

УДК 801.313

The Russian Cuisine in English Travel Guides to Russia

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Received 22.05.2012, received in revised form 29.05.2012, accepted 05.02.2013

The article focuses on the xenonymic Russianisms, one of the major issues of interlinguoculturology, a comparatively new linguistic discipline, which studies language in its secondary cultural orientation. In this article the main means of xenonymic formation are being discussed as applied to the culinary examples from the up-to-date authentic travel guides about Russia. It pays special attention to the culinary routinisms which are frequent in the texts of travel guide literature.

Keywords: interlinguoculturology, authentic text, secondary cultural orientation of the language, the Russian-Culture-Oriented English, culinary xenonymic routinisms, xenonymic loans, lexical and semantic calques, xenonymic analogues, hybrid xenonyms, xenonymic descriptive names.

Introduction

Due to the processes of globalization and “globanglization”, each culture has a chance and opportunity to express itself in the world by means of specific kind of communication – Foreign Language Culture Description. The Russian scholar V.V. Kabakchi and his scientific school have been working in a new branch of linguistics called *interlinguoculturology* which studies language in its *secondary cultural orientation* (Кабакчи, 1998, 17). Each language is characterized by its *functional duality*. *Functional dualism of language* is the cornerstone of the theory of interlinguoculturology (*ILCology*). The main idea of functional duality is based upon the fact that it is presupposed historically that a language is oriented to its own *internal* culture with such orientation being the *primary* for it. A language’s orientation towards a foreign culture

(*external*) is considered to be its *secondary cultural orientation*. As our world is multilingual, it is inevitable that, although historically each language is primarily oriented towards its own (“internal”) culture, it is also used to speak of foreign (“external”) cultures.

The theory of *ILCology* studies the characteristic features and development of the specialized language – *Foreign-Culture-Oriented Language (FCO-English)*. *FCO-English*, being a global phenomenon, is characteristic of any world culture and language. A variety of Foreign-Culture-Oriented Language is Russian-Culture-Oriented English (*RCO-English*). Due to some reasons, the fastest development of *RCO-English* is observed in travel guides literature in English about Russia. This specific language possesses a special lexis to denote the specific elements of the Russian culture in the sphere of tourism

(so called *tourist xenonyms*) and the specific text structure. Travel guides' sections describing local food, café and restaurants form an important part in their structure, as they focus on the important information for foreign tourists visiting Russia.

The national Russian cuisine is an integral part of the Russian culture and Russia's everyday life. The Russian-culture culinary lexis is quite frequent in the different types of foreign description texts (fiction, newspapers, magazines, etc.), but it can be generally found in its non-assimilated form in the texts of the up-to-date English travel guides. An original travel guide is one of the types of foreign description texts as well.

Culturonyms, that name the specific elements of the Russian everyday life which the foreign tourists come across, will be called *routinisms* (from English "routine"). This term will be used throughout the article to denote the specific names of objects and elements of the Russian culture, which are used to describe the typical everyday situations arising among the foreign tourists in Russia. The article focuses on the one important segment of the Russian-culture routinisms, namely – *the culinary routinisms*. The study of culinary names of the Russian food, drinks and etiquette is of immediate interest due to the long-felt need to define the specifics of English xenonymic nomination of the Russian national cuisine and to compile the lexical corpus of the Russian-culture culinary routinisms.

Although the Russian-culture culinary routinisms are of interest, there has been a few researches in this sort of study. A.I. Leonova investigated the linguoculturological features of *culinaronyms* (names of the culinary dishes and pastry) on the basis of food naming in Russian, English and French (Leonova, 2003). Leonova's research, based on word combinations, phrasal units, proverbs and sayings, showed that the Russian culinaronyms existing in the English

language belong to the *boundary* or *periphery* culinaronyms (archaisms, historicisms and limited culinaronyms). Generally, in any language's lexicon there is a core and several layers of a more distant periphery. In our research we are of the opinion that most of the Russian-culture culinary routinisms, which can be found in the texts of the up-to-date travel guides, belong to the periphery of the English language lexicon. This fact is proved by the findings of Leonova's study. Analyzing this layer of lexis, we take into consideration the following statements. According to the theory of interlinguoculturology, xenonymic lexis of any external culture to anyone who doesn't belong to this culture is a special expertise one has to acquire. Due to its termhood and specialized characteristics, culinary xenonyms position the periphery of the Russian-Culture Oriented English. Majority of them can be understood only by the specialists in Slavistics, namely in the Russian culture and literature. This fact defines one of the characteristic features of the Russian-Culture-Oriented English and makes the Russian-Culture xenonyms bear a close resemblance to the terms.

