ENGLISH AS A 'LOCAL' LANGUAGE IN RUSSIA: THE PRACTICE OF MEANING-MAKING IN IN-GROUP COMMUNICATION

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Abstract. The unprecedented global spread of the English language has become the catalyst for its transformation into the local meaning-making resource encoding the communication needs of various speech communities in different parts of the world. This dual process of globalization and localization is particularly evident in the Expanding Circle countries, where originally English had the status of a foreign language and was used primarily to communicate with foreigners. In Russia, which is one of the Expanding Circle countries, various aspects of "glocalization" of English, especially in the sphere of vocabulary, have attracted considerable attention. However, they have not been systemically studied, and our analysis aims to fill this gap. This paper describes the function of English as a language of in-group interaction in Russia. Taking a multiple case study approach and using a constant comparative technique, we reviewed our previous research on the use of English in different communities of practice, namely, the Russian offices of international companies, the young biking community, and the community of popular music professionals. We re-examined all previously collected material, including observational linguistic data and ethnographic interviews, and identified the following three features of English as a "local" language: truncated repertoire, bilingual creativity, or translanguaging, and ingroup-only function. We have also searched the Russian National Corpus for the frequency of several commonly used Anglicisms and English-derived tokens recorded from each community of practice. Based on the multiple case analysis and the Russian National Corpus study, we argue that English and Anglicisms are perceived by community members as an integral part of group repertoire, and group membership hinges on the knowledge of these terms and the ability to use them creatively.

Keywords: globalization of English, language contact, Expanding Circle, communities of practice, translanguaging, group identity, truncated bilingualism, bilingual creativity

АНГЛИЙСКИЙ ЯЗЫК КАК ЭЛЕМЕНТ ЛОКАЛЬНЫХ РЕЧЕВЫХ ПРАКТИК ВНУТРИГРУППОВОГО ОБЩЕНИЯ В РОССИИ

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Аннотация. Глобальное распространение английского языка, активно вторгающегося в коммуникативные пространства неанглоязычных стран, стало катализатором его превращения в локальный смыслообразующий ресурс, кодирующий коммуникативные потребности местных речевых сообществ в различных странах мира. Этот амбивалентный процесс глобализации и локализации особенно очевиден в странах «Расширяющегося круга», где английский язык изначально имел статус иностранного и использовался преимущественно для общения с иностранцами. В России, которая входит в число стран «Расширяющегося круга», различные аспекты «глокализации» английского языка всё больше привлекают внимание учёных, однако системно эти вопросы не изучались, и настоящее исследование призвано восполнить этот пробел. В статье описывается функционирование глобального английского во внутригрупповом коммуникативном взаимодействии представителей местных профессиональных и культурных сообществ в России. С опорой на технологию множественных кейс-стади и метод постоянных сравнений, был проанализирован ряд проведённых нами ранее исследований использования глобального английского в различных коммуникативных контекстах, включая российские офисы международных корпораций, общение представителей одной из молодёжных субкультур, а также дискурс российских профессионалов и любителей современной популярной музыки. Повторное рассмотрение собранного ранее материала, в том числе данных включённого наблюдения и квази-этнографических интервью, позволило установить, что для английского языка как "локального", то есть используемого в общении представителей местных групп и сообществ между собой, характерны (1) усечённый речевой репертуар, (2) транслингвизм и(ли) билингвальная языковая игра, а также (3) ограниченность рамками конкретного профессионального и(ли) культурного сообщества. Мы также обратились к Национальному корпусу русского языка и проанализировали частотность наиболее распространённых англицизмов и лексем англоязычного происхождения, используемых в каждом из вышеназванных сообществ. На основе проведённого сравнительного анализа и изучения материалов Национального корпуса русского языка был сделан вывод, что англицизмы воспринимаются членами местных сообществ как неотъемлемая часть внутригруппового речевого репертуара, а членство в группе напрямую зависит от знания англоязычных слов (терминов) и умения творчески их использовать.

