizing” the text, mainly to express the identity of the foreign culture in question.

The major problem of FCO English is to form xenonyms, i.e. names for specific elements of the foreign culture. We use the term *culturonym* in reference to all names of cultural elements, irrespective of the concrete culture and language. Traditional ‘realia’ («языковые реалии») are called *idioculturonyms* and are divided into *idionyms* (specific culturonyms of internal cultures) and *xenonyms* (specific culturonyms of external cultures). Thus ‘cowboy’ is an idionym for the English language, but ‘ein Cowboy’ is a xenonym in German; «царь» is an idionym in Russian, ‘der Zar’ is a xenonym in German, while ‘tsar’ is a xenonym in English [Кабакчи, 1998, с. 18–22].

Many culturonyms may be used in reference to similar elements of external cultures – so-called “polyonyms”. Thus in the sentence “It is early Sunday morning, and I am looking through my Moscow window at the street below” [Davidow, 1980, p. 7] the words “Sunday, morning, window, street” are polyonyms. Without polyonyms any attempt to describe an “external” (foreign) culture would be either impossible or very difficult.

Most xenonyms accepted by RCO English, as our research has shown, are usually either transliterated borrowings (“tsar”, “boyar”, “balalaika”, “chernozem”), or calques (“Old Believer”, “Decembrist”), or hybrid xenonyms (“Soviet Union”, “Bolshoi Theater”, “chicken Kiev”).

Historically English accumulates xenonyms of various cultures (xenonyms are shown in bold type):

“Jerusalem, Mecca, Rome, Moscow – all are places of pilgrimage, whether the faithful come to pray at the **Wailing Wall**, circle the *kaaba*, be blessed by the **Pope** or file past **Lenin’s** embalmed body in the great mausoleum on **Red Square**” [Fodor, 1989, p.131].

As we can see, FCO English is a universal phenomenon:

German-Culture-Oriented English: The Bundestag and the Bundesrat (legislative bodies), the *Bundespräsident* (head of state), and the *Bundeskanzler* (head of government) all were located in Bonn during its period as the capital. (EncBr: Bonn)

Japanese-Culture-Oriented English: For the Japanese, the *tanka* is a “long poem”: in its common form it has 31 syllables; the *sedoka* has 38; the *dodoitsu*, imitating folk song, has 26. From the 17th century and onward, the most popular poetic form was the *haiku*, which has only 17 syllables. (EncBr)

Our study of the corpus of selected texts resulted in the compilation of *The Dictionary of Russia* [Кабакчи, 2002] with 2,500 xenonyms of Russian culture with at least 500 of them are in the OED. The minority of them, *basic xenonyms*, are those that have entered the layer of the common stock of the English language vocabulary, they are familiar to ordinary speakers and need no explanation: **Russia, steppe, tsar, balalaika, vodka, Soviet, Siberia**. Basic xenonyms are registered even by small-size general purpose dictionaries.

Basic Russian xenonyms may appear in the texts addressed to general readers. Here is an example from the US paper *Washington Post*. What follows is the opening lines of a 870-word long article (Russian xenonyms are marked by the bold type:

CZARS (By Dana Milbank, *Washington Post*, 23.10.2009)

October revolutions just ain't what they used to be.

It was 92 years, almost to the day, since the **Bolsheviks** stormed the **Winter Palace**. Sens. Joe Lieberman (I-Conn.) and Susan Collins (R-Maine), as fine a duo as **Lenin** and **Trotsky**, presided over the Senate Homeland Security and Governmental Affairs Committee, which for a couple of hours Thursday morning seemed more like the **Council of People's Commissars**.

The following text includes such xenonyms as **Bolshevik, Romanov, Nicholas II, дума, Yekaterinburg**. None is explained.

Technical xenonyms may be divided into two groups: *special dictionary xenonyms* and *occasional xenonyms*. The former are those that are registered at least by large dictionaries (over 100,000 entries). They but are familiar only to experts: “chernozem”, “starets”, “*oblast*”, “*kolkhoz*”.

“The tsar of soils,” Vasily Dokuchaev, the nineteenth-century father of Russian earth science, called chernozem [Meier, 2004, p. 67].

[Rasputin gained] a reputation as a *starets* (self-proclaimed holy man) with the ability to heal the sick and predict the future. (EncBr)

Occasional xenonyms are those that appear in texts but are of such very low frequency that they are not registered even by the largest dictionaries (OED, RHD). Special xenonyms are also usually explained when they are first introduced:

A folk group will walk the boulevard singing *kolyadki* (carols), as *Snegurochka* (the Snow Maiden) and *Ded Moroz* (Father Frost) stand side by side with Santa Claus. [*SPbTimes* 18.12.1998]

Thus most xenonyms need some explanation to make the text comprehensible. It is usually provided by means of *the parallel attachment* [Кабакчи, 1998, p. 52–54]:

In March 1921, in the so-called Kronshtadt Rebellion, Kronshtadt sailors mutinied against the Soviet government. (EncBr)

Postgraduate study can lead to the Candidate of Sciences degree (*kandidat nauk*), roughly equivalent to a Western Ph.D., or to the higher D.Sc. (*doktor nauk*) [The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Soviet Union, 1982, p. 402].

