



1st INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences
Moscow, April 9-10, 2018

URBAN LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY

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INTRODUCTION

The international conference ***URBAN LINGUISTIC DIVERSITY*** was organized by the research group **Languages of Moscow** and took place on 9-10 April 2018 at the Institute of Linguistics Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow.

There has been a steady growth of population in urban centres across the globe. The processes of urbanization have been hastened due to the cities' rapid technological advancement, broader range of financial and educational opportunities, and better health care services among many other factors. According to the United Nations' Population Division (UN, 2014), approximately 54% of the world's population lived in cities in 2014, and it is estimated that this figure will increase to 66% by mid 21st century. One of the consequences of urbanization is linguistic and ethnocultural diversity. A remarkable increase in the number of languages spoken in urban contexts as well as the fact that people belonging to different ethnic, cultural, religious backgrounds come in contact with each other on a regular basis have contributed considerably to the formation of a multilingual and multicultural nature of the 21st century city.

The international conference *Urban Linguistic Diversity* brought together scholars working in different fields of linguistics to discuss topics related to the investigation of language in urban contexts. The papers in this collection are united by the overarching conference theme with special emphasis on metropolitan cities, including, but not limited to, urban sociolinguistics, geographical linguistics, anthropological linguistics, psycholinguistics, multilingual education, multilingual societies/communities, linguistic aspects of migration processes.

The main topics discussed:

- Multilingual/global city
- Language and migration
- Language policy and planning
- Language and identity
- Language contacts
- Linguistic landscape
- Language, education and diversity
- Heritage language maintenance
- Ethnolects
- Mixed language.

Keynote speakers:

Dr. Dick Smakman (Leiden University, *the Netherlands*)

Dr. Vladimir I. Belikov (Lomonosov Moscow State University, *Russia*)

Prof. Yaron Matras (University of Manchester, *United Kingdom*)

Organising committee

Julia Mazurova (Institute of Linguistics, RAS, *Moscow*)

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Marina Raskladkina (Institute of Linguistics, RAS, *Moscow*)

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Mira Bergelson (National Research University Higher School of Economics, *Moscow*)

Scientific committee

Andrej Kibrik (Institute of Linguistics, RAS, *Moscow*)

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Institute for Linguistic Studies, *Saint Petersburg*)

Olga Siniova (Lomonosov Moscow State University, *Moscow*)

Conference website

<http://languages.msk.ru/en/urban-linguistic-diversity/>

Urban variants of Russian

Vladimir Belikov

Lomonosov Moscow State University
Moscow, Russia

The extraordinary importance of minute linguistic differences for the symbolization of psychologically real as contrasted with politically or sociologically official groups is intuitively felt by most people. "He talks like us" is equivalent to saying "He is one of us".

Edward Sapir, *Language, Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences*, p. 160.

As we know from the Bible, a slightest speech particularly may have drastic results for a speaker. The Gileadites phonetically tested those suspected to be the Ephraimites: *Then said they unto him, Say now Shibboleth: and he said Sibboleth: for he could not frame to pronounce it right. Then they took him, and slew him at the passages of Jordan* (Judges 12:6). Modern habits are less bloodthirsty, but difference between 'our speech' and 'their speech' may lead into some kinds of conflict. On the other hand, a shibboleth may become a matter of pride and even a local logo.

The local lexical differences in standard Russian at the days of its formation have been regarded as a norm: "it would be unwise to demand from Moscow dialect to have words for natural phenomena current in the Urals or Okhotsk seashore" [Буслаев 1844:342]. A hundred years ago the standardized Russian, being mainly the language of fiction, science, law &c, lacked the terms of kitchen and housekeeping [Šor 1926/2009:137], so it is natural that everyday life vocabulary has been formatted locally.