Ключевые слова: глобализация английского языка, Расширяющийся круг, языковые контакты, транслингвизм, коммуникативные сообщества, групповая идентичность, усечённый билингвизм, билингвальная языковая игра

1. Introduction

English has become an integral part of the Russian linguistic landscape. There is ample research on how English is intricately interwoven into Russian texts in different domains, including commercials and marketing [17], [23], [24], music shows and musical reviews [5], [6], [12], [15], professional communication and recruiting [8], [9], youth subcultures [13], [14], linguistic landscape [2], [21], modern dance [4], and social media [19]. However, the questions of why English is used in these domains, what functions it performs and whether these functions are similar across the domains, remain unclear. Proshina [21] proposed the following classification of the functions of English in Russia: instrumental, informative, ideological, advertising, mass cultural, and creative. Among the reasons behind the expanding functionality of English in Russia, she mentions the development of a "gradual mass passive bilingualism of the Russian population, whose knowledge of English is still far from proficient but who have mastered many English loanwords to use them creatively in speech" [21, p. 192]. Rivlina argued that truncated English-Russian bilingualism has become a mass societal phenomenon and English insertions function as a linguistic tool "to intrigue, to impress, and to entertain the reader/the customer" [23, p. 438], which is achieved by (i) script hybridization; (ii) English-Russian punning; (iii) hybridization of English and Russian morphemes; (iv) English-Russian rhyming; and (v) the deliberate distortion and excessive Russification of English [ibid].

Our prior research on the local communities of practice has revealed plurality of language ideologies and perspectives on the use of English within different groups of speakers. Thus, popular music professionals use English words as preferred professional terms, which they "adapt for Russian mentality" [5, p. 50]. Job seekers resort to English to demonstrate professionalism; recruiters believe that the knowledge of English indicates positive personal characteristics, such as "better educated", "goal-oriented", "hard-working", "diligent", and "disciplined" [13, p. 676]. Russian professionals in multinational corporations hold varied beliefs about the varieties of English used in different work settings, wherein each variety has a specific symbolic function [14]. Young members of a local biking community actively incorporate Anglicisms into their repertoire to highlight group membership while asserting their Russian identity [1].

The goal of this paper is to identify the common patterns in the use of English across different communities of practice and provide an overarching model of English as a language of an in-group communication in Russia.

2. Conceptual Framework

Our analysis is grounded in the following complementary theories and concepts of language. Firstly, we draw on Wenger's definition of a *community of practice* (CoP) and its three constituent elements: "joint enterprise, mutuality, and shared repertoire" [26]. Another useful concept is *situated learning* as "increasing participation in the community of practice". It implies a life trajectory from a newcomer to an old-timer through apprenticeship, or what Lave and Wenger [18] call "legitimate peripheral participation". Newcomers learn from the old-timers by taking part in routine aspects of practice. As they master the practices, they move from legitimate periphery to full membership.

Secondly, following Blommaert [9] we understand language as a translocal mobile resource, a set of semiotic repertoires used to achieve specific communicative goals, and define it as "dynamic and creative linguistic practices that involve flexible use of named languages and language varieties as well as other semiotic resources" [9, p. 14].

Finally, we use Halliday's systemic functional approach to analyze the function of English in Russian professional communities. According to Halliday [16], language serves three main functions – ideational, interpersonal, and textual. The ideational metafunction concerns language as a representation of the world around us, communicating ideas and logically connecting them. The interpersonal metafunction conveys relational aspect of the text as an exchange between the speaker/writer and the audience. The textual metafunction is what holds the text together, namely its structure, sequencing, and cohesion.

The goal of our analysis is to understand how English is used as a translocal mobile resource in professional communities of practice and what metafunction(s) it performs within in-group interaction.

3. Material and Methodology

The paper adopted a multiple case study approach [27] and has a distinctly ethnographic perspective. Three settings serve as case studies: international workplace, youth bike-riding subculture, and popular music discourse. The settings fit *neatly into Etienne's* [26] definition of communities of practice. In all three cases (1) members "are bound together by their collectively developed understanding of what their community is about" and "hold each other accountable in this sense of joint enterprise" [26, p. 229]; (2) they "build their community through mutual engagement" and "interact with one another establishing norms and relationships of *mutuality*, that reflect these interactions" [ibid]"; (3) they have "a s*hared repertoire* of communal resources – language, routine, sensibilities, artefacts, tools, stories, styles, etc." [ibid.]

