

## On the question of levels of adaptation of polonism in Russian language

The vocabulary of the modern Russian language is quite diverse in origin, features of nominative meaning, scope and frequency of use. In the vocabulary of the Russian language, along with iconic words, there are foreign words. Borrowings from related Slavic languages into Russian are insufficiently studied. Foreign language vocabulary of Polish origin in the Russian language is of great interest.

Lexical borrowings are the result of linguistic contacts between peoples, their cultural and historical interaction. The Europeanization of the Russian literary language begins, in fact, with the penetration of Polonisms into it. The struggle for Livonia between Russian trading capital and Polish capital, the desire of Ivan the Terrible to find access to the Baltic Sea and return the lands seized by Lithuania and the Livonian Order, has led since the 60s of the 16<sup>th</sup> century to closer contact between the Russians and the Poles than before. Initially, borrowings from the Polish language were mainly military vocabulary. Later, especially since the armed Polish intervention, contacts between the Russian social elite and representatives of Polish society became closer. The culmination of the process of borrowing Polonisms is considered to be the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century – the reign of Alexei Mikhailovich and Fyodor Alekseevich<sup>2</sup>.

As an intermediary language, the Polish language transferred to Russian a significant number of terms related to the designation of new military concepts, unknown in Rus' until the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries, but from that time on, beginning to establish themselves and spread in the Mos-

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<sup>2</sup> G. Mileikovskaya, *Polish borrowings in the Russian literary language of the 15<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Uniwersytet Warszawski, Warsaw 1984.

cow state. This circumstance predetermined the fate of borrowed words in the Russian language: the overwhelming majority of them entered the Russian lexical system as elements of military terminology. Some of them have replaced Russian equivalents or words with similar meanings. Actually, the Polish words used in the language of ancient Russian monuments did not hide behind themselves a new concept unknown to Russian people, or denoted a phenomenon, a concept completely alien to Russian society and not adopted by it. Therefore, Polish words used in Russian monuments of the 16<sup>th</sup>–17<sup>th</sup> centuries were intended to denote phenomena characteristic only of Polish reality.

Throughout the 17<sup>th</sup> century, a lot was translated from the Polish language, and only from the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, being replaced by other Western European languages, the Polish influence subsided<sup>3</sup>.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Polish borrowings were mainly introduced by political literature, although artistic influence, including the decadent kind (“Przybyszewschina”), was also very significant. A certain number of Polish words “leaks” into everyday life and through newspapers<sup>4</sup>. It is also significant in this regard that many figures of the Russian revolution came from Poland and the South-West of Russia<sup>5</sup>.

A.M. Selishchev<sup>6</sup> saw this influence not only in the spread of a number of lexical borrowings, but also in the construction with «**ибо**» at the beginning of the phrase, the use of «**пара**» in the meaning of “several”, «**пол**» – in the meaning of “half”. A.M. Selishchev also considered the word «**эсдек**» to be a Polish abbreviation “with the characteristic suffix – ek instead of the expected – ok”, a truncation of «**экс**», **from expropriator. The abbreviations of Polish origin, transliterated in Russian, were «гаката»** (from the first letters of the surnames of the most ar-

<sup>3</sup> L.A. Bulakhovsky, *Historical commentary on the Russian literary language*, Radyanska school, Kyiv 1953, p. 18.

<sup>4</sup> L.M. Granovskaya, *Lexical borrowings in the Russian literary language of the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Scientific notes of the API of Languages named after M.F. Akhundova, Series XII, No. 1, 1979, p. 20.

<sup>5</sup> *Vocabulary of the Russian literary language of the 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Nauka, M. 1981, p. 223.

<sup>6</sup> A.M. Selishchev, *The language of the revolutionary era. From observations of the Russian language in recent years (1917–1926)*, Education worker, M. 1928.

dent haters of Poland – German politicians Hansemann, Tiedemann and Kennemann), PPS (Polish Social Democratic Workers' Party). The range of Polish borrowings itself is small: «**брутальный**» (Polish *brutalny*), «**варшавянка**» (Polish *Warszawianka*), «**концовка**» (Polish *koncówka*) – <a feature, sometimes with decorations at the end of an article or book; screensaver>, «**маевка**» (Polish *majowka*) – since the 80s, at first in the meaning of <celebration of the first day of the month of May>, by the end of the century this word received a new meaning in workers' circles <a meeting of workers for a conversation on social issues or political education>; «**массовка**» (Polish *masówka*) – <secret gathering, rally>; «**шпик**» (Polish *szpieg*) – <political detective><sup>7</sup>.