But the building of communism demanded uniformity in everything, thus, according to the official point of view, the standards of the language were "obligatory for everybody who use it, notwithstanding his/her social, professional and territorial group membership"; "any language feature, which is considered correct or incorrect in Moscow, receives the same assessment in Leningrad or any other place, where standard Russian is used" [Filin 1973: 3, 6]. It was declared, that structurally and lexically the standard ("literary") Russian was everywhere the same, and was described in grammar books and dictionaries.

Still now it is usually said that literary Russian differs only stylistically and is universally used in fiction, media and high level oral communication. Educated people in everyday interaction use its colloquial variant. The substandard variants of Russian — common slang, youth jargon, and the lowest variant of the urban language, *prostоречие* ('plain speech'), are also everywhere the same. In any linguistic textbook one could find a chapter "Social and territorial differentiation of language"; the latter referring exclusively to rural dialects.

Everyone who had an experience to live in different cities knew that this was not true. An anthropologist, discussing hierarchical organization of identity, concludes: "the lowest level of ethnicity characterizes dwellers of Moscow and Leningrad (St. Petersburg);

at any rate, it is easy to find the difference in vocabulary" [Anfert'ev 1993: 68].

This can easily be confirmed by dictionaries. The explanatory dictionaries, being compiled and published in Leningrad / St. Petersburg, reflect local usage (sometimes obsolete) both in vocabulary and stylistic labels. Thus, in an accessible electronic version of fundamental dictionary *Bol'soj tolkovyj slovar' russkogo jazyka* (2014, <http://gramota.ru/>) a universally used word *utiatnica* 'an elongated braising pan' is labeled *coll.*, while its unmarked "literary" synonym *latka* is known only in St. Petersburg. According to this dictionary, a traditional meat aspic should be normally called *studen'*, while its everywhere (even among younger generations in St. Petersburg) prevailing synonym *xolodec* gets a label *narodno-razgovornoje* 'plain colloquial'. On the other hand, the compiling of pronunciation dictionaries was and still is a prerogative of Moscow linguists, thus Petersburgian phonetics is not codified.

Through the Web, the knowledge about differences among standard and substandard variants of urban Russian became a general belief, but the lexicographers are still conservative.

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The civic university and urban language diversity: Multilingual Manchester as a model for participatory research

Yaron Matras

University of Manchester, UK

Manchester, one of the world's first industrial cities, shows a very high density of languages for its population size. The city has a long history of immigration and prides itself for its commitment to equality and celebrating diversity, and for its history of being at the forefront of grassroots campaigns such as those for abolitionism and universal suffrage, in previous centuries, and for the protection of refugees and minority populations in more recent decades. The city has also been at the forefront of innovations in urban regeneration, trying to combine a labour-movement ethos with a partnership between the public, private and voluntary sectors and to market its cosmopolitan image to attract economic investment. The University of Manchester considers itself to be Britain's first 'civic university' with a commitment to draw on its links with the local community to enrich enquiry, as well as to contribute directly to the local community, reiterated more recently through its flagging of Social Responsibility as one of key goals alongside Teaching

and Research. Over the past decade, the relationship between the university and the city has also been shaped by the drive in the higher education sector to monetise teaching and research as well as research 'impact' on non-academic audiences, on the one hand, and the extreme consequences of austerity policies that have severely reduced local authority budgets and outreach, on the other.

This is the setting in which the Multilingual Manchester initiative emerged and continues to operate. The project brings together teaching, research, community outreach and public engagement in a reciprocal process, where student learning enriches and often leads enquiry, the interests of external stakeholders often provide the trigger and incentive to pursue research questions, and students and staff engage in supporting local initiatives around provisions and policy. That reciprocal process of collaboration in turn is a virtuous circle, which provides a unique setting for observation and new research insights.

In my talk I will outline the setting – Manchester's language diversity, public policy and provisions, and current drives and directions in higher education – and then describe the range of Multilingual Manchester activities, including student research and dissemination, research co-production with local stakeholders, community support and student volunteering, consultancy work and public events, the development of technical tools and resources, and resulting contributions to theorising of urban multilingualism around notions of language repertoires, community, and practice routines. I conclude by describing how the city is gradually embracing a narrative on languages that is symbolic and representative of its self-image of equality, diversity and cosmopolitanism.