Observational linguistic data and ethnographic interviews were collected and analyzed for each case individually during 2012-2020.

The first study examined language practices in Russian offices of two international companies (IT and audit), focusing on how corporate language policy

is shaped, what English-Russian professional bilingualism is like, and what it means for Russian employees to work in a bilingual environment. Our collected language data included extensive fieldnotes with observations taken on the premises of the companies, write-ups of in-house staff conversations, and samples of informal work-related e-mails and instant messaging sessions which respondents shared with us. We also surveyed 239 employees, 187 in the IT and 52 in the audit company, which is about one third of the entire personnel in each office. Descriptive and inferential statistics were used to analyze the survey data. To clarify the survey findings, 12 employees, aged between 22 and 50 were interviewed, who represented different occupations (programmers, technical writers, auditors, HR specialists, etc.) and gender groups [14].

The second study addressed linguistic aspects of the appropriation of the global freeride bicycle culture in Russia and highlighted the linguistic peculiarities of the ethnically specific mountain biking style ("streetets") and the corresponding community of practice. We analyzed the textual and visual materials of cycling forums, including photographs, posts, comments, and video clips. The method of direct observation of informal conversations at competitions and in bike shops was also used. The findings were then clarified by quasi-ethnographic data – an interview with a representative of Nizhny Novgorod cycling community [1].

The third study described the use of English in 200 randomly selected reviews of the new albums released by Russian and foreign musicians. The reviews were published in printed and online sources in 2015-2019. Printed sources include three Russian journals: 'Rolling Stones Russia', 'Dark City', and 'InRock', which specialize in rock, pop, and heavy metal music. Online sources are represented by specialized musical websites – for rock fans (https://rockcult.ru/review/), metal fans (http://www.metallibrary.ru/articles/reviews/), and fans of electronic music (https://xn-e1aclabbxcocsq5j.xn-p1ai/review/). These sources were selected because they are accessible, have a wide circulation, and cover a wide variety of musical genres [12].

For the purposes of this paper, we re-analyzed the data of these studies using constant comparative technique [20] to identify the common patterns in the use of English across the three cases. We followed the principle "think practically and look locally" outlined by Penelope Eckert and Sally McConnell-Ginet [11] and focused on everyday communicative practices of particular local communities. In addition to

ethnographic methods, we used corpus linguistics tools to query the tokens frequency in the Russian National Corpus [3] and identify the extent to which the terms used in a certain community of practice would be represented in broader discourse. We compiled a sample of tokens from the recurring Anglicisms in each case and analyzed their frequency in the corpus along with their contextual use.

4. Summary of Previous Research

Before moving on to presenting the findings obtained by applying the constant comparative method, it is necessary to briefly describe the results of our previous studies that were used for comparison.

The first, and most comprehensive, study [14] was connected with professional environment and focused on how English-related communication practices vary within and across the Russian offices of two international companies, located in one of the major cities of Russia. Although these companies operated in different economic segments (information technology and auditing), they shared a few common features in terms of the use of languages. In both cases English was the language of corporate communication and English language competence was listed as a mandatory requirement for employment. The study examined "how the employees use English in professional interaction, what values they assign to Russian and English, and how they explain the use of blended (mixed) office-talk, i.e., professional jargon" [14, p. 443-444].

It was found that the two companies shared similar language policies regarding the contexts in which English is used. In both companies, some contexts (corporate regulations, professional guidelines, computer software for professional purposes, internal newsletters, and reports to the head offices, located abroad) were "English only". Professional (corporate) training at the companies' expense was also conducted in English. Employees used English in different genres of written in-house communication, such as memos, announcements, inquiries, and various tasks, to make the correspondence immediately available to colleagues who do not speak Russian. The same rule applied to oral communication: English was always used when a non-Russian speaker participated in a face-to-face talk, a group meeting, or a telephone conversation. Interviewees reported that workplace communication in English requires a simple accessible way of writing and speaking, which implies simpler grammar and lexis. This manner of speaking was called a "down-to-earth language." In both companies, employees actively used a hybrid English-Russian jargon to talk about professional issues. In this mixed (blended) office-talk, English is a lexifier language and Russian provides phonological, morphological and syntactic foundation, e.g.: *Tol'ko s apruva division l'eadov dlya fiksa bagov, naidennykh v protsesse regression ('Only with the approval of division leads to fix the bugs found in the process of regression.').*