In most cases, the xenonymic accessibility of the culinary routinisms to the English language speakers is quite low. The English-speaking world is not quite familiar with the Russian cuisine: "Russian cooking? Well, there's borshch and chicken Kiev and ...beef Stroganov ... and ..." How many people could name more Russian dishes than that, or even claim to have tasted an authentic version of these? (Fodor'89:123)" According to its xenonymic accessibility all xenonyms can be subdivided into several groups (Кабакчи, 1998; 33-38): 1) *basic* xenonyms, belonging to the layer of commonly accessible and comprehensible lexis. They do not need to be explained to the recipient, e.g. *samovar*, *vodka*; 2) *technical dictionary xenonyms*, which are registered in the dictionaries including more than 100000

words, e.g. *pelmeni*, *blini*, *rassolnik*; 3) *technical occasional xenonyms* which are occasionally used in different types of texts but not so regularly to be registered by lexicographers. Both technical dictionary xenonyms and technical occasional xenonyms require explanation when they are first used in the text. At its first appearance in the text, these xenonyms are usually accompanied by the *parallel attachment complex*. It is frequently a whole complex referring to some specific element of an external (foreign) culture. This complex consists of: (1) the xenonym itself (possibly two or more variants of it), (2) its explanation, and (3) an introductory phrase (optionally) of the type ‘called’, or ‘known (or referred to) as’ (Кабакчи, 1998: 52-54; 129-130). «Other national dishes include *pirozhki*, fried turnovers filled with cabbage or meat, and *blini*, small, light pancakes rolled and filled with caviar, fish, melted butter, fruit preserves, or sour cream» (Fodor’s 99:5). In fact, in many cases we deal with the neologisms of the language. The principle of «*proportional focusing*», which was employed in compiling the *Noviy Bolshoi Anglo-Russky Slovar’*, under the guidance of Prof. Y.D. Apresyan, imply that “centricity – periphery” of lexical units should be discussed in different scales (НБАРС, 1999). The most important of them are the timescale and the spatial scale. The language core, which forms the basis of the literal language, is unchangeable for both scales. On the timescale around the core there are archaisms, obsolete words and historicisms. To another side from the zero mark there are neologisms. The culinary occasionalisms belong to neologisms as well. On the spatial scale around the core dialectisms are located. «The English language, being widespread on neighboring territories, absorbs the elements of other languages’ substratum. Therefore, the periphery of the English language is rich in Gallicisms, Hispanicisms, Italianisms, Germanisms and borrowings from numerous Indian languages”

(НБАРС, 1999:9). The culinary Russianisms in travel guides, which dialectisms in English, form so-called *foreign linguocultural substratum*, such elements of the text, appearance of which is explained by the influence of the language of foreign culture described. (Кабакчи, 2007:53)

The purpose of our research is to classify the Russian-culture culinary routinisms which can be found in the texts of the up-to-date travel guides to Russia. 32 authentic English travel guides, published outside Russia from 1990 to 2010, served as the material for research. The culinary routinisms were selected by the method of continuous sampling. The corpus of illustrative material comprised of 145 nomination units, which is 38.06 % of the common number of routinisms in the analyzed texts. Due to the fact that the same routinisms are repeated in the travel guides’ texts several times, it is obvious that the total number of culinary routinisms exceeds the number stated above.

The classification of the culinary routinisms can be made according to two criteria – thematic and word-building ones. All the culinary routinisms can be subdivided into several groups: 1) the names of the culinary dishes or *culinaryonyms*, according to the definition by Leonova; (Леонова, 2003); 2) the names of the alcoholic and non-alcoholic beverages; 3) the names of the local café and restaurants; 4) food etiquette and the Russian culinary traditions. “Pickled fish is a popular starter (try *selyodka pod shuby*, herring in “fur-coat” of beetroot, carrot, egg and mayonnaise) (*ThRGSbP*, 2004:347); “All the usual culprits of the fizzy-drink world are widely available but the traditional Russian soft drinks are *kompot*, a sugary squash made with berries and other fruit, and *kvass*, a thirst-quenching concoction produced from fermented bread. (*ThCPG*, 2010:28); «The Russian for waiter and waitress is “*ofitsant*” and “*ofitsantka*”, respectively. Yet it is customary to attract the attention of waitresses with a simple

“Devushka!”(Girl!) (<http://travel.dk.com/st-petersburg/practical-info>).