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Why cities matter in Sociolinguistics

Dick Smakman

Leiden University, the Netherlands

Cities have always been particularly linguistically diverse. New language varieties, mixed languages, linguistic identity markers, customised individual linguistic repertoires, and all kinds of other phenomena are typical of urban contexts where people with many different cultural backgrounds come together. In recent decades, this diversity has been intensifying, and according to some the situation in very large cities can be qualified as 'superdiverse' (Vertovec, 2007). Economic and political immigrants in particular are entering large cities and bringing their own communicative habits and expectations to the urban public space. Moving to the city is more common than moving away from the city, and generally this move is a life-changing event, which directly affects the language use of

individuals. Booming city tourism is adding to the resultant highly fluid diversity. Besides the linguistic and communicative habits that newcomers are bringing in, there are the existing, more conservative patterns as well as the growing influences of lingua francas like English.

Because of these developments, the city is increasingly becoming a sociolinguistic entity in its own right. It can be treated as separate from the nation state and the linguistic continuum that runs from dialects to the norm language(s). Instead, its developments can be compared directly to those in other cities in the region and even to other cities across the globe.

In this context, communication can be seen as situational, evolving, intercultural, and dynamic, rather than as static, group-oriented, and monolingual. While the language variation situation (how many speakers speak which languages and what are languages like) should be an important focus of research, so are the micro-sociolinguistic choices that vary from person to person and situation to situation. The individual in a space of great linguistic diversity is treated as a given, and from that individual perspective generalisations can be drawn about communicative habits that individuals and groups within cities across the globe seem to share. The city is seen as a linguistic marketplace (Bourdieu, 1991), where individuals make their lives richer (economically, practically) and more interesting (life quality improvement) and use language as one of the tools to achieve those goals. They are confronted on a daily basis with people who look different and sound different, and these differences evoke explicit identity needs that are present in their low-level communicative practices.

Besides symbolical needs of individuals, there are the more practical communicative needs in the context of the public space. The linguistic landscape (public announcements, street signs, etc.) is a natural product of communication, not a strictly predesigned model. Stakeholders are shopkeepers, customers, city councils, etc. All of these have an interest in building a linguistic landscape that suits users of the public space, and the idea is that the public space thus shapes itself not only through policy but also in a more natural manner, namely through communicative choices of these stakeholders. So, besides the language aspect, there is the broader aspect of communication (needs).

This talk will introduce the city as a sociolinguistic entity, and as an experience and process; how its communication has been treated so far and how we can treat it in the future; both theoretically and empirically. The questions are: why should we study such fleeting and seemingly unstructured communication, how can we study it, how can such research help us understand superdiverse and intercultural communication, and how can urban communication help us understand the sociolinguistics of individuals?

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Ethnolinguistic problems in Russian republics: Social and educational aspects

Ekaterina Arutyunova

*Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology,
Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia*

The presentation shows an analysis of ethno-linguistic issues in education in the specific legal context of the Russian republics of Bashkortostan and Tatarstan. The importance of language to the identity of Russian citizens was analyzed using empirical data from a nationwide poll conducted by the Institute of Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences as well as expert and in-depth interviews and observations. The results demonstrate the high importance of language as an ethnic marker. Thus, in 2015, 75% of respondents in the all-Russian sample chose language as one of the factors uniting them with people of their ethnicity. All other factors of identity were less significant (culture – 63%, native land, territory, nature, historical past, customs and rituals, religion - 53-32%). Language as a uniting sign is important for respondents regardless of their age, social status, place of residence (city or village).

The main changes to language policy in Russia and in the Russian republics in particular in the post-Soviet era are also discussed. The research indicates that the adoption of language laws in the republics to provide state protection for official languages has shifted the focus of ethno-linguistic issues in the 2000s away from problems stemming from the lack of recognition of language as a constitutional right toward the problems associated with ethnic languages in education.