The appearance and spread of Polonisms determines their adaptation to the linguistic system of the Russian language.

Adaptation is observed at all levels of the language system. Adaptation of borrowed words is understood as a complex, multi-level process of the entry of lexical units into the system of the receiving language, including the redesign of foreign words and their adaptation to this system. The degree of adaptation can be different – from words that are completely mastered by the language in phonetic, morphological and other aspects, to words that are completely alien to the language in their structure and therefore exist in the form of barbarisms or foreign language inclusions.

The consolidation of a foreign word on Russian soil is accompanied by a change in the phonetic appearance of the word. Phonetic adaptation of Polonisms involves their adaptation to the norms and laws of phonetics of the Russian language. Graphic adaptation is the transfer of a borrowed word using the Russian alphabet. Becoming the property of the Russian language, polonisms acquire a Russian graphic appearance: **апорт**<*aporta*>, **баба**<*babka*>, **дымка**<*dymka*>, **копер**<*kafar*>, **мазурка**<*mazurka*>, **шпунт**<*szpunt*> etc.

Semantic adaptation of a borrowed word is an important factor in the development of the semantic system of the borrowing language. Variation in the content plan of new foreign language units manifests itself, first of all, at the initial stage of borrowing, when the meaning of the neologism is flexible and unstable. In the future, in the process of

<sup>7</sup> *Vocabulary of the Russian...*, op. cit., p. 224.

functioning of a foreign language word, its content can be subjected to semantic transformation.

In the process of entry, the lexical meaning of a borrowed word is formed, clarified, and refined as the word is included in semantic and paradigmatic connections in the system of the receiving language.

“Semantic borrowing is one of the important processes in the development of the semantic system of language in the 19<sup>th</sup>–20<sup>th</sup> centuries. With the external unambiguity of the results of the interaction of multilingual words (complication of the semantic structure of “one’s own” word), researchers identify processes of different nature: borrowing of meaning and its shift under the influence of the semantics of a foreign language<sup>8</sup>. The range of meanings and valence connections of a foreign word are quickly acquired in the presence of sound similarity. However, this phenomenon, characteristic of Western European languages, which have Latin as a historical prototype and international foundation, is not typical for the Russian language in its relationship with Slavic material (and not vice versa). A rare example is the word пачка, Polish *paczka* <company, mass, circle>, borrowed by Russian revolutionaries from Polish speech; <bundle, pile><sup>9</sup>.

A significant number of words entered the Russian literary language from Polish, and in this process of entry, Polonisms underwent a certain semantic adaptation.

The process of semantic adaptation of polonisms involves the transformation of its semantic structure:

1. Polonisms borrowed within the same semantic scope;
2. Polonisms that have changed their meaning;
3. Polonisms mastered in one meaning with multiple meanings in the source language.

The words *кацавейка*, конфедератка, крамбамбули, ленчик, луза, муштабель, филареты, филоматы, шкапа, шматок are borrowed in one or more meanings, what are they have in the source language.

<sup>8</sup> Y.S. Sorokin, *Development of the vocabulary of the Russian literary language in the 30–90s. XIX century*, USSR Academy of Sciences, M.-L. 1965, pp. 144–202.

<sup>9</sup> L.M. Granovskaya, *About some semantic changes in Russian literary vocabulary of the last third of the 19<sup>th</sup>–early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries*, Excursions into the history of Russian vocabulary, Nauka, M. 1978, pp. 93–94.

Кацавейка (< Polish.kacabajka) <women's short, open-skinned jacket, lined or trimmed with fur><sup>10</sup>. The word in question was first noted in the "Dictionary of the Russian Academy" in 1908, but with a different (regional) spelling and pronunciation купавейка.

Конфедератка (<Polish konfederatka) – <Polish national cap with a square top><sup>11</sup>. This word originally served as the name of the headdress of the Confederates of Poland. Confederates had worn it since 1768<sup>12</sup>. It is known that the Confederates in Poland in the 16<sup>th</sup>–18<sup>th</sup> centuries. called participants in confederations, that is, a temporary political union of armed gentry acting in defense of their class interests. However, later a shift occurred in the semantic content of this word, and the word конфедератка began to serve as the name of the Polish national headdress; received its name during the Polish uprising of 1830–1831.