Ideally xenonyms ought to be ‘convertible’, which means that it is possible to establish the corresponding idionym-etymon: «балалайка» <=> balalaika; «казак» <=> Cossack. Xenonymic convertibility makes the transition from one text to another (even in a different language) easy. Ideal convertibility is ensured by the transplantation of the idionym, which nowadays frequently happens in guidebooks:

Look for signs saying Паспорт. Фото. (Russia, Ukraine and Belarus, 1996, p. 122)

Unreliable convertibility creates inadequacy of the text. Thus in what follows it is not clear which of Russia’s advanced academic degrees is meant – *kandidat nauk* or *doktor nauk* (in fact it is the former):

Gorbachev graduated with **a degree in law** in 1955 ... (EncBr)

The *number of special xenonyms* introduced in the text depends on its genre and various other factors. Abundance of them is rare and is typical of academic texts:

Mikhail Bogoslovskii’s *Zemskoe samoupravlenie na rusском severe v XVII v.* became central to any subsequent history of the North, and Aleksandr Kizevetter’s *Russkii Sever: rol’ severnogo kraia evropeiskoi Rossii v istorii russkogo gosudarstva*, though hardly more than a booklet, pointed to important historical connections between central Russia and the North [Kaiser, 2007, p. 68].

The *internal translation* («внутренний перевод»; [Кабакчи, 2000, c. 65–75] is an entirely different variety of translation. Let us compare samples of traditional and internal translation. First we’ll turn to a phrase from M. Bulgakov’s original «Мастер и Маргарита» and its translations:

«В Пушкино открылась чебуречная «Ялта»!» (глава X)

The idionym «чебуречная» has turned out to be difficult for translators. The attempts of the translators produce the following results [Полина, 2009, с.140-142]:

Turkish restaurant (Michael Glenny 1967, 1992).

Crimean restaurant (Diana Bergin, Katherine Tiernan O'Connor 1995).

Georgian tavern (Richard Pevear and Larissa Volokhonsky 1997).

Georgian diner (Michael Karpelson 2006).

Only one translator (Mirra Ginsburg 1967) deviates from the words of the original introducing an additional comment on the xenonym 'chebureki', actually creating a hybrid xenonym:

A Yalta Restaurant has opened recently in Pushkino! **Chebureki lamb pies!**

And now the sample of "internal translation" written by an English-language expatriate journalist in Russia for *St. Petersburg Times* of his impressions of his visit to a new cafeteria which happens to bear the name 'Cheburechnaya'. You can easily see that his style is strikingly different from that of Bulgakov's translators quoted above:

Since the place is called **Cheburechnaya**, I felt obliged to sample their **chebureki** (7.50 rubles) – thin fried bread with a meat filling as an appetizer. Now, I don't pretend to be an expert on **chebureki**, but **Cheburechnaya's chebureki** are pretty damn good. [*SPbTimes* 12 March 1999].

The author is not shy of using numerous loans. He finds it natural to use the word 'chebureki' after mentioning the name of the cafeteria: 'Cheburechnaya', being sure that the reader (mostly expatriates) will easily understand it. Moreover, he immediately defines its meaning: "thin fried bread with a meat filling as an appetizer". The original plurality of the borrowing is supplied by the correct grammatical agreement: "chebureki **are** pretty damn good".

'Internal translation' by necessity resorts to various adaptation of the language, which usually consists in the introduction of xenonyms with the appropriate construction of the text. In fact, the authors "nativize" FCO English [Kachru, 1986, p.130; Platt, 1984, p. 183].

The authors of FCO English texts try to stylize the text in the attempt to reflect the specific nature of the culture described. Not infrequently, xenonyms have purely stylistic function (usually basic ones, familiar to readers):

Kulebyaka is the **Tsar** of Russian pies. [Craig, Novgorodsev, 1990, p. 42]

Foreign authors are fond of Russian proverbs:

There is a Russian saying: ‘*Pervyj blin komom*’ – ‘The first *blin* is a **lump**’ and indeed it almost invariably is (Craig, Novgorodsev, 1990, p. 30).

‘The law,’ as Russians say, ‘is like the yoke of a cart – it goes where you turn it’ (Smith, 1976, p. 333).

