

STRUCTURAL AND SEMANTIC CHANGES IN RUSSIAN
SINCE THE REVOLUTION

INTRODUCTION

The project is conceived at three levels:

Schedule A encompasses the whole field of investigation. Conceived as a single project it indicates the general scope and purport of the research, intending to state rather than solve the problem in all its magnitude. In fact, it would break down into a series of convergent studies and each chapter, sometimes even parts of the chapter, may form a research project in its own right. Eventually, Schedule A might be a book summing up the research.

Schedule B narrows down the field to Communist Russian Semantics (See enclosure.)

Schedule C is statistical study of Communist Russian hypotheses and establish some linguistic and historic data unequivocally before submitting them to a semantic study (B Schedule); and (b) provide a properly organized set of data which students of cultural anthropology, sociology, psychology, political science, psychological warfare, etc. also might profitably use; (their cooperation can be required for defining the particular characteristics of the Communist speech they may wish to separate.)

A tentative outline of Schedule C is enclosed to make more clear its scope and procedure (more technical parts are omitted for the sake of convenience), and I hope that the general Russian word count, may provide us with useful comparative data.

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Schedule A.

STRUCTURAL AND SEMANTIC CHANGES IN RUSSIAN

SINCE THE REVOLUTION

(A tentative outline)

1.

The language of the revolution and the revolution of the language.- Dynamics of the revolutionary vocabulary and syntax.- Forms of speech (emotive, narrative, and promotive).- Common features and differences in the language of the Russian and the French Revolutions.- Influence of institutions and of customs.- The effect of the personality.- The cliché.- Fetish words.- Some general characteristics.- Attitude of writers and scholars toward revolutionary neologisms.- Reaction of the masses.

2.

Tendencies in the formation of neologisms.- Borrowings and outright creations.- Adaptations.- Improper derivations.- Productive suffixes.- Productive prefixes.- The compounds.- Proper names as a source for word formation.- Letter-words.- Clippings.- The word elements archi-, anti-, kon-, gos-, samo-, etc.- The verb.- The syntax.- Philological conditions.

3.

The lexical resources.- Local dialects.- Provincialisms.- Non-Russian minorities.- Russianisms versus barbarisms.- Social dialects.- The cant.- The slangs.- Loss of names for disused objects.- The "purge" of the vernaculars.- Prohibition of certain words, idioms, and modes of expression.- Tendency toward simplification and standardization of the vocabulary.- The slogan.- Nationalism.- Xenophobia.- Archaisms.- Standardization of styles.- The Soviet purists.

4.

Semantic changes.- The restriction of meaning.- The weakening of meaning.- The degradation of meaning.- Synonyms.- The extension of meaning.- Complete modifications.- Homonyms.- From the abstract to the concrete.- From the concrete to the abstract.- Metonymy.- The metaphor.- The relation between words and ideas.- Association of ideas.

5.

The terminology of Communism.- The terminology of the Constitution.- The terminology of (a) the elections, (b) government and office, (c) warfare, (d) economics, (e) agriculture, (f) industry, (g) trade, (h) finance, (i) labor, (j) education, (k) the arts and sciences, (l) literature, (m) sports, etc.- Legal terms.- Technology.- Proper names.- Language in the social conflicts.- Language in foreign relations.

6.

Semantic changes in relation to the Communist Party.- The influence of the program and activities upon the speech.- Symbols and metaphors used by the leaders.- The doctrine.- The party line and the heresies.- External and psychological contexts of propaganda.- Literary standards.- Cliches.- Vulgarisms.- Fetishes.- Directed semantics.- Changes in the philosophy of language.

7.

Semantic changes in relation to the social order.- The idea of democracy.- The idea of freedom.- The idea of equality.- The idea of humanity.- The concept of nation.- Attitudes toward authority.- The concept of power and of government.- The concept of loyalty.- Crime and punishment.- The language in the court of justice.- The language of the police.- The concept of property.- Labor relations.- Other terms.

8.

Semantic changes in relation to cultural and social life.- The concept of family.- The church and the state.- Education.- The arts and sciences.- Literature.- The theater.- The movies.- The radio.- Sports.- The army.- The factory.- The kolkhoz.- The Soviet home.- The school.- The child.- Technology and life.- Recreations.

9.

Reaction to the official ideologies.- Folk etymology.- Phonetic and morphological modifications.- The counter-revolutionary movements.- The underground.- The language of the repressed.- The language of the exiles.- Fly-words and sayings.- The community of language as a community of interests and of sentiment.- Conclusions.

10.

APPENDIX:

A comparative lexico-semantic study of samples of

SCHEDULE B.

COMMUNIST RUSSIAN SEMANTICS

Table of Contents

(tentative)

1.

I.- The Language of the Revolution.