In the case of the Republic of Bashkortostan the author analyzes the key controversies in the field of school education. These concern the functioning of the official languages of the Republic and the first languages, the quality of the educational materials, assess the effectiveness of the teaching of the Bashkir language as an official to all school students of the republic.

The capitals of the Russian republics, where we conducted our research (Ufa and Kazan) are different in terms of ethnic structure. The proportion of ethnic Russians in capitals is generally higher than in the region as a whole – ethnic Russians are more urbanized for various historical and social reasons. In terms of language, the capitals are rather homogeneous – the Russian language prevails in the space of everyday interaction, even in Kazan, where ethnic Russians and Tatars are numerically equal, although the Tatars who grew up in the city are often called the Russian language as their native language. At the same time, the symbolic space of cities is largely filled with ethnic Tatar / Bashkir content. It is possible in particular by virtue of the operation of regional language laws.

Two key discourses in the study and discussion of the problems of ethno-linguistic situations were analyzed. These are the defense discourse and discourse of the free language choice based on the peoples' pragmatic motives.

Acknowledgements. The research was supported by the RSF, the project 14-18-01963.

Unwelcomed and invisible: migrants' languages in Russian megalopolises

Vlada Baranova

Higher School of Economics, St. Petersburg, Russia

Kapitolina Fedorova

European University at St. Petersburg, Russia

Mass labour migration to Russian megalopolises from the territory of the former Soviet Union and from Asian countries is gradually transforming their ethnic and linguistic composition turning them into global cities. At the same time changes in urban space and especially in linguistic landscapes of Moscow and St. Petersburg are much less rapid and radical than one could expect. Comparing to such global cities as London, New York or Los Angeles, Russian megalopolises look almost monolingual on the surface. Evidently, this situation is related to social position of non-Russian speaking newcomers and native Russian speakers' attitudes to them.

The paper deals with linguistic diversity in St. Petersburg and Moscow and its (mis)representation in the city's official language policy, linguistic landscape, and media. There is underestimation of diversity of different migrant groups and languages in media, instead they are engaged in constructing bipartite oppositions of local / unlocal or Russian / non-Russian. Russian speakers have negative attitudes to ethnolects as well as ethnic and even regional accents of Russian and do not try to identify specific languages and accents from soundscape in the streets, mixing them all in one category of 'bad Russian'. Meanwhile, new communities of speakers are forming in main Russian cities which include ethnically mixed young non-native Russians who understand their diversity and can distinguish different ethnic styles of speaking. The so called crossing identity (Rampton 1995) is a sociolinguistics practice observed nowadays in many different global cities around the globe (Benor 2010); in some cases it follows the emergence of ethnolect, like it was with Kiezdeutsch in Germany (Wiese 2009; Wiese, Rehbein 2016), or other more or less stable linguistic variant.

The paper aims at revealing Russian speakers' language attitudes underlying both official and non-official language policy in Russian ethnically diverse megalopolises. It is done through comparison between native and non-native speakers of Russian with regard to their respective (dis)ability to distinguish ethnolects or ethnic accents, as this process is reflected in different discourses circulating in Russian society.

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Living with second language: What life narratives can reveal

Mira Bergelson

*School of Philology, National Research University Higher School of Economics,
Moscow, Russia*

This paper represents a case study of a narrative told by a bilingual Ukrainian-Russian person as a response to the interview question about the role of Russian language in her life. A corpus of 20 life narratives has been collected from Russian bilingual speakers in response to the interviewer's request to tell the story of how they learned Russian, why they did it and what role it plays in their lives.

This study is part of the project *Languages of Moscow* and makes use of the narrative analysis as an instrument of uncovering values and attitudes held by the speakers of other than Russian languages regarding their linguistic behaviors. This method combines discourse analysis focusing on the content and the form of the spoken discourse on topics related to 'another language' issues together with narrative analysis per se. The latter focuses on the macrostructure of the stories, the story genre schema components, including its multimodal complexity.