According to the survey data, respondents in both companies viewed the English language competence through the lens of professional identity rather than personal growth and (or) cultural exchanges. For them, English is, by and large, a resource in the profession: it serves as a tool for employment and career advancement and is perceived as an index of professionalism in general. In this respect, language mixing in the informal workplace interaction is a way to manifest one's professional identity and expertise.

Linguistic and cultural aspects of language mixing in the informal interaction of *streetets* bike-riders and the corresponding subculture formed the focus of the second study [1]. The hybrid character of this subculture is manifested in the linguistic self-identification of its representatives: although *streetets* is positioned as a Russian biking style, the root of its name is English, and "Russianness" is indexed by the suffix -ets, conveying ethnospecific connotations of strength and boldness, e.g.: *molodets, udalets (Well done! Cool guy).* Everyday conversations of young cyclists abound in English words and English-Russian hybrids: *"Kamon! Ya tozhe s vam'i (Come on! I am going with you)"; "Vrod'e od'in raz byl pedalkik no tsep' ne sl'etayet (It seems like there was a pedal kick, but the chain didn't come off)".* In forums slang, syntactic calques from English, such as the use of adjoinment instead of agreement or government, are common, e.g.: *нью-скул стритец (new school streetets), streetezzz club, стритец онли.* The high level of speech saturation with Anglicisms suggests that for members of this community of practice, English, albeit in a very truncated form, is no longer the Other, but an integral part of the Self – an indispensable element of local identity.

The third study [12] demonstrates how English contributes to the expressiveness and precision of Russian musical reviews, enhances the promotion of musical products and becomes part of the unique identity that ties Russian music fans together. It shows how English "evokes connections to global contexts in the local community" and how Russian speakers "use English resources creatively, adapting them to local needs and modifying English musical terms through Russian word-formation mechanisms, to make them more local" [12, p. 214].

English is essential for rendering the professional content of Russian musical reviews, providing names of musical genres *(нойз – noiz /'noise'; нео-соул – neo-soul / 'neo soul'; хэппи-пауэр-метал – kheppi-pauer-metal 'happy power metal')* musical instruments (дроун-гитара – droun-gitara /'drone guitar'; драм-машина – dram-mashina / 'drum machine'; синты – sinty/ 'synths'), occupations (фронтмен – frontmen/ 'frontman'; крунер – kruner /'crooner'), sound qualities and playing techniques (гроулинг – grouling /'growling'; скрим – skrim/'scream'; фузз – fuzz /'fuzz'), etc. The Anglicized spelling of Russian song names and albums serves as an index of music transcending borders, e.g.: *Лес/Les (forest); Река/Reka (river); Волчья ягода/Volch'ya Yagoda (Wolfberry).*

English names of musical albums and compositions emphasize shared knowledge of global musical culture. Oftentimes, they are used figuratively to evoke memories and emotions connected with certain albums and/or performances. A prime example is the reference to the American singer and song-writer Lana Del Ray and her second studio album in the review of the new album of indie/art-rock group "Red Red Rose" from Moscow: *"Мы часто просыпаемся с настроением "борн ту дай". Но как бы мы не любили Лану, куда лучше придерживаться философии Red Red Rose "Born to Live"* ('We often wake up in the 'born-to-die' mood. But no matter how much we love Lana, it is far better to stick to the philosophy of "Red Red Rose" and their album "Born to Live")* [12, p. 226].