The revolutionary vocabulary. - Borrowings, adaptations, and outright creation.- Sources.- Formats.- Letter-words.- Clippings.- Archaisms.- The restriction of meaning.- The weakening of meaning.- The degradation of meaning.- Synonyms.- The extension of meaning.- Complete modifications. - Homonyms.- The effect of personality.- Attitude of writers and scholars toward neologisms.- Reaction of the masses.

II.-The Terminology of Communism.

The socialist heritage.- Bolshevism.- The program of the Communist Party.-The terminology of Marxism-Leninism.-The terminology of dialectical materialism.-The terminology of "Socialism in construction."- The key definitions of aims, purposes, and means.- The terminology of the Soviet Constitution.- Relation between words and ideas.- Personal names as symbols of ideas.- Terms derived from political events.- International and Russian parallel terms.- Semantic implications.- Associations of ideas.- Folk etymology.

III.-Language of the Party

Influence of the program and activities on the speech.- Language of the leadership.- Lenin about the Communist language.- From the concrete to the abstract.- Symbols and metaphors.- Metonymy.- Stalin, "the master of literary style."- Language of the executive.- External and psychological contexts of propaganda.- From the abstract to the concrete.- The official phraseology.- Cliches. - Fetish words.- Language of the rank and file.- Influence of institutions and of customs.- Vulgarisms.- "Phraseological illiteracy."- Directed semantics.- Standardization of the vocabulary.- Its quantitative and lexico-grammatical characteristics.

IV.-Concepts of the Party

The idea of Socialism.- Dictatorship of the proletariat.- The concept of World Revolution.- The concept of leadership.- The party hierarchy.- The party machine.- Party ritual.- The concept of loyalty.- The leader.- The personal cult of Stalin.- Trends in party semantics.- The concepts of vozhd', choziain, ucitel', otec, etc.- The metaphor.- Proletarian internationalism and nationalism.- Evolution of the concept of social class.- The concept of labor.- Collectivism and individualism.-

Social privileges.-The community of interests.- The community of sentiment.- The party line and heresies.- Communist youth.- The non-party element in the administration of the state.- The intellectual.- The party and the state.- People's attitude toward the party.

V. - Concepts of the State

The concept of nation.- The idea of democracy.- The idea of freedom. - The idea of equality.- The class concept.- The idea of classless society.- The concept of the state.- Gosudarstvo and rodina. Citizenship.- Civic loyalties.- Administration under Communism.- The terminology of elections.- The office.- Key definitions in economics.- The concept of property.- The concept of justice.- Crime and punishment.- "The enemy of the people."- Language of the repressed.- Public opinion.- Attitudes toward the arts.- Attitudes toward the sciences.- Attitudes toward literature.- The concept of culture.- People's feeling toward the authorities.

VI. - Language in Foreign Relations

The idea of war and the idea of peace.- The concept of diplomacy.- Key definitions of objectives.- Key definitions of ways and means.- Distortions of meaning in English translations.- Vocabulary of the Soviet diplomat.- The concept of aggression. - The concept of neutrality.- The concept of compromise.- The concept of international control.- The concept of espionage.- The concept of "fascism."- The changing phraseology of the Soviet press.- Attitudes toward the capitalist states.- Imperialism and militarism.- Double talk.- Attitude toward the United States.- Attitude toward United Nations.- The party and the people.

VII. - Changes in the Philosophy of Language

Trends in the evolution of Soviet literary standards.- The "high style," "medium style," and "low style" (Lomonosov.)- Russian nationalism.- The non-Russian minorities.- Social dialects.- Their general impact on the speech.- Words and terms.- Semantics and grammar.- The linguistic theories of Stalin.- Xenophobia.- The Soviet purists.- Problems of translation.

Appendices

Index

About 300 pages.



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SCHEDULE B

COMMUNIST RUSSIAN SEMANTICS

A discussion of the Project followed by a Tentative Table of Contents.

The project is based on the observation that words have meanings which change while the words themselves may not.

General True of all times and of all peoples, this observation appears to be conspicuously true of Russia since the Revolution of 1917.

Remarks It would not even require expert knowledge of the Russian language to realize that a contemporary of Tolstoy would be utterly confused by the way men and women think and speak in the Soviet novel. Were Lenin himself revived by some trick, he would find it difficult to understand the language of Pravda. A refugee from the Soviet Union said to a Russian emigrant of an earlier crop, "Should you secretly return to Russia, you would be discovered by the first person to whom you spoke in the streets, so different is your Russian from ours." The current belief that once we have learned a new Soviet term we shall always know its meaning and actual use, is illusion.

Words inherited from the same language have been colored with a distinct shade, which pervades them. Habits, environment, cultural intercourse, a new moral climate, different social purposes, and personal problems of survival determine the use of the well-known words and develop their sense and purport. Indeed, often the origin of a term is clear, the grammatical form leaves no room for doubt, yet the inmost meaning escapes us. Direct and intimate contacts with D.P.s indicate that we still possess the means of communication, yet communication is no longer complete.