The advantage of the narrative analysis as compared to the questionnaires and structured interviews lies in the fact that answering direct questions posed to them, the respondents express attitudes that they *believe* to be true and/or correct, not necessarily those they *have* towards their ethnic language. The assessments of their skills in the ethnic language, as well as in Russian, very often depend on sociocultural norms and/or wishful thinking.

At the same time, narrative analysis has obvious drawbacks as compared to the more verifiable methods easily allowing for the quantitatively measured results and statistics. That's why it is often based on case studies with generalizations mainly referring to the formal structure only.

The specific genre of 'life stories' has been proven to be an excellent example of the narrative genre though it has certain formal features that set it apart among other types of personal stories. In the life narrative genre schema, description often stands for narration, and both types of passages contain more evaluative material as compared to other genres. It is this evaluative component and relatively stable macrostructure that make life narratives a good source for studying issues related to second language acquisition and linguistic behavior. In our project, besides considering the typical schema of life narratives (childhood, schooling, professional life, family, etc.) we aimed at getting from our respondents funny episodes and mini-stories related to learning or using Russian, confusing it with their mother tongue, any situations when insufficient knowledge of Russian or their ethnic language helped them out or put them in a difficult situation.

In this paper I demonstrate that the narrative strategy used by the narrator, more than average length of the story, abundance of evaluations and deviations from the main line, discrepancies and contradictions in the evaluative passages – all testify to the fact that

the narrator does not fully believe in the point she makes through her story, that her attitudes are not harmonized and reconciled, and that in order to have explanations of her contradictory verbal behavior one has to look beyond her personal story.

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Transliteration and RU-ENG translation in the Moscow linguistic landscape

Anastasiya Bespalova

*Lomonosov Moscow State University,
Russia*

Andrej A. Kibrik

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences,
and Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia*

Nowadays globalization is reshaping the modern world, making cities a place of even more intense language contact than before, which in turn affects the linguistic landscape of megalopolises such as Moscow.

According to its original definition, linguistic landscape is comprised of the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings (Landry, Bourhis 1997). When people arrive in a new country or city, public signs, ads and billboards are often the first forms of contact they have with the language of the place (Degi 2012), so the language of these signs should be understandable, and the signs themselves should help the foreigners, not further bewilder them. We address the following question: "How do the texts displayed on Moscow public signs (including both in the underground and on the surface) accommodate the needs of foreigners?"

In the context of Moscow, elements of the linguistic landscape are created by means of either Roman transliteration or Russian-English translation. Each of these methods has its own peculiarities and certain issues that need to be discussed.

As for transliteration, a variety of standards are used, both official and ad hoc. A mix of various transliteration principles may be confusing for the addressees. We claim that it is important to develop a single scientifically grounded standard of transliteration and adhere to it. Also, one should differentiate between strict transliteration and elements of practical transcription.

The method of Russian-English translation involves its own difficulties. In particular, the division of labor between transliteration and translation is far from clear. Classifiers such as 'street' and 'square' can either be translated or transliterated, and we believe it is advisable to follow only one unified approach.

In this paper, we analyse elements of the Moscow linguistic landscape from the point of view of whether they accommodate the needs of foreigners. We believe that uniformity is the key to the creation of the best version of Moscow linguistic landscape. However, this uniformity is yet to be achieved in Moscow.

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The impact of an urban environment on Pamiri speakers

Leila Dodykhudoeva

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Science,
Moscow, Russia*

The paper is built on a case study of several Pamiri families from GBAO Republic Tajikistan living in Moscow or the Moscow region. The participants are either fully mono-ethnic of Pamiri, Shughnani, Ishkashimi or Wakhi origin, or are of mixed race origin (Pamir and Russian). Most of the older contributors were educated in Tajikistan in the Tajik language. In addition to Russian and their native Pamir language – Shughnani, Ishkashimi or Wakhi – they speak fluent Tajik. Younger family members attend Russian-language schools, but speak their indigenous language in their home environment.