One of the characteristic features of the Russian cuisine is its *multiculturalism*. Taking this fact into account, we may classify the culinary routines according to its national attribute as well. In the western travel guides the Belarusian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Georgian, Azeri and Kazakh culinary dishes are described in detail, so that we may speak of the correspondent culinary routines. «It will certainly captivate you with Georgian favourites such as *lobio* (bean salad), *satsivi* (chicken with walnut sauce) and *hachapuri* (cheese pie)” (*Thomas Cook Pocket Guides: Moscow, 2010:104*). Many dishes of non-Russian Soviet republics were integrated into the international diet of the Soviet people making the present-day Russian cuisine diverse and multicultural. «The Russians eagerly adopted specialties from many of the regions that made up the Soviet Union. Russia was just one of fifteen republics of the Soviet Union, each of which maintained its own culinary traditions» (Goldstein, 1999, xvii). In many cases the non-Russian culinary xenonyms get into English by means of the Russian language which therefore serves as a bridge between Europe and Asia. Hence, such xenonyms as *shashlik*, *Mukuzani*, *Saperavi*, being of the Caucasian origin in fact, were first cited in the English texts as the Slavic loan-words according to the OED’s data.

The Russian-culture culinary routines can be classified into following types: a) culinary routines formed by means of xenonymic loans; b) culinary routines – calques; c) culinary routines – hybrids; d) culinary routines in form of descriptive xenonymic names; e) culinary routines formed by means of substitution of the Russian idionym by inter-cultural xenonymic analogue and by use of generic term (hyperonyms).

A. Xenonymic borrowing is basic means of xenonymic formation in the Foreign-Culture-Oriented Language. It provides *reliable xenonymic convertibility* that enables to restore an *idionymic prototype* (an original word or phrase) with a high level of accuracy while naming a specific element of an external culture (*idionym*): водка – vodka; борщ – borsch. Borrowing is a universal and the most common way of xenonymic formation. Most of the existing culinary xenonyms in Russian-Culture-Oriented English are loan-words. In his book, *The Dictionary of Russia*, Prof. V.V. Kabakchi has collected, written down and analyzed more than 2500 English xenonymic Russianisms, including culinary xenonymic lexis, which is widely used in the authentic texts of RCO-English and noted by academic dictionaries. “The terminology of the Russian cuisine is fairly well known in the English-speaking world, because the culinary theme inevitably arises in direct inter-cultural contacts. One should be particularly careful about referring to culinary dishes in intercultural communication because each name will be used to identify to the respective dish” (Кабакчи, 2002, с.544). The last 3rd edition of The Oxford English Dictionary (OED) and its Additions series, vol.1-3, 1993,1997 state 32 basic xenonyms of the Russian origin which have become a part of the Global English vocabulary within the sphere “Food” (*kvass, beluga, pirog, vodka, kasha, bliny, borsch, zakuska, pelmeni and etc.*).

According to the made calculation, xenonymic borrowing dominates in the corpus of illustrative material and amounts 70 % of the registered units of xenonymic nomination. *Transliteration* and *practical transcription* are the most common incorporation means of the borrowed culinary routines. The results of the studied original texts certify that *Cyrillic transplantation* is not very much widespread in the authentic texts, except for the case where it

refers to the Russian eating places and food shops. «For a full meal, you can go anywhere from the most basic self-service canteen **столовая** (stalova-ya) to a proper restaurant **ресторан** (ryestaran)» (Russian: *A Rough Guide Dictionary Phrasebook*, 2001:147); «Bread (*хлеб*) is available from bakeries **булочная** (boolachnaya), and is one of Russia's culinary strong points» (Russian: *A Rough Guide Dictionary Phrasebook*, 2001:67). Interlinguoculturology understands *transplantation* as “a mechanical transfer without any changes of lexical units from one language into another” (Кабакчи 1998:73). Via transplantation different Cyrillic signs – for example, the names of food shops and eating places – are incorporated in the texts of the travel guides to Russia.