The State of Research in the Field The structural and semantic changes in Russian since the Revolution--comparable in breadth and depth only to the changes in French since 1789--have long been observed. Many are aware of the alterations, yet little research has been done. Studies once hopefully started in the Soviet Union have stopped dead since the ban on the Selishev book, Jazyk revoliucionnoj epochi, 1917-26 (Moscow, 1928.)

Abroad, the attempts of A. Mazon, S. Karcovsky, R. Jacobson and a few others, even partly to examine the changes during the early period of the revolution, had no sequel. Nothing even remotely resembling a systematic study has been tried since. In English literature, even that little is glowingly absent. Although some of the more important changes in the vocabulary and meaning have been incorporated in the later Soviet dictionaries (Ovsiannikov, Ushakov, Aleksandrov, Ozhegov, Petrov, Vyshinsky, etc.), the student of Russian is left, in general, to his own devices in analyzing the content of Soviet speech.

The fact that a particular, and sometimes outrageously strong, emphasis on semantics and syntax was the Soviet linguistic policy until the summer of 1950 is widely overlooked. It also had been the educational policy,

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and its impact on the language must have been considerable since it required Stalin's personal intervention to correct the situation.

The subject has grown too broad for an exhaustive study to be undertaken at once, unless in the manner of a rather general survey. Conceived even as a team project--for which the assistance of competent D.P.s would be of inestimable value--it seems advisable to restrict research to a few selected segments of the Soviet linguistic area.

The Purpose of the Project Of such segments, the terminology of Russian Communism, with its changing meaning throughout the history of the Soviet power, stands in the fore.

In fact, the study of Communist semantics, besides its indisputable scientific value, may very well fill on of our most important and urgent needs. Studies of popular semantics as a reply to the Communist ideologies would be important and valuable from both scholastic and practical viewpoints.

The project, therefore, falls into three parts:

1. The scope and specific characteristics of the vocabulary and phraseology of the Communist Part.
2. What the terms of Russian Communism are, or have been, intended to mean, and what they actually mean--depending on who uses them, how they are used, when, and why.
3. Reactions of common speech.

By establishing the volume of Communist speech, and by submitting it to a thorough lexico-semantic study, one can, I believe, demonstrate the following: (a) the range of certain categories of Marxist thinging; (b) changes in the basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism; (c) the actual meaning of terms and phraseology used at the present time; (d) limits within which the language of the Communist Party stands isolated from the common speech; (e) reactions of the common speech, indicative of the people's attitude toward Communist ideology and authority.

Other revelations of interest for students of sociology and of psychology may well come out of this study, since language is the mirror of man.

Enclosed is a tentative table of contents for the prospective book as this writer has conceived it, on the basis of his previous research and the data he has accumulated. It is subject to modifications which further thought may make desirable, and open to suggestions. But it indicates the direction of the research, and its scope.

The Method The first two Chapters are concerned with the historical and linguistic background of Communist terminology (I) and its actual origins (II). No comprehensive history of the Russian vocabulary exists, and the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences is reported to be working on it now. Yet, for an earlier period of the revolution, linguistic data have been collected and organized in a satisfactory manner, and historical data are available from other sources. Beginning with the period of the Five Year Plans, they are a subject for grass-roots research in which some help will be found in Soviet dictionaries, specialized

periodicals, and B.P. literature.

Chapter III presents a special problem, for the solution of which two ways are open:

One way, by method of induction generally used in that kind of research, arrive at a description of the Communist vocabulary, its approximate volume, and fundamental characteristics through the study of samples. (This method has been chosen in the present outline.)

On the other hand, one may wish first to establish the Communist vocabulary and phraseology by a statistical method and, then, submit it to a lexicosemantic analysis along the indicated lines.

Advantages of the latter method are obvious, but so also is the need for larger facilities and funds which might very well double the cost of the project.

Checking the Vocabulary

The advantages of the statistical method are so great that this writer would unhesitatingly substitute it for the one suggested in the outline, should the Committee wish to broaden the financial base of the project. Upon closer examination, the expense involved might prove not to be disproportionately overloading the budget.

The current Communist vocabulary would hardly exceed six or seven thousand words. The guess is based on a tentative research undertaken by a few graduate students in my courses, Slavic 200 and Slavic 201, Harvard University, 1948-49. The technique of checking and the volume of texts covered were not conclusive, yet I believe the guess is about right. To make sure, one ought to examine the statistically at least 600,000 to 800,000 words of carefully selected texts such as Kratkii kurs istorii partii VSP(b), Stalin's public statements, recent Government & Party decrees, different issues of Pravda, Izvestiya and Korotkaya Pravda over the last five years, speeches of Molotov, Vyshinsky, Georgyev, and Malin, and the like. The general technique of word counting could be applied to this, and a system of coding carefully devised. Words would be transferred onto punch cards, and a sorting and tabulating machine used to permit a statistical analysis of various aspects of the Communist speech. (A punch card can carry, besides the word itself, up to six hundred characteristics of it.)