Крамбамбули <Polish. *krampambule* <alcohol tincture with cloves, cinnamon and cherry pits><sup>13</sup>.

Ленчик (<Polish *łeczek*) <wooden frame of a saddle><sup>14</sup>. The Polonism in question was first recorded in the "Dictionary of Church Slavonic and Russian Languages" – <wooden base of a cavalry saddle><sup>15</sup>. In the "Dictionary of Foreign Words" edited by A.N. Chudinov<sup>16</sup> records: ленчик and анчак.

First lexicographic fixation of a word луза in "Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language" by V.I. Dahl – <one of the six holes with mesh bags near the billiards; wallet><sup>17</sup>. Луза (< Polish *łuz*) –

<sup>10</sup> D.N. Ushakov, *Explanatory dictionary of the Russian language*, t. 1–4, State Institute "Soviet Encyclopedia", M. 1947–1948, p. 1338; *The latest dictionary of foreign words*, Modern writer, Minsk 2007, p. 388.

<sup>11</sup> A.Y. Moskvina (ed.), *Large dictionary of foreign words*, Tsentrpoligraf, M. 2005, p. 312; L.P. Krysin, *Explanatory dictionary of foreign words*, Eksmo, M. 2005, p. 393.

<sup>12</sup> *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 431.

<sup>13</sup> D.N. Ushakov, op. cit., p. 1469; V.V. Bitner (ed.), *Dictionary of scientific terms, foreign words and expressions included in the Russian language*, Bulletin of knowledge, St. Petersburg 1905, p. 416.

<sup>14</sup> M. Vasmer, *Etymological dictionary*, T. 2, Progress, M. 1986–1987, p. 482; Moskvina, op. cit., p. 349; S.I. Ozhegov, *Dictionary of the Russian language*, Russian language, M. 1988, p. 260.

<sup>15</sup> V.V. Bitner (ed.), op. cit., p. 524.

<sup>16</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), *Dictionary of foreign words included in the Russian language*, Gubinsky, St. Petersburg 1902, p. 395.

<sup>17</sup> V.I. Dal (ed.), *Explanatory dictionary of the living Great Russian language*, t. 2, Russian language, M. 1978, p. 271.

<one of the six holes above the mesh bags for balls in the sides of the billiard table><sup>18</sup>.

The word муштабель was first noted in the “New Word Interpreter, Arranged Alphabetically” by N. Yanovsky. Муштабель (<Polish *musztabel*) – <special stand in the form of a thin light stick with a rounded end>; used by artists when working as a support for the hand holding a brush<sup>19</sup>.

Филомат (<Polish *filomata*) were called members of the secret patriotic society of Polish youth in 1817–1823 in Vilna<sup>20</sup>. Along with the word филомат in the 19th century it was also used филарет (<Polish *filareta* “lovers of virtue») – the name of the political society of Polish youth, formed at the former Vilna University in 1820–1823<sup>21</sup>, branch of the *Philomat* organization.

The vocabulary of the modern Russian language also knows the word шкапа (<Polish *szkapa*) – <nag, horse, little horse ><sup>22</sup>. “Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language” by V.I. Dahl records шкапа – <bad, exhausted horse, nag horse><sup>23</sup>.

Шматок represents a converted Polish loanword from *szmat*<piece, loaf of bread><sup>24</sup>. For the first time, the Polonism under consideration was recorded in the “Dictionary of Church Slavonic and Russian Languages”<sup>25</sup>.

In the process of borrowing, words can undergo changes in lexical meanings, so that a semantic difference is observed; sometimes the number of meanings of polysemantic words in the source language and in the borrowing language does not coincide.

In the words зразы, полендвица, шпикачки, краковяк, фрамуга changes in meanings are observed.

<sup>18</sup> L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 446, 362; *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 483.

<sup>19</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), op. cit., p. 481; L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 511; *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 550.

<sup>20</sup> D. Gessen, R. Stypula, *Large Polish-Russian dictionary*, Vol. 1, Wiedza Powszechna, Warszawa 2004, p. 210.

<sup>21</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), op. cit., p. 802; D. Gessen, R. Stypula, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 210.

<sup>22</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), op. cit., p. 845; M.F. Rozvadovskaya (ed.), *Polish-Russian dictionary*, State Publishing House of Foreign and National Dictionaries, M. 1960, p. 608.