Practical transcription as a result of the non-unified standardization of the Russian-Culture-Oriented English causes different variants in spelling. This fact is proved by the registration of the several variants of xenonymic spelling: *Schi/shchi*, *borshch/borsch*, *chail/chay*, *Sovietskoe/Sovietskoe Shampanskoe*.

We should pay special attention to the plural form of the borrowed culinary routinisms. The long-term practice of studying authentic texts of RCO-English proves the fact that the plural form of borrowed xenonymic Russianisms in most cases is formed by means of adding English ending –‘s’, denoting the plural number: Cossack=>Cossacks; samovar => samovars. Mostly, the borrowing of the Russian form of the plural is to be found in the case of non-assimilated Russianisms. This peculiarity is also observed in the texts of the original travel guides to Russia. This variant is preferred by the travel guides' authors: «Zakuski (appetizers) are a big feature of Russian cuisine. (Russia & Belarus, 2006:107); «Other national dishes include *pirozhki*, fried turnovers filled with cabbage or meat, and *blini*, small, light pancakes rolled and filled with caviar, fish, melted butter, fruit preserves, or sour cream.» (Fodor'99:5);

The *griby v smetane* (mushrooms in cream) is good and filling (Fodor'99:189); *syrniki* (cottage-cheese fritters), delicious with jam, sugar and the universal Russian condiment *smetana* (sour cream (Russia & Belarus, 2006:107).

Anyway both variants of the plural form can become across in the texts of the travel guides. It is explained by the fact that a borrowed xenonym is completing the phase of assimilation in English. For example, such authoritative dictionary as OED registers both variants of the plural form of the Russian “zakuska”: pl. *zakuskas*, *zakuski*, noting that the singular “zakuska” is sometimes erroneously used in English as if it is in its plural form. (<http://www.oed.com/view/Entry/232675>; accessed 05 January 2012). In the xenonymic combination “zakuski/hors d'oeuvre” is frequently used in the texts of the travel guides as an explication of the Russianism “zakuska” in addition to the direct borrowing: “*Bliny* (pancakes), one of the best – loved of Russian **zakuski** – small dishes or hors d'oeuvres”(ThRG SbP, 2004:346).

In the analyzed material we have registered only one case of use of the English plural form with –‘s’: «Though some of the old state-run cafes and *stolovayas* (cafeterias) are still open, they're being steadily replaced by new chains of fast-food restaurants» (Fodor'99:xix). In most examples the culinary routinisms ‘*stolovaya*’ is used in singular.

Another characteristic of xenonymic borrowing in travel guides is wide use of so called *localoids* or the local variants of English words (Кабакчи, 1998:63). “The language practice shows that the localoids are extensively used in intercultural communication” (Кабакчи, Новое о ЛДП, 1998: 80-98). The specific feature of localoids is their clear association with its language correlates and as a result of it, its semantic transparency: kafe-klub=> “cafe&club”; *pab* => pub; *biznes-lanch* => “business lunch”;

pitstsa => pizza. “Incorrectness” of the English spelling of the word and typing it in italics automatically attracts a reader’s attention and performs the function of a graphic marker: *bufet/ buffet, gastronom/ gastronomy* (or ‘gastronome’). As a result of the conducted analysis, we could found out that the localoid *biznes lunch* has the highest frequency: «A great dining bargain in most Russian cities is the set- menu *biznes lunch*, generally served from noon to 4 pm, Monday to Friday. These simple but filling three-course lunch deals can cost as little as R100 to R150 (up to R250 in Moscow and Saint-Petersburg) » (Russia & Belarus, 2006:108).

B. The other wide-spread means of xenonymic formation of culinary routinisms is *calquing*. Calquing is an indirect borrowing when the model of the lexical prototype is either reproduced by means of native morphemes (in the case of *lexical calques*, i.e. translation loans) or when an existing word acquires a new meaning under the influence of the respective foreign word (in the case of *semantic calques*, i.e. semantic loans). The example of lexical calques among the Russian culinary xenonyms is the phrase “red/black caviar”. Another lexical calque “Swedish table”, being the calque from the Russian descriptive xenonymic name «шведский стол», is now passing through the phase of occasionalisms, though this term is quite frequent in descriptions of the Russian food rituals in many Russia’s travel guides: «There’s no better place to indulge in *shvedsky stol* (smorgasbord, or “Swedish table” in Russian) than at a place called Scandinavia (Russia & Belarus, 2006, p.178). In many countries such way of serving food to the guests is called ‘buffet’, though the term “*shvedsky stol*” is used in many languages (cf. Ukrainian “шведський стіл”, Polish “szwedzki stół”, Hungarian “svédasztal”, Croatian “švedski stol”). This term is frequently repeated in the up-to-date travel guides, because this phenomenon