The Russians have a ditty that runs, ‘**Without a document, you’re an insect; but with a document, you’re a human being**’ [Smith, 1976, p. 327].

V. Nabokov, Russia’s only English language writer, in his English prose resorts to most sophisticated ways of stylizing the text. Here is an example of the so-called “Pninian English” of a Russian exile, Professor Timofey Pavlovich Pnin (he is examining an apartment he wants to rent):

‘No *douche*?’ inquired Pnin, looking up. (Nabokov *Pnin*, 1990, p. 393)

Poor Pnin is ignorant of the fact that “*douche*” means not «душ», but “**a mixture of water and something such as vinegar, that a woman puts into her vagina to wash it, or the object that she uses to do this**” [LDCE]

Another example of “Pninian English”:

The wife of colossus, colossus Tolstoy liked much better than him a **stooped moozishan** with a red **noz!** (Nabokov *Pnin*, 1990, p. 399)

It is a part of “Pninian English” to create funny bilingual idioms, in the following example it is a mixture of two Russian and English idioms, *Russian* “to buy a cat in a bag” and *English* “the cat is out of the bag”:

The cat, as Pnin would say, **cannot be hid in a bag**. (Nabokov *Pnin*, 1990, p. 399)

Quite frequently professor Pnin resorts to *localoids*, transparent international words borrowed in the foreign form [Kabakchi, 1998, p. 63]:

His so-called **kabinet** now looked very cosy ... (Nabokov *Pnin*, 1990, p.484)

In fact localoids are not infrequently used in RCO English. Cf.:

Nikita Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev were the butt of many popular jokes – referred to by Russians as **anekdoty**. [*SPbTimes* 24 March 2000].

Nabokov frequently borrows conversational clichés:

His hand flew to his right side. *It was there, Slava Bogu* (Thank God)! (Nabokov *Pnin*, 1990, p. 383)

The author is not afraid of transferring the Russian way of referring to the age of the person concerned:

This Betty Bliss, a plump maternal girl of some twenty-nine **summers** ... (Nabokov *Pnin*, 1990, p. 399)

The use of polyonyms instead of more precise xenonyms inevitably results in the partial loss of information and assimilation of the external

culture. Here is an example of H. Smith's description of Yakutia (it is in Siberia):

It was a greedy, confident Siberian wintriness, devouring the **hardy folk** who labored along the **sidewalks** and chasing indoors those whose energies it had already eaten away. The day before, in one **café**, I had seen people banging through the door steadily, taking refuge over piping hot tea and lingering as long as possible in the stale communal warmth. I watched one **worker** chug-a-lug a half-tumbler of **brandy** like a dose of antifreeze before having another go at the elements. [Smith, 1976, p. 400]

The uninitiated reader while trying to visualize such culturonyms as 'hardy folk, sidewalks, café, worker, fashion' will either simply transfers his native-culture idea of these culturonyms into the domain of a foreign culture, which leads to its assimilation, or, which is worse, will see this culture through the habitual stereotype of this culture persistent in Western media and films.

The so-called "McCauchey syndrome" in this case is unavoidable. It is a specific phenomenon of inter-cultural communication when a couple of culturonyms of different cultures are traditionally substituted one for the other. Such bilingual *binaries* (such as *kasha*/porridge, *nauka*/science) appear in numerous bilingual dictionaries (especially small popular ones) and are used interchangeably while passing from one language to the other: "*kasha* is translated in virtually every textbook as 'porridge'. So porridge is the word used by today's English speakers when referring to a particular Russian dish that has little to do with the English/Scottish breakfast food" (McCauchey, 2005, p. 455).

In fact, RCO English to be used adequately, like any other English for special purposes of this type, is to be mastered with all its rules. And the better the knowledge of it the more adequate the description of Russian culture.

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СокращенияEncBr = *Encyclopaedia Britannica*

FCO = Foreign-Culture-Oriented

LDCE = Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English. 2006.

OED = Oxford English Dictionary Online. 2013

RCO = Russian-Culture-Oriented

SPbIYP = St. Petersburg In Your Pocket

SPbTimes = St. Petersburg Times

*В.В. Кабакчи (Санкт-Петербург, Россия)***АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК ВТОРИЧНОЙ КУЛЬТУРНОЙ ОРИЕНТАЦИИ**

В эпоху глобализации, сопровождаемой «глобанглизацией», неанглоязычные народы вынуждены осваивать английский язык в качестве вторичного средства культурного выражения. Прямой англоязычный межкультурный диалог активизирует своеобразный вид переводческой деятельности: «внутренний перевод», и формирование специализированной разновидности английского языка.

Ключевые слова: культурная ориентация, английский язык вторичной культурной ориентации, функциональный дуализм языка, культуронимы, «внутренний перевод».