<sup>23</sup> V.I. Dal (ed.), op. cit., t. 4, p. 637.

<sup>24</sup> L.M. Granovskaya, *About some semantic...*, op. cit., p. 888.

<sup>25</sup> *Dictionary of Church Slavonic and Russian languages*, Second Department of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, St. Petersburg 1867, vol. 1–4.

Зразы (<Polish *zrazy* (*siekane*) literally “chopped meatballs”) – <meat cutlets with filling><sup>26</sup>. *Zrazy* – plural form of *zraz* “piece”, but *zraz* derived from *zrazic* “to trim”. In the “Etymological Dictionary” by M. Vasmer, this word is given in meaning “food, stuffed cabbage”. Parallel to the form *зразы* noted in the announcement «сразы». Borrowed from Polish word *zrazy* from *съ* and *raz*: *ręzati* “to cut”<sup>27</sup>, in Polish, in addition to the word *zraz* in meaning <meat cutlets, *zrazy*> there is also a word *zraz* in meaning <scion, grafting > and outdated *zraz* in meaning <hunk, piece >, which did not join to Russian language. In A.N. Chudinov’s “Dictionary of Foreign Words” the word *полендвица* (<Polish. *połędwica*) fixed with the value <smoked pork fillet, prepared in the form of sausage><sup>28</sup>. In the “Etymological Dictionary” by M. Vasmer, this word has a slightly different meaning: <smoked beef from the sirloin>, which goes back to Polish *jędźwie* plural. <hips><sup>29</sup>.

The word *шпикачки* <sausages among the Western Slavs><sup>30</sup> represents a converted Polish loanword from *szpik* <subcutaneous lard>.

In the “Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language” V.I. Dahl recorded the word *шпиг* <pork lard for the kitchen>, as well as *шпиговать*, *шпиковать* “pierce and poke with thin slices of lard”<sup>31</sup>; a new word was later formed from it *шпикачки* in meaning <sausages among the Western Slavs><sup>32</sup>.

In Polish the word *szpik* used in anatomy to mean “bone marrow”, which is not included in the Russian language. *Краковяк* borrowed by the Russian language from Polish at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, where “*krakowiak*” – suffixal derivative of *Kraków*<sup>33</sup>, literally <Krakow dance>. It was originally adopted as the name of a Polish folk dance<sup>34</sup>.

It is known that the waltz is a pair dance that appeared in the 70s. XVIII century, in the second half of the XIX century gained great popular-

<sup>26</sup> L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 286.

<sup>27</sup> M. Vasmer, op. cit., t. 3, p. 105.

<sup>28</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), op. cit., p. 606.

<sup>29</sup> M. Vasmer, op. cit., t. 3, p. 308.

<sup>30</sup> *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 917.

<sup>31</sup> V.I. Dal (ed.), op. cit., t. 4, p. 643.

<sup>32</sup> *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 917.

<sup>33</sup> M. Vasmer, op. cit., t. 2, p. 497.

<sup>34</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), op. cit., p. 368; 6, 265; Moskvina, op. cit., p. 324; L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 404.

ity and thereby had a great influence on the entire ballroom repertoire. Waltz also influenced Polish Krakowiak. From the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century word краковяк gets a new meaning: краковяк – парballroom dance of a set composition, created in Russia based on combining elements of the Krakowiak with the waltz.

The word фрамуга (<Polish. *framuga* “niche, opening”) in modern Russian it has two lexical meanings: 1. Upper opening sash of a window or door<sup>35</sup>; 2. *specialist. Curtain rod at the top of the fixed frame*<sup>36</sup>.

In Polish, behind the word *framuga* two lexical meanings are included: 1. Niche; 2. Opening, embrasure<sup>37</sup>. Apparently borrowed in the 19<sup>th</sup> century from the Polish language (first noted in the “Dictionary of the Church Slavonic and Russian Language” – <upper fixed part of the window frame><sup>38</sup>) the word фрамуга has undergone a change in semantics, so that differences are observed in Polish and Russian: the second meaning <curtain rod at the top of a fixed frame> appeared on Russian soil.

In the lexical system of the Russian language the words панщина, брынза, гмина, шумовка, конкуренция have one meaning despite polysemy in the source language.