In the framework of the project, we spent some time with each family, and were involved in their everyday life. This enabled us to observe their mode of communication and behaviour, their language use and code switching. We also received ongoing feedback from family members of all age groups, who expressed their opinions on the issue of «mother tongue», their attitudes towards language and their values. In addition, we prepared a biographical profile of each family member with reference to their language skills, adding our own observation of the place of language in the everyday life of the family. In this regard, we documented how they understood their ethno-linguistic identity. Our survey also examined how this understanding helps them in their daily and professional lives. One key aspect was the effect of living in a different country, with particular reference to the transition to urban lifestyle, and the resulting impact on family life. We explored whether the pace of fast-changing skills and technological change means that instead of parents learning from children (as in the case of the mother tongue and traditional farming practices), this inter-generational process is reversed, as parents strive to adapt to the changing values of the urban consumer environment. In this perspective, we examined the differing domains of each generation's language use. Based on these data, we prepared a table of language use in various sociolinguistic situations.

Through this approach, we elucidate how processes of globalisation and urbanisation affect minorities and influence their worldview, identity, and priorities, in

terms of the way they use their mother tongue. This serves to explain the extent to which consumer society and rapid technological transformation, resulting in fast-changing sociolinguistic situations, in turn trigger intense change in the dominant language, provoking significant adjustments in the mother tongue, and its lexicon (new words, concepts, terms, etc.), and actually modifying the treatment of the mother tongue by young people. These processes highlight the nature of these changes, and the acceleration of the generation gap in terms of language in an urban environment.

Finally, the project demonstrates how the transition to an urban environment impacts the value minorities place on cultural, religious and other values, but most especially on language.

Diversity and linguistic landscape: Exploring a weekly urban market in a highly diverse multicultural area

Irem Duman

University of Potsdam, Germany

Linguistic Landscape Studies (LLS) constitute a recent and popular branch within sociolinguistics. In general terms, LLS can be defined as the analysis of visible written language in the urban space of a specific area. Blommaert (2012) notes that physical spaces are also social and cultural spaces that offer, enable, prescribe or enforce certain patterns of social behavior. Each space is associated with a range of codes, expectations, norms and traditions. That allows us to make a social, cultural and also political diagnostic from sociolinguistic diagnostics (cf. *ibid.*, p.7). LLS can therefore serve as a tool to investigate language policies, cultural identities, sociocultural structures, multiculturalism, multilingualism and linguistic diversities.

This study focuses on the linguistic landscape of a weekly street market in Neukölln, a Berlin district known for its multiethnic and multilingual population. The ethnographic diversity makes the Maybachufer Market an interesting place to observe. Cultural contact has an immense effect on linguistic variations. Each culture brings its own set of features to society and consequently to language. Various products and linguistic and social behaviors therefore become a part of the common 'multiculture'. By exploring market signs, the study aims to create an overview of the linguistic features of the market and to search for evidence of linguistic diversities and variations. In order to discover visible effects of the sociolinguistic diversity on linguistic choices, the research analyzes the usage and degree of visibility of different languages within this multicultural urban area.

As a local shopping place, as well as a tourist attraction with its large variety of products, the Maybachufer Market constitutes a highly diverse linguistic landscape. The stallholders have different sociolinguistic backgrounds, and this has a visible influence on the language used in the market. Since most of the signs reflect their own language use, the research area differs from others in this rather unofficial aspect. The market takes place

twice a week; one can observe a constantly changing, living linguistic landscape when some stands being rented on a daily basis.