A defining feature of Russian musical reviews is numerous hybrids derived from English roots using Russian suffixes which foreground the Russian 'flavor' and make these cross-linguistically blended words stand out in the text: пикфлойдовщина (pikfloidovshchina – 'pinkfloydism'); блэкость (blekost' – 'black metal style'); рэпчик (repchik – 'rap'); панкуха (pankukha 'punk rock'); олдскульный (oldskul'nyi 'old-schoollike'); миксанули (miksanuli '(they) mixed') [12, p. 219]. Thus, for Russian musicians, reviewers, and fans – just as for members of the other two communities of practice – English becomes the primary means of demonstrating their insider knowledge and a bonding element. English insertions and borrowings communicate topics that are unknown to those who are not members of the same group, making a distinction between 'insiders' and 'outsiders' [12, p. 225].

5. Results and Discussion

The communities under consideration operate in two spatial setups. Professional communities have a designated physical space – the office of the company, and entry into the community is regulated by hiring procedures. The popular music and youth bike-riding communities' function on a voluntary (self-assigned) basis, with Internet forum sites and sporadically organized meetups as primary points of member interaction. However, regardless of the physical space, our findings indicate that the use of English is a salient feature of the shared repertoire in each community of practice. Russian IT and audit professionals at multinational companies, professional and semi-professional musicians, and young local bike-riders perceive English as an important communicative and symbolic resource that binds them together and defines their group identity. The trajectory from a newcomer to an old-timer implies mastering this shared Anglicisms-saturated repertoire. The situated learning process may not be emotionally neutral and involves the 'unlearning' to separate languages and learning to meaningfully translanguage in the community interactions.

We identified several common patterns in the use of English within these communities of practice: (1) bilingual creativity, or translanguaging, (2) truncated nature of bilingualism, and (3) the use of Anglicisms as a gateway to the community.

5.1. Bilingual creativity, or translaguaging

Members of each community of practice justify the use of Anglicisms by the need to fill in the lacunae related to the joint enterprise of the community because many of the core activities that they engage in have come to Russia from Anglophone cultures, along with the words denoting them. For instance, in the youth bike-riding subculture these are the terms denoting brands of bike-parts *(Shimano, Rock-Shox)*, bike tricks *(банни хоп [bani khop] – 'bunny hop')* and riding styles *(урбан фрирайд [urban frifaid] – 'urban freeride'; даунхил [daunhil] – 'downhill')*. Some of these words (for instance, *downhill*) are also used in other sports, for example, mountain skiing or snowboarding. Similarly, many IT-related terms have been borrowed across the entire societal spectrum and are not specific to employees' talk in international IT companies. The borrowed terminology in popular music reviews and musicians' interactions can be restricted to a particular musical genre, product, performance or recording technique *(нойз [noiz] – 'noise'); бисайд (bisaid – 'B-side'); гроулинг [grouling] – 'growling',* etc.) or permeate evenly through the entire discourse practice. For instance, the term *саунд* (*[saund] –* 'sound') is common for different musical genres either on its own or as part of other words, for example, *saundtrek* (soundtrack). In all these cases, Anglicisms convey ideational meaning since the above-mentioned lexemes either serve as unique ways to represent the world or are perceived as representations distinct from their Russian counterparts. One of our respondents, a famous Russian female vocalist, described the word 'saund' as a "more appropriate" and "more comprehensive" term which "indicates not just a physical sound but some individual quality, a personal sound…" [12, p. 222].

What distinguishes the repertoires of local communities of practice from the overall linguistic landscape in Russia is that the English borrowings undergo further creative transformation in the interaction within the analyzed communities. These transformations are translingual in nature and represent instances of bilingual creativity. For instance, music fans actively use Russian word-building resources (especially affixation) to create various connotational nuances of meaning. For instance, the translingual derivatives of the term "rap", such as *рэпчик [repchik], рэпак [repak], рэпчина [repchina],* convey approval and friendly familiarity. Similarly, the local term "стритец" *[steetets]* that the biking subculture members have selected as a self-identification label is the result of combining the English term *'street'* (the name of a cycling style) and the local suffix *-ets,* which indicates prowess in Russian and is used as both attributional and emotional characterization. As for IT and audit professionals, they abundantly use English terms adapted to Russian grammar and syntax (noun declension, verb conjugation, and phrasal agreement) in informal peer-to-peer monocultural interaction [14, p. 447]:

(1) Крэш пофикшен	*(2) Заапрувь свой таймшит у инчарджа*
Kresh pofikshen	*Zaaprov' svoi taimshyt u insharzha*
'The crash has been fixed'	*'Approve your time-sheet with your in-charge'.*

In both examples above, the speakers use Russian word-building means not only to create a new grammatical meaning (perfective aspect), but also to maintain the informal register appurtenance and create engagement with other community members, which, according to Halliday, is part of the interpersonal function of language.