Establishing the actual Communist vocabulary, and proving its volume statistically, would have in itself a significance which should not be underestimated.

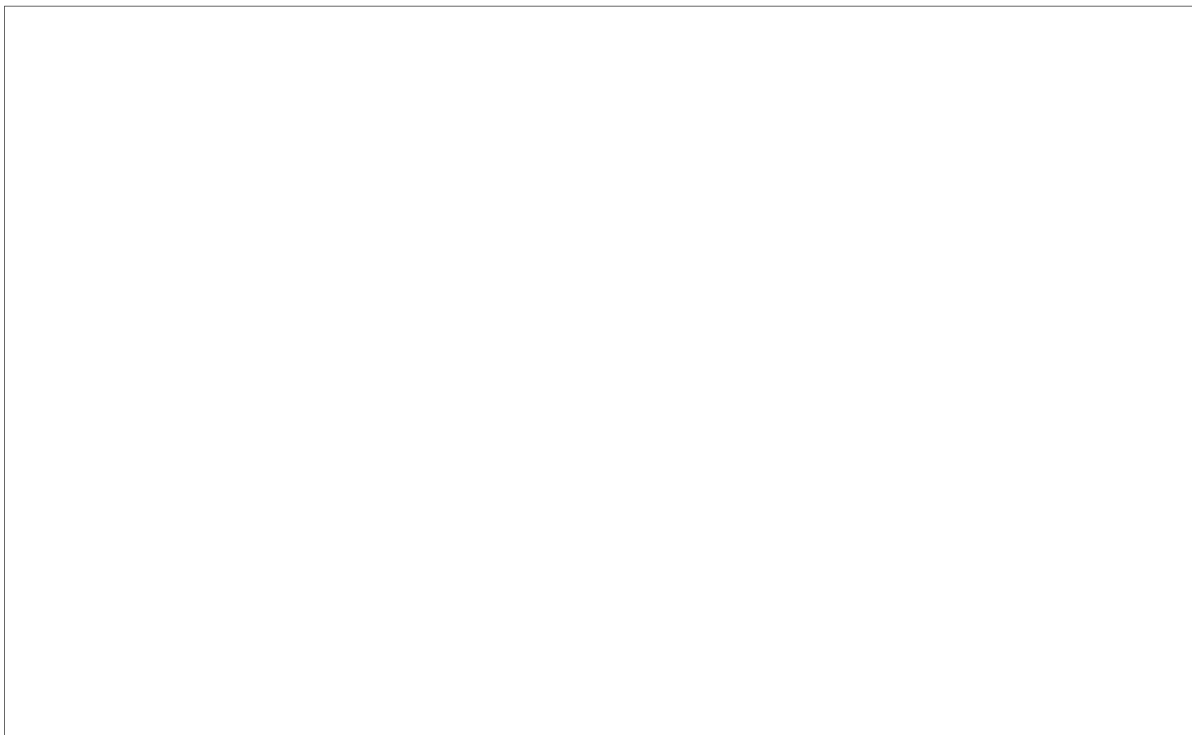
Filed alphabetically, it would provide the researcher with a solid basis for comparative studies in relation to both the common speech and the speech of earlier Communist leaders including Stalin himself at different times. Indeed, while we know that some political terms of importance such as paradoksyvativo have disappeared from Soviet dictionaries (Ushakov), there is no other way of proving or disproving our general impression that other important political and sociological terms and, therefore, the concepts have presently ceased to figure in Communist speech, listed though they are in dictionaries.

Processed by sorting and tabulating machines, the file might yield invaluable statistical data to the lexico-semantic analysis of the texts, and might correct the subjective factor in selecting samples.

For word count and coding, qualified persons from among the D.F.s must be chosen. One person can easily count about fifty words an hour, especially as words are consistently repeated. It would take from 3,000 to 4,000 hours to check 150,000 to 200,000 words of the printed text. Consequently, three or four persons working 40 hours a week could complete the job in six months.

The Content Analysis For the lexico-semantic study, the technique worked out by the Russian Language Institute of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and reproduced in my Study of Meaning in Russian (Harvard, 1948), provides a useful pattern. It has been generally applied in the Soviet Union to the study of the language of great writers (Pushkin, Lermontov, Griboedov, Ostrovsky, etc.) With proper adjustments and modifications, it can, I believe, be successfully tried on the scale here suggested.