Панщина (<Polsih. *pańszczyzna*) – first noted in the “Dictionary of Church Slavonic and Russian Language”: <working days for the master; corvée><sup>39</sup>. In the “Newest Dictionary of Foreign Words”<sup>40</sup> this word is noted in its local meaning – the name <corvée in Ukraine and Belarus>. In modern Russian there is a variant of the word in question – панчизна. In Polish the word *pańszczyzna* has two lexical meanings: 1. Corvee; 2. Painful duty<sup>41</sup>. However, only the first meaning was borrowed from Polish into Russian.

Брынза (<Polish.*brynza* <Romanian.Brînză) – dry cheese from sheep’s or goat’s milk<sup>42</sup>. In the “Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language” by V.I. Dal there is the first lexicographical fixation of

<sup>35</sup> A.N. Chudinova (ed.), op. cit., p. 814; Moskvин, op. cit., p. 713; L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 845.

<sup>36</sup> *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 864; S.I. Ozhegov, op. cit., p. 700.

<sup>37</sup> D. Gessen, R. Stypula, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 217.

<sup>38</sup> *Dictionary of Church Slavonic...*, op. cit., vol. 4, p. 826.

<sup>39</sup> *Ibidem*, vol. 3, p. 320

<sup>40</sup> *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 602.

<sup>41</sup> D. Gessen, R. Stypula, op. cit., Vol. 2, p. 13.

<sup>42</sup> Moskvин, op. cit., p. 103.



this word: брынза – sheep cheese<sup>43</sup>. In Polish the word *bryndza* has the following meanings: 1. Brynza (cheese); 2. *Colloquial, joking*. Need, lack of money; 3. *Colloquial*. Quickie; 4. Разр. Stagnation in trade<sup>44</sup>. Of the four meanings available in the Polish language, only one meaning was borrowed into the Russian language.

The word has entered the lexical composition of the modern Russian language гмина (<Polsih. *gmina* <Middle Low German, *gemeine*) – Polish rural community<sup>45</sup>. The word “community” denoted the lowest rural administrative-territorial unit in Poland in 1815–1954 and since 1973 (in 1954 to 1972, such a unit was the “gromada”)<sup>46</sup>. In Polish the word *gmina* represented by several meaning: 1. Administrative-territorial division unit of Poland, parish; 2. Volost administration, commune people’s council; 3. Community (religious, etc. association)<sup>47</sup>. The Russian language borrowed only one meaning: <small unit of rural self-government in Poland><sup>48</sup>.

Шумовка (<Polish. *szumówka* <*szumować* “toskim” <*szum* “foam” <Middle Low German. *Schûm* “foam”) noted for the first time in the Dictionary of Church Slavonic and Russian Languages. Шумовка called “a large spoon with frequent holes”<sup>49</sup>. In Polish the word *szumówka* in addition to the direct meaning, it also has a figurative meaning: 1. Skimmer; 2. Purified vodka. Of the two lexical meanings in Polish, the word *szumówka* established itself in the Russian language in one direct way.

The word конкуренция (<Polish *konkurencja* <German *konkurrenz*> lat. *Concurrentia* “clash, rivalry”) in modern Russian it has one lexical meaning – <competition, struggle to achieve the highest benefits, advantages><sup>50</sup>. First found in the “Explanatory Dictionary of the Living Great Russian Language” by V.I. Dahl: конкуренция – <rivalry or competition in trade and crafts, competition, competition><sup>51</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> V.I. Dal (ed.), op. cit., t. 1, p. 133.

<sup>44</sup> M.F. Rozvadovskaya (ed.), op. cit., p. 50.

<sup>45</sup> Moskvин, op. cit., p. 159.

<sup>46</sup> L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 139; *The latest dictionary...*, op. cit., p. 234.

<sup>47</sup> D. Gessen, R. Stypula, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 237; M.F. Rozvadovskaya (ed.), op. cit., p. 146.

<sup>48</sup> D.N. Ushakov, op. cit., t. I, p. 576.

<sup>49</sup> L.P. Krysin, op. cit., p. 897.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 385.

<sup>51</sup> V.I. Dal (ed.), op. cit., t. 2, p. 151.

In Polish *konkurencja* is a polysemantic word: 1. Competition, rivalry; 2. Type of sport, meeting, competition; 3. *Outdated* Matchmaking, courtship<sup>52</sup>. From Polish the Russian language borrowed one meaning of the word конкуренция – <competition, struggle to achieve the highest benefits, advantages><sup>53</sup>.