These instances of bilingual creativity do not qualify for bilingual play as suggested by Rivlina [22] because the communicative goal is neither to create humorous (playful) effect and intrigue the reader, nor to achieve certain marketing goals but to convey messages that are directly related to shared enterprise, i.e. ask and respond, give a command, describe and/or evaluate something, etc. Translanguaging within the community is, thus, an intentional language practice of using global and local semiotic resources available to interlocutors to conduct the activity of the community.

5.2. Truncated nature of bilingualism

Participants across the three communities of practice confirmed in interviews that they rarely, if ever, need to use English as abundantly in other spheres as they do within the community. A young heavy metal musician, for instance, explained that there is no need for English in his daily life and the only English words he knows and uses are the terms related to music [12, p. 218]. Similarly, young bike-riders employ English as a symbolic resource and refer to it only for creating additional meanings related to their shared hobby. Music reviewers may name a popular British song or album or allude to American mystery drama television series *Twin Peaks* because it provides a common semiotic context [12, p. 225-226]. In Russian offices of international companies, Russian-English bilingualism, defined as the ability to use both languages at approximately the same proficiency level, is more wide-spread because the employees may include non-Russian speakers. Yet, this communication is professionally restricted and many Russian employees consider themselves in need to develop their general English language competence to be able to effectively interact outside professional exchanges [13].

The limited English language proficiency is typical of most local communities of practice and, therefore, each group's shared repertoire can be defined as a form of truncated bilingualism – "linguistic competencies which are organized topically, on the basis of domains or specific activities" [7, p. 199]. Some members may not be able to use English outside the community. The reverse is also true: high English proficiency level does not guarantee intelligibility within a specific community of practice due to specific content of the shared activity or creative appropriation of English as a semiotic resource. Anecdotal evidence from a general English classroom suggests that newly hired employees may enroll in English language classes to understand their co-workers, whose workplace communication abounds in English-Russian hybrids and English professional terms.

Another aspect of truncation is ideological orientation to simplified language rather than elaborate linguistic constructions. Our interviewees in a professional workplace study explained how they had to 'unlearn' to use complex syntactic constructions which they acquired during their linguistic training in an English-major university program and transition to using simpler and more concise forms, which they associate with a practical way of communication in a multilingual professional community.

4.3. In-group exclusive use

The shared English-Russian translanguaging within the three communities of practice is not omnipresent in all contexts. The interactional patterns may include smaller subgrouping, for instance, departmental subdivision or music genre preferences. When members of a professional community of practice participate in mixed-group communication with representatives of different departments or localities at a meeting, they adjust their shared repertoire to include only globally (company-wide) known Anglicisms. Participants rarely use their small group repertoire outside the close peer community. Commenting on the use of Anglicisms in conversation (example 1 above), a young computer programmer explained: *"If I talk to a manager, I may say 'ispravil'* (the Russian for "has been fixed"), *but with other IT staff – only 'pofikshen".* [14, p. 447]. His colleague confirmed the normative character of mixed professional jargon: *"If you say 'copied and pasted,' they will think something is wrong. Only 'zakopypashen'."* [14, p. 448]. Professional auditors, when asked in the interview how often they translanguage within their office space, admitted: *"We don't use words like this when we talk to a secretary or HR. Only with other auditors and interns."* [14, p. 447]. Likewise, streetets riders would not use the word *gorshoks* (a jocular hybrid reference to the Rock Shox suspension fork) when talking to a bike-shop assistant or ordering spare parts online. Similarly, pop music reviewers would refer to the style of a well-known Russian musical group of the 1990s and its frontman using English syntactic and word-building calques only in the appropriate context *(gruppa-Bravo-Syutkin-vot-eto-vse-stail v "Mandrazh"/ 'Bravo-band-Syutkin-this-is-the-style in "Mandrazh").* Thus, translanguaging is reserved primarily for in-group communication.