is quite common nowadays in many Russian cafés and restaurants: «There’s no better place to indulge in *shvedsky stol* (smorgasbord, or “Swedish table” in Russian) than at a place called Scandinavia (Russia & Belarus, 2006, p.178). What the Russians call «шведский стол», in many other languages is called ‘buffet’. Because of the change in semantic meaning of the word ‘буфет’ in Russian, the term ‘шведский стол’ took its place. In our opinion, the English word “buffet” in the meaning of «a sideboard or side-table extended to cover the refreshments set out on the sideboard, table, etc., and where guests or customers are usually served standing» (OED 2011:*buffet*) roughly corresponds to the Russianism “Swedish table”.

The examples of semantic calquing of culinary routinisms have not been found in the texts of travel guides to Russia. Calquing is less productive means of forming culinary routinisms. The examples of calquing comprise only 3 % of the analyzed material.

C. In the case of *hybrid xenonyms*, one component of the prototype is borrowed while the other component is translated. The borrowed part guarantees the intercultural convertibility of the xenonyms (the “*guarantee component*”), while the translated component makes the phrase comprehensible for a reader (tourist): «котлета по-киевски» => Chicken Kiev.

Culinary routinisms – hybrids can be heterogeneous in its structure, and we can talk about a specific variety of it, called ‘*semi-calques*’ when one part of xenonym is borrowed and the other is calqued. The examples among the Russian culinary routinisms are beef Stroganov, Kiev cutlet. But the semi-calque ‘beef Stroganov’ is seldom used in the texts of the travel guides. This fact can be explained by the idea that this dish is considered to be of the French origin (supposedly from French *бюф стегофф*). Chicken Kiev is alternatively very often mentioned in travel

guides. Moreover, there are several xenonymic variants for the Russian dish: *kotleta po kievsky* (direct borrowing) ⇔ *Kievskaya kotleta* (direct borrowing) ⇔ Kiev cutlet (hybrid) ⇔ Chicken Kiev (hybrid + descriptive xenonymic name). But the assimilated variant Chicken Kiev is mostly preferred by the authors of original guides.

The percentage of culinary routinisms of this type is insufficient. In our research it equals only 2.7 % from the total number of the selected units.

D. The third way of culinary routinisms formation, specific for Russian-Culture-Oriented English, relates to *descriptive xenonymic names*. The practice of inter-cultural communication approves only short descriptive names that do not make a sentence or the whole text cumbersome and difficult for understanding. The typical examples of the culinary xenonymic descriptive names widely used in RCO-English are: cabbage soup (usually referred to «щи») < open sandwich (бутерброд) < meat- and cabbage-filled pies (*pirozhki*) < *salo*, thin slices of fat < *solyanka* (meat and vegetable soup) < *syrniki* (cottage-cheese fritters). They are often accompanied by a loaned xenonym itself. The percentage of this kind of culinary routinisms forms 4.3 % of the registered units.

E. The next type of culinary routinisms is the «*Matryoshka doll*» model. The xenonyms consist of two parts: the borrowed original (which guarantees the convertibility) and the generic term (its hyperonym) attached to it to supply comprehensibility. This model has many variations among the culinary routinisms, for instance, with the hyperonym “soup”: *shchi* cabbage soup, *okroshka* cold soup, *borsch* beet soup. The phrases, like Olivier salad, *ossetra/asetra* caviar, are frequently used in the texts of travel guides. In many texts the loan “ossetrova” is considered to be the preferable variant while speaking about the sturgeon caviar: «caviar from

the Russian sturgeon, hence also: the fish itself» (OED 2004: *ossetrova*).