Should the statistical method be adopted, the study outlined in Chapters IV to VI of the table of contents would acquire a larger and more solid and, for that matter, more convincing basis.



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~~THE COMMUNIST RUSSIAN VOCABULARY~~

A Semantic Count

The semantic word count under this project has for its purpose a quantitative study of the linguistic needs of Russian Communism both at the decision-making level and in the implementation of its policies.

The undertaking is limited to a sampling of the written language.

The Communist power is total. Its language registers and modifies decisions for all walks of life, yet it varies in space and in time according to the basic features of the power situation. Since an overall examination is beyond our means, the present undertaking is limited, in time, to select historical periods and, in space, to the central sources which establish and direct the linguistic pattern of power.

The Politburo is admittedly the central policy-making body of the VCP (b), and Pravda is its mouthpiece. Consequently, the Pravda editorials and the pronouncements of the individual members of the Politburo ought to be the core of investigation. Stalin's own language must be examined, in particular. Indeed, Stalin is "the master of literary style."¹

For a detailed examination, the latest three-year period, 1950 through 1952, is suggested. The earlier texts which continue to appear in one form or another, as if they were reaffirmed directives, also ought to be included in the universe.

Finally, the findings for the selected period may not be fully understood if an adequate number of samples from historical and regional sources is not examined at the same time from a comparative viewpoint.

THE SAMPLING. To this writer the following samples seem to represent the current Communist Russian speech adequately:

Group A. (1) Pravda editorials, 1950 through 1952.

(2) Leading articles in the Izvestija and Literaturnaja Gazeta, 1950 through 1952.

(3) Bolshevik, 1950 through 1952.

(For comparative study:)

(4) Pravda editorials in the years 1917 to 1947 separated into five-year intervals (1917, 1922, 1927, 1932, 1937, 1942, and 1947.)

(5) Random selections of editorials in the provincial press.

Group B. (1) Public statements of members of the Politburo since World War II.

(2) Reports of Party secretaries to regional Party Conferences since World War II.

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- Group C.
- (1) Kratkij kurs istorii VKP (b).
 - (2) I. Stalin, Voprosy Leninizma.
 - (3) The May and November slogans and February orders to the Army.
 - (4) The Constitution of the U. S. S. R.
 - (5) The joint Government--Party decrees, 1950 through 1952.
 - (6) Discussions at the All-Union Congress of Soviet Writers.

The semantic count of 200,000 running words from the above sources should suffice to meet the purpose. This brings us to the question of sampling the samples.

Edward L. Thorndike counted 9,565,000, and Irving Lorge, 4,863,769 English words; F. W. Kaeding counted 10,910,777 German words; Milton A. Buchanan, 1,200,000 Spanish words; and George E. Vander Beke, 1,000,000 French words; for establishing their frequency or semantic count. Their sources, however, were divided into several--from seven to eleven--categories, such as literature for children, the classics, the Bible, school textbooks on various subjects, daily newspapers, books about cooking, sewing, farming, the trades, etc. There was not a single category in which more than one million words were counted, and there were several in which the count was limited to one hundred thousand running words, or less. Besides, word counters used a technique which, in many cases, left room for further research to prove the indicated facts.²

Since the proposed count concerns only one category of the Russian speech, the range appears to be amply sufficient.

It is evident that counting all the words in a selected universe would be unnecessary. For periodicals, it has been demonstrated that a small number of issues distributed throughout the year are enough to give a reliable picture.³ The accuracy of the every-fifth-day samples (newspapers) has been found to be distinctly better than that of consecutive-day samples.⁴ Obviously, the same would be true of any material which permits random sampling of pages, columns, or chapters. The sequential sampling can further economize effort, time, and money. Indeed, it may happen that satisfactory results will be obtained before the plan is completed, and further search may prove needless.

It would be unsafe, however, to assume that the procedures employed in a particular content analysis have the degree of validity which has been established for different procedures. In a sense, every application of content analysis employs a new set of procedures, the validity of which can be proven only empirically.⁵ It would be wise, therefore, to retain the proposed range in semantic word count even though it may prove, in fact, to be unnecessarily high.

One can reasonably expect that the sequential sampling will prove at least as efficient in word count as it has in content analysis.⁶ Indeed, in content analysis of verbal material the most frequently employed units of content are functional groups of sentences or individual sentences and

phrases. They obviously are subject to greater deviations and varieties of interpretation than the units employed in a word count. Random sampling fluctuations cannot be eliminated but, in the case of percentages, they are readily estimated. The efficiency of the method is demonstrated empirically, in terms of a tabulation of errors and their relation to theoretical expectations.

THE CONTENT UNIT. Not all quantitative procedures are necessarily "content analyses."

The procedure here outlined can be described as "content analysis" only insofar as it is a study in which the material is classified according to objective criteria and thus rendered susceptible of statistical description.⁷

The unit of measurement in semantic word count is... word.