The English-only interaction in professional communities of practice also follows this pattern: no translanguaging is used in professional conversation with colleagues who are not speaking Russian, and English in this case is maximally approximated to a standardized variety. Bilingual creativity and simplification are reserved for in-group conversation when interlocutors have the linguistic capacity to decode the shared repertoire.

These patterns of language use illustrate that members of each community of practice are not only fully aware of the sociolinguistic context but resort to translanguaging intentionally and mix-and-match meaning-making resources from English and Russian in order to index their group identity and belonging. Ideologically, they perceive their activity as part of the broader English-speaking world with a localized Russian practice. In interviews, participants acknowledge that the terms and phrases they use belong to English but are *"adapted for Russian mentality."* [5, p. 50]. Yet, none of the respondents theorized or commented on the Russianness of their English language variety or associated their speech patterns with 'Russlish'. While openly accepting and declaring their Russianness and willingness to embrace it within their practice, especially in the youth bike-riding subculture, they also openly declare that their verbal practice heavily hinges on English. Their interactional activity is, therefore, polycentric in nature with a dual orientation towards the global and the local centers of meaning-making [8], [14].

4.4. Russian Corpus studies

We have searched the National Russian Corpus [3] for the frequency of several commonly used Anglicisms and English-derived tokens recorded from each community of practice. We included search for lemmas of these words to broaden search results. The search, however, did not yield any results for such lexical items as *streetetz, goshoks, zaapruvit* (get approved), *incharge* (in-charge person), etc. Apparently, these creative terms are absolutely specific, that is, they have not crossed the in-group boundary and are used only in the given community of practice.

Words that are relatively specific and could be used by broader social groups engaged in the same or similar activities, such as IT terms and the names of bike-riding styles or pop music genres, have a limited number of occurrences in the corpus. For instance, the word *pofiksit'* ("to fix") has three distinct entries in three different documents in the corpus. The earliest date of entry is 2006; it belongs to the Internet forum for IT specialists. The other two entries represent fictional prose. In one instance, the term is enclosed in quotation marks and used metaphorically: it describes the psychoanalytic sessions that a new IT professional is attending to "fix the mind". The third entry refers to the description of a book character, who also works in IT.

Translanguaging innovations from the pop music community of practice follow the same pattern. For instance, the term *"саунд" ([saund], "sound")* appears either in media interviews with musicians or is used to characterize the speech of musicians in books. The broader audience (writers and readers) may recognize these Anglicisms as belonging to a particular professional sphere (such as IT or music). The specific nature of the community-of-practice activity keeps these terms for in-group interaction only and they do not go into widespread use.

As for the language innovations of the local bikers' subculture, they did not enter the National Corpus in any form. It is likely that the local nature and smaller membership of the observed community meant that corpus compilers never registered their interactions.

6. Conclusion

Our study affirms the sociolinguistic status of English as a language for in-group communication, i.e., a meaning-making resource used by Russian speakers to communicate with each other in certain communities of practice. Abundant use of Anglicisms is a specific feature of verbal interaction in such communities. This English-based language practice has distinct characteristics of being very creative, on the one hand, and clearly limited in the scope of application, on the other. At the same time, regardless of

the general level of fluency in English, participation in translanguaging within the community of practice signifies membership and belonging. This practice shapes the identity of local speakers and binds them together as members of a particular local group.

Our findings demonstrate that, according to Halliday's systemic functional approach, in the above communities of practice, English performs a dual function: ideation and interpersonal. It serves as a unique, i.e. community restricted, way to represent the world, thereby indexing group identity and belonging.

The study extends the discussion of the functions of English in Russia to include social and ideological domains. It highlights the growing role of English in global professional discourses and an increased sense of ownership of English as a local communicative resource. Sociolinguistic research on other local communities of practice may reveal further nuances of the use of English in the Russian regional contexts.

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