Borrowed words cannot be thought of outside of morphology and outside of a specific structure. The process of grammatical adaptation of borrowed words has some peculiarities in comparison with other aspects of acquisition. Grammatical adaptation proceeds at a faster pace and is much more closely related to the relationships within the Russian morphological and word-formation system<sup>54</sup>. For Russian as an inflectional language, the final elements of words play an important role, defining the grammatical categories of gender, number, declension and conjugation.

It should be noted that the bulk of Polonisms included in the Russian literary language are the class of nouns.

The analysis showed that the gender of the borrowed nouns of the Polish and Russian languages when borrowed in most cases coincides. Nouns are usually borrowed in the singular form. However, there is a small circle of words for which the categories of gender and number in Russian and Polish do not coincide:

1. Discrepancy in the category of gender of nouns in the Polish and Russian languages.
2. Discrepancy in the category of number of nouns in Polish and Russian: in Polish the word has two number forms, in the host Russian language it has only a plural form.
3. Word forms that are inflected in the source Polish language are not inflected in the receiving Russian language.

The words басаринка, буханка, пампушка, папироса, цигельня in modern Russian they refer to the feminine gender, and in Polish “*basarunek*”, *bochen* (*bochenek*), *pampuch*, *papieros*, *ziegel* belong to the masculine

<sup>52</sup> D. Gessen, R. Stypula, op. cit., Vol. 1, p. 340.; M.F. Rozvadovskaya (ed.), op. cit., p. 210.

<sup>53</sup> S.I. Ozhegov, op. cit., p. 235.

<sup>54</sup> E.E. Birzhakova, L.A. Voinova, L.L. Kutina, *Essays on the historical lexicology of the Russian language of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Language contacts and borrowings*, Nauka, L. 1972, p. 239.

gender. Дрель, лазурь in modern Russian they refer to the feminine gender, and in Polish *drył* and *lazyr* – masculine nouns. Шарф, шрам in modern Russian they are masculine, but in Polish *szarfa*, *szrama* are feminine.

The words крагли, цимбалы, пляцки, шельки, инстигаторы, лавники, клейноды in modern Russian they are used only in the plural form, but in Polish these words are used in the singular form *kręgiel*, *cymbał*, *placek*, *instigator*, *ławnik*, *klejnot*, *szetka*, and also the plural form *kręgiel*, *cymbały*, *placki*, *szetki*, *instigator*, *ławniki*, *klejnoty*.

Some forms of words that are inflected in Polish are not inflected in Russian. The words генсле, жлубцоки, крамбамбули in modern Russian they are indeclinable nouns. In Polish *gęśle*, *źlubcoki* – plural forms, where *gęśl*, *źlubcok* – are singular forms, *krampambule* – it is an inflected neuter noun.

During morphological adaptation, cases are observed when a word, being a verb in Polish, is rendered as a noun in Russian. In Russian we find the word прасовка <tailor's ironing board>, borrowed from Polish *prasować*; кантователь <device for turning (edgings) blanks, parts, products during their manufacture, transportation and packaging> borrowed from *kantować*.

The process of the entry of a foreign word is determined by a well-known “stylistic reflex”, which may be indirectly related to the emotional attitude towards a foreign language in general, although in order to promote the flow of borrowings, the cultural value of each language and the traditions of its perception undoubtedly play a certain role<sup>55</sup>.

In a borrowing language, a word can not only change, but also develop a new stylistic coloring that is absent in the source language.

In a number of cases, a foreign language word, devoid of stylistic marking at first and not arousing any associations, turns out to be capable of semantically undifferentiated expression of a whole range of shades of meaning<sup>56</sup>.

It should be noted that in the Russian language there is a hierarchically high stylistic significance of foreign borrowings, for example, French,

<sup>55</sup> *Vocabulary of the Russian...*, op. cit., p. 206.

<sup>56</sup> L.M. Granovskaya, *Semantic development of borrowed words and semantic borrowing in the Russian literary language*, Russian language and literature in the Azerbaijani school, 1975, No. 7, p. 60.

and a decrease in etiological doublets from closely related languages, for example, Polish<sup>57</sup>.