Word has a form and a semantic value. Word-form ("the sign-vehicle") is simply a combination of letters written together. Semantic Value ("the symbol") refers to one of the specific meanings contained in a word-form.⁸

An element of subjectivity is necessarily involved in assigning some words to given concepts. The procedural rules ought to be made as explicit as possible to avoid differences in the observational standpoints.

Differences will be largely reduced by selecting the Ushakov Dictionary as the authority for Russian Word meanings and for their grammatical classifications.

In entering each word in the sample on a separate card, the following procedure is suggested:

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

As an added precaution, the count ought to be made by qualified native linguists.

STRATA AND DIMENSIONS. Lexical units are classified into various categories known as "dimensions."

In order that the procedure may provide the broadest correlations, a body of technical propositions is evolved which states the conditions for attaining maximum validity.

To set up our categories we must know what characteristics we want to separate. To determine quickly what "dimension combinations" exist, and to what degree, the categories must have clear, explicit or implicit, definitions.

In general, the more detailed the rules of classification, the greater is the relative reliability of the categories used in the classification, and the individual reliability of the analysis is raised by training in the group tests.⁹

The following categories are tentatively set up as a sample of word count, in order that the data may be readily transformed to the punch cards.

1-15. The Lexical Unit

The Russian word is transliterated in Latin characters. The American Slavic and East European Review table of transliteration is adopted, with the following modifications:

.....

The transliterated word is entered in full up to its fifteenth letter.

Should there occur more than fifteen letters in a word, they will be left out; e.g., selskoxoziajstv(ennyj), elektrotexnices(kij). Dimensions indicated on the card will permit reconstruction of the full form of such words, if necessary.

The letter-word is entered as a lexical unit in its own right, but its components are reconstructed and also entered in their own full forms, e.g.; MVD, ministeratvo*, vnutrennij*, delo*. (*The letter-word, MVD in this case, is repeated in the column: REFERENT.)

Besides the total frequency count, Stratum 1-15 will eventually permit the frequency count of words (a) by the number of sounds, and (b) by the number of syllables.

16-20. The Source

(Source units are catalogued separately with full description, and each will have its own catalogue and code numbers)

.....
16.9. Unit 10 (ref. Pravda editorials, 1951)

.....
18.3. Unit 34 (ref. Kratkij kurs istorii VKP)

.....
20.0. Unit 51 (ref. Beria Address, Nov. 7, 1951)
.....

21. Parts of Speech

- | | | |
|--------------|----------------|-----------------|
| 0. Noun | 4. Adverb | 7. Conjunction |
| 1. Verb | 5. Numeral | 8. Particle |
| 2. Adjective | 6. Preposition | 9. Interjection |
| 3. Pronoun | | |

Participles are checked 12, gerunds 14, ordinal numerals 25.

Parts of speech with which particles of emphasis such as ze, -ka, uz, daze, etc., are used, are recorded in the column: REFERENT.

The case governed by the preposition is checked in Strat CLASS.

22-28. The Class

- | | | |
|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Nomin. case | Present tense | Comparative degree |
| Gen. case | Past tense | Superlative degree |
| Dative case | Future tense | Personal pronoun |
| Acc. case | Imperative | Relative pronoun |
| Instr. case | Conditional | Demonstrative pronoun |
| Prepos. case | 1st person | Indefinite pronoun |
| Vocative (arch.) | 2nd person | Subject |
| Singular | 3rd person | Predicate |
| Plural | Impersonal verb | Object |
| Plural tantum | Verb in <u>-sia</u> | Attribute |
| Masc. gender | Transitive verb | Compound |
| Fem. gender | Auxiliary verb | Diminutive |
| Neuter gender | Passive voice | Augmentative |
| | Perfective aspect | Derivative* |
| | Imperfective aspect | |

(*An indication of whether the word is derived from a noun, verb, adjective, numeral, pronoun or interjection, is given in the column REFERENT.)

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29-34. The Radical

The radical is entered in full, up to its sixth letter.

35-37. Prefixes and Suffixes

v-(vo)	o-(ob)	anti-
voz (vos-, vz-, vs-)	po-	arxi-
vy-	pod-	gos-
bez- (bes-)	pri-	kom-
do-	pro-	soc-
za-	pere-	sov-
na-	pro-	stvo-
nad-	raz- (ras-)	-ost
nai- (naj-)	s- (so-)	-nie
ne-	u-	-izm

38-41. Origins

Letter-word	Alien*	Slang*
Clipping	Foreign*	Regional*
Archaism*	International	Special (trade)*
Obsolete*	Colloquial*	Chancellery*
Historical*	Vulgar*	Poetical
Neologism (Soviet)*	Child*	Collective

(*Defined by Ushakov, ## 13 to 18. More explicit definitions must be given for each dimension.)