There are hybrid xenonyms in the Russian-Culture-Oriented English culinary vocabulary formed by the “*Russian doll*” model. As everything that belongs to the Russian culture and to the Russian cuisine in particular, can be described with the adjective “Russian” («Russian pancakes», «Russian soup», «Russian vodka» and etc.), the model has a limited use. It is widely spread when speaking or writing about the unique elements of the Russian culture (for example, the Russian Museum). The OED lists the following culinary phrases of this type: Russian dinner; Russian dressing; Russian egg; Russian salad; Russian tea.

Readers might be confused by the meaning of these culinary terms. Thus, in the first half of the last century the hybrid xenonym “Russian salad” usually referred to what the Russians call *vinegret* salad because that was the most popular one. While in the second half of the 20th century the traditional dish (especially for the New Year celebrations) was the “*Olivier* salad”. Sometimes the whole original name is borrowed (“*salat olivye*”).

Substitution of an English analogue for a Russian xenonym inevitably leads to simplifying the text. There are a number of xenonyms which partially coincide in their meaning on the inter-language level. These are *inter-cultural analogues*. By using analogues in the text it is much easier to explain the meaning of a Russian culinary term if you are prepared for the partial loss of the information. That’s why analogues are widespread in the culinary descriptions: “Ubiquitous are *pelmeni*: Russian-style ravioli (generally stuffed with pork or beef) and served either heaped on a plate with sour cream, vinegar and butter, or in a stock soup” (Russia & Belarus, 2006:108); *plov* (A Central Asian rice pilaf) (Fodor’s 99:75); *Chai*, as tea is known in numerous

Eurasian languages, is served black with lemon, sugar and cheese and biscuits. (*ThCPG*:26); Hotels will serve an approximation of the “Continental” breakfast, probably just a fried egg, bread, butter and jam; the flashier joints, however, provide a *Shvedskiy stol*, or ‘Swedish table’, a sort of smorgasbord. (*ThRGSPb*:345).

The culinary routinisms formed this way comprise 12 % of the analyzed material.

Resume

Summing up, the xenonymic layer of lexis is constantly in the process of formation. The selection of proper xenonymic variants requires much time. The linguists should carefully investigate the occasional xenonyms, such as the “Russian table”, not throwing away any case of use, even if the term seems to be very strange. The main lexicographical criterion the linguists have to bear in mind is the stable use of a word in the language. It is said in the preface to the 1st edition of *The Bolshoi Anglo-Russky Slovar'* by Prof. I.R. Galperin: “the dictionary should give an idea about the potential opportunities

of forming new words by noting the most true-to-life and productive models of word derivation. Therefore, occasional “one-day” words and meanings have to find their own place in encyclopedic dictionaries as well as in linguistic dictionaries, not talking about the special dictionaries of neologisms.” (*EAPC*:10). *The culinary topic is a specialized object of the Russian-Culture-Oriented English, where we can find such occasional and productive words more frequently than in any other subject of interlinguoculturology. We must underline the fact that most of the culinary xenonymic Russianisms have an occasional structure and use. The author's choice of a xenonymic variant depends on his or her cultural background and the depth of the Russian culture's knowledge. It also depends of the travel guide's style and the individual peculiarities of the author's writings. As the results of the research demonstrated the culinary routinisms formed by means of borrowing and by using intercultural analogues are the most widespread types of routinisms in the sphere of the Russian cuisine.*

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Abbreviations:

БАРС – *Bolshoi Anglo-Russky Slovar'*

НБАРС – *Noviy Bolshoi Anglo-Russky Slovar'*

OED – *Oxford English Dictionary*

ThRGSPb- *The Rough Guide to Saint-Petersburg*

ThCPG – *Thomas Cook Pocket Guides*

Русская кухня

в англоязычных путеводителях по России

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Данная статья посвящена ксенонимам-русизмам, изучением которых занимается интерлингвокультурология, сравнительно молодая лингвистическая дисциплина, исследующая вопросы вторичной культурной ориентации языка. В статье рассматривается русская кулинарная ксенонимическая лексика, встречающаяся в современных аутентичных англоязычных путеводителях по России.

Ключевые слова: интерлингвокультурология, аутентичный текст, вторичная культурная ориентация языка, английский язык межкультурного общения, ориентированный в область русской культуры (АЯМО (РК)), кулинарные ксенонимы-рутинизмы, заимствование ксенонимическое, кальки лексические и семантические, ксенонимические межкультурные аналоги, гибридные ксенонимы, описательные обороты.