The historically developed linguistic situation in Poland (the influence of Latin in connection with Catholicism and worship in Latin) significantly separated Polish from other Slavic languages, depriving it at the same time of its reliance on the Slavic language. This led to a different stylistic character of the entire Polish vocabulary<sup>58</sup>.

Words that are stylistically neutral in Polish in Russian can become emotionally expressively colored or functionally fixed. The stylistic characteristics of a word, its emotional and expressive coloring and functional assignment to a certain sphere of communication are determined not only by the traditional use: it is formed and changed in the sphere of numerous assessments formed in the social contexts of its use.

The coloring of the word is formed in a unique way *москаль*. In the works of Polish writers, where the Russian freedom-loving person appears as a fighter against tyranny, the word *москаль*, having a negative connotation loses this connotation. For example, in A. Mitskevich's poem "To Friends – Muscovites". But in the novel by M. Kuntsevich "Foreigner" (*Чужеземка*), the negative connotation of the word *москаль* remains.

Vocabulary associated with naming people, which has a neutral connotation in Polish, appears in Russian as emotionally expressive:

Шулер <a person who cheats when playing cards and is generally a liar>, *лайдак* <tramp, sloth, rogue, rascal>, *шахер-махер* – <fraudster, stupid businessman> in modern Russian, being an expletive, is used in common parlance.

The word *жид* in modern Russian, unlike Polish, it is a stylistically colored word: this word is used in a colloquial style of speech and has disapproval. However, in Polish, Ukrainian, Lithuanian, Belarusian and some other languages, the term is not abusive.

<sup>57</sup> B.A. Uspensky, *Semiotic problems of style in linguistic coverage*, Proceedings on symbolic units, Tartu University, Tartu 1969, vol. 4, p. 498

<sup>58</sup> E.E. Birzhakova, *Reflection of the functional and stylistic differentiation of Russian vocabulary in bilingual dictionaries of the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, [in:] ed. K. Kondratovich, *Polish-Russian dictionary: Functional and social varieties of the Russian literary language of the 18<sup>th</sup> century*, Nauka, L. 1984, p. 135.

After the January uprising of 1863, the word пан, disparaging in its connotation, and synonymous with the word поляк entered the pages of official, bureaucratic documents.

“In the complex of meanings of the word поляк the motive of not just political disloyalty, but incorrigible *non-Russianness*, is noticeably strengthened – to the point that sometimes it acts as a kind of political curse against people who do not have any Polish ethnic roots (hence such derivatives as поляковать, полякующий, and also a combination like зяядлый поляк»or зяядлая полька)<sup>59</sup>. “Analysis of similar word usage in the 1860s. can be the subject of a special study” – notes M. Dolbilov<sup>60</sup>.

When Russian words are borrowed from Polish, a process opposite to that discussed above is observed: a word that is emotionally expressive in the source language can be adopted in Russian as completely neutral. This can be illustrated with the example of the word кракузы. In the Polish language, in addition to the direct meaning, which is reflected in the Russian language <light cavalry soldier>, there is also a figurative, stylistically colored meaning: this word serves as a humorous name for the inhabitants of Krakow.

The research showed that in the process of borrowing, Polonisms were subject to adaptation at all levels of the language system and the vast majority of words were completely adapted to the Russian language system.

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<sup>59</sup> M. Dolbilov, *Pole in the imperial literary lexicon*, “New Literary Review” 2011, 2, No. 108, p. 47.

<sup>60</sup> *Ibidem*, p. 48.

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## On the question of levels of adaptation of polonism in Russian language

### Abstract

The problem of loanword is one of the traditional ones in linguistic science. In the process of loanword, Polonisms were subject to adaptation at all levels of the language system. Phonetic adaptation of Polonisms involves their adaptation to the norms and laws of phonetics of the Russian language. Becoming the property of the Russian language, Polonisms acquire a Russian graphic appearance. Polonisms have undergone such semantic adaptation as narrowing, expanding and changing meanings. With grammatical adaptation, Polonisms adapt to the rules of Russian grammar and take on the grammatical meaning and grammatical features of the Russian language. As for stylistic adaptation, changes in emotional and expressive coloring and the functional consolidation of words, they are also determined by a number of extralinguistic factors: the status of the source language, established relations in the history of peoples, the perception of cultural values and their hierarchy in the system of others. The work uses a descriptive method in interpreting the material with the involvement of lexicographic sources of different genres.

**Keywords:** Polonism, Russian, Polish language, adaptation levels