42-45. Directions

(Nouns)	Abstract	Servile, obsequious
	Concrete	Rhetorical*
	Animate	External Characteristic
	Inanimate	Moral characteristic
	Qualitative	Political classification
	Quantitative	Xenophobia
(Adjective but also noun and adverb:)	Aggressive, arrogant	Social status
	Conciliatory, humble, euphemistic*	Order
	Abusive*, slanderous, insulting, insolent, expletive	Color
	Indecorous, indecent, obscene	Property, appurtenance
	Contemptuous*, disparaging, derogatory, disdainful, scornful*	(Verbs expressing:)
	Reproachful*, disapproving* (not containing elements of the previous three)	Action
	Ironic*, sarcastic	State
		Physical phenomena (man)
		Physical phenomena (nature)

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Humorous, frivolous	Psychic phenomena
Laudatory, eulogistic, glorifying	Ideas
Respectful, deferential	(Interjections:) Emotional
Solemn*, pompous, ceremonial, reverential, devotional	Onomatopoeic

(*Definition supplied by Ushakov, #17. More explicit definitions are required, however, for each dimension.)

The object toward which the meaning of the entry is directed is referred to in the column REFERENT.

(Example:	<u>mudryj</u>	Ref. Stalin	
	<u>vozd</u>	" Stalin	
	<u>gniloj</u>	" capitalism	
	<u>podzgatel</u>	" America	etc.)

46-48. Metaphors and Symbols

Human	Arts	Literature
Animal	Sciences	Poetry
Bird	Sports	Theater
Reptile	Games	Folklore
Insect	Music	Epics
Plant	Industry	History
Mineral	Agriculture	Mythology
Landscape	Family	Religion
Cosmos	Home	Warfare
Elements	Colors	Other

(The object of the metaphor is recorded in the column REFERENT.)

49-51. Proper Names

Personal	Sympathizer	Arts, Music, Sports
Geographical	Neutral	Sciences
Political event	Politburo	Literature, Theater
Native	U.S.S.R. Government	History
Foreign	Provincial administr.	Politics
Communist	Army	Economics
Anti-Communist	Diplomacy	

(Proper names which have become abstract symbols such as Quisling, Tito, and the like, are also checked in Strat 42-45. Such names, however, are seldom used in Russian in the non-inflected form. The derivatives such as staxanovec, kerenscina, are more typical. These are recorded in their proper columns, while the proper names (Staxanov, Kerenski) are referred to in the column REFERENT.)

52-53. Nationality

Soviet
Russian
Ukrainian
Belorussian
Moldavian
Georgian
Armenian
Azerbaijani
Turkmen
Uzbek
Kazakh

Karelian
Finnish
Estonian
Latvian
Lithuanian
Carpatho-Russian (Ukrainian)
Cossack
Tatar
Mongol
Kirghiz
Jewish
Other

54-55. The World

United Nations
United States
United Kingdom
Western Europe
Satellites
The Near East
The Far East
The Pacific
Latin America
Africa

Slavdom
Greek Orthodoxy
Roman Catholicism
Protestantism
Islam
Buddhism
Zionism
Sects
Others

56-58. Concepts

Communism
Socialism
Capitalism
Fascism
Nazism
Nationalism
Patriotism
Pacifism
Militarism
Imperialism
Humanism
Cosmopolitanism
Opportunism
Loyalty
Property

Democracy
Freedom
Authority
Nation
The state
World Revolution
Society
Family
Law and Justice
Ethics
Aesthetics
War
Peace
Espionage
Sabotage

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73. The Referent

The referent is who, what, necessary for understanding the full significance of the "direction," or any other dimension, of the entry.

The referent is entered in full letters, up to the fifteenth character of the word or phrase.

74-76. The Syntax

77. The Weight

Headline
May slogan*
November slogan*
Italics (or bold-face type*)

(*The year is recorded in the column REFERENT.)

78. Word not listed in the Ushakov Dictionary " . " . "

Dimensions should be coded according to the properties of the sorting machine.

From recording cards the data are transferred to the punch cards. The sorting machine will arrange the list on a scale of descending frequency (a) in the total count, (b) per sample, (c) for any group of samples, and (d) per category (dimension) or any combination of such.

THE COMPUTATION. Once the frequency of content units has been established and their characteristics separated, one can express the total picture by means of numerical values.

Since there is no complete identity in the units, the quantitative transformation formulae cannot be usefully applied. The correlations can be expressed only in percentages, numerically or graphically.

The total frequency list could follow the general pattern of Edward L. Thorndike's Teacher's Word Book (1939) and Irving Lorge's Semantic Count of English Words (1938), adapting their basic features to our needs. Assuming that the total count is six thousand words, each word is rated 1 to 6, according to the frequency and range of its occurrence, and the description would read:

1a means in the first 500; 1b means in the second 500; 2a means in the third 500; 2b means in the fourth 500; and so on with 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, etc.

For each word its per mille frequency in the total count and the number of sample units in which it appears are indicated.

Semantic categories, when their separate count is indicated, can be arranged in a similar way.

Summary cards can be used for a more systematic description of the Communist Russian vocabulary (a) in terms of parts of speech and other grammatical categories, (b) in terms of subject matter, and (c) in terms of primary trends.

Significant relationships between individual categories and the total content, and between the categories, can thus be established and various hypotheses verified.

Establishment of the actual volume, scope, and purport of the Communist Russian vocabulary is an essential part of the project. "Semantics of Russian Communism." Besides, computations which may not be directly used for the project will provide raw material for further research, historical, sociological, psychological, philological, and pedagogical, in accordance with the needs of investigators. Indeed, if all the manifest and latent data of the count are properly computed, the list will make an extremely valuable by-product of the project. It can be published separately as "The Communist Russian Vocabulary: A Semantic Count."

The total count may be further processed for the purposes outlined in Parts III to VI of the project. It ought to be segregated into three classes: (a) the relevant content, (b) the neutral content, and (c) the non-relevant content.

Link-words such as prepositions, particles, and conjunctions will form the non-relevant content.

Words which form the "hollow spots" in speech (relative and indefinite pronouns kakoi, kotoryi, kto, eto, etc.), and such elements of the common speech which have a fixed usage irrespective of age (numerals, demonstrative pronouns, non-qualitative adverbs), will be segregated into the neutral content.

Finally, verbs, nouns, adjectives, qualitative adverbs, and personal pronouns, e.g., "sign-vehicles" susceptible of changing the semantic focus of the ideas they convey, will form the relevant content.

The relevant content is further separated into groups (proper names, abstract nouns, political terms, directions, verbs of action, metaphors, etc.), the examination of which will permit

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verification of our various hypotheses concerning (a) the scope and the nature of ideas and concepts of Russian Communism, (b) the additions, omissions, and modifications as compared with earlier sources, and (c) the evolution of usage and meaning.

Comparisons can be usefully made with such studies as Heinz Paechter et al., Nazi-Deutsch: A Glossary of Contemporary German Usage (1944), Frys and La Fargue studies in the language of the French Revolution, and Helen S. Eaton, Semantic Frequency List for English, French, German, and Spanish (1940).

Eventually, in the substantive and verb group will be segregated the pertinent content, consisting of a limited number of KEY-SYMBOLS prevailing in Communist Russian speech. With their frequency and interrelation indices, these will be subject to special examination of meaning and changing usage as outlined in Parts IV to VI of the project.



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NOTES

1. Russkij jazyk v škole (1951).
2. Edward L. Thorndike, Teacher's Word Book of 20,000 Words (New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1932); Irving Lorge and Edward L. Thorndike, A Semantic Count of English Words (New York: The Institute of Educational Research, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1933); F. W. Kaeding, Häufigkeitwörterbuch der deutschen Sprache (Berlin, 1898); Milton A. Buchanan, Graded Spanish Word Book (University of Toronto Press, 1927); George E. Vander Beko, French Word Book (New York: Macmillan, 1929.) There exist no frequency counts in Russian. A project under way, conducted by Dr. H. Josselson, Wayne University, is reported to be far from completion.
3. Julian L. Woodward, Foreign Words in American Morning Papers (Columbia University Press, 1930.)
4. Alexander Hints, "The Feasibility of the Use of Samples in Content Analysis," in Language of Politics by Harold D. Lasswell, Nathan Leites, and Associates (New York: G. W. Stewart, 1949.)
5. Irving L. Janis, The Problem of Validating Content Analysis, ibidem, p. 77.
6. The sequential sampling for word count is suggested by Prof. S. A. Stouffer, Director of the Laboratory of Social Relations, Harvard University.
7. Harold D. Lasswell, Language of Politics, p. 387.
8. Robert H. Fife in Semantic Frequency List for English, French, German, and Spanish, by Helen S. Eaton (1940.)
9. Some valuable observations have been made by A. Kaplan and J. M. Goldsen in their article "The Reliability of Content Analysis Categories" in Language of Politics by Harold D. Lasswell et al., (1949).
10. Valuable suggestions can be found in the works of Vinogradov, Vinokur, Timofeev, Nemoinova, Orlov, Bfimov, Briushanov, and others on the literary style of various Russian writers; in Svend Ranulf, Hitlers Kampf gegen die Objektivität (1946); George U. Yule, A Statistical Study of Literary Vocabulary (1944); Harold D. Lasswell, "Provisional Classification of Symbol Data," Psychiatry, I (1938); in related works by Josephine Miles, Edith Rickert, Charles W. Morris, etc.