The ethnographic diversity of the market emerges in the findings through different forms of multilingualism, language mixtures and variations. German appears as the dominant language, yet many other languages are used in different contexts. However, the choice of code differs in speaking and writing. The linguistic choices depend on various criteria, such as language backgrounds, stand concepts or marketing strategies. Furthermore, new words and combinations enter into language repertoires, as well as the lexicon, and semantically altered and grammatically integrated usages are created. This multiethnic language contact in an urban area hereby enables the dissemination of this new vocabulary and variations, which forms a linguistic style that can be considered as a contribution to the language. This also points to a possible ‘market language’ which opens possibilities for further urban language studies.

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Stylistic “mix” in the speech of labor migrants

Iuliia Egorova

Lomonosov Moscow State University, Russia

Integration of labour migrants, developed methods of their training and testing require close attention to the phenomenon of oral speech of inofonovs, actively practicing Russian in the space of the modern metropolis. Analysis pidginization variants of the modern Russian allows us to pay attention to problems of teaching Russian as a foreign language, to the actualization of linguistic units, different in their stylistic affiliation. It is interesting to compare the use of formal-business style lexemes, slang and vernaculars in colloquial speech, linking them with specific communicative situations, fragments of reality.

The study is based on the interviews of Moscow labor migrants, taken as part of the RANEPA project ‘Labor Migration and Territorial Mobility in Russia: Economic, Social and Political Factors’. Respondents are heterogeneous in terms of ethnic, age and gender characteristics, among them - people from Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine. All of them studied Russian at home, moreover, and there they used it as a means of communication.

The presented version of the language is marked by stylistic heterogeneity, a property that is attributed to modern media discourse and is called “stylistic disorder”. The material shows that these respondents can be considered as speakers of vernacular (Skvorcov 1977) (*с Киргизии, etc.*). At the same time in their speech there are also lexemes, characteristic for vernacular (Vinokur 2009) (*зал (о гостиной), удумают etc.*). Units of

official style naturally appear when describing situations of formal communication. They concern the work, the processing of documents, the admission of children to school, etc. At the same time, these elements help migrants maintain the status of an educated person who speaks Russian well. It is not by chance that they appear after questions that require a short answer (*Родители в данное время там находятся. В частности, мы разговариваем на русском*). For the sociologist, this is a possible additional signal that the subsequent replica may not be entirely sincere: the target of the respondent is positioning.

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Linguistic Landscape in Kashgar

Ablimit Baki Elterish
University of Manchester, UK

The aim of this research is to propose a first empirical study of the urban linguistic landscape of the Chinese city of Kashgar (Kashi in Chinese) in western China. Once a trade centre of the ancient Silk Road in an area of the world now known as Xinjiang, Kashgar is now inevitably becoming a metropolitan city with a remarkable increase in the number of urban population from 350,000 in 2000 to 600,000 by 2016, which is composed of mainly the speakers of Uyghur and Chinese. In May 2010, the Chinese authorities designated Kashgar as a special economic zone with a particular aim to transform the city into a world trade hub like that of Shenzhen in South China. Rapid economic development in Kashgar is bringing about unprecedented changes in all aspects of life in Kashgar. One of the changes is in language use on traditional bilingual (Uyghur and Chinese) signs which constitute a unique linguistic landscape of Kashgar. This research will describe the characteristics and the sociolinguistic context of Kashgar in Xinjiang and address the complexity of the linguistic landscape in this complex urban environment. Drawing from the studies of Landry and Bourhis (1997), Scollon and Scollon (2003), Lou (2009), and Shohamy, Ben-Rafael and Barni (2010), this research will adopt the geo-semiotic analysis – the study of the social meaning of the material placement of signs in the world - to explore the language contact and ethnic interaction situation in Kashgar through the visual and material presentation of Uyghur and Chinese signs in the city. The data for this research were collected during the fieldwork conducted in Kashgar over the spring and summer months

from 2013 to 2017. This research argues that the linguistic landscape of Kashgar is the product of competition and negotiation among various stakeholders. The findings of this research show that a wide array of social actors with competing political and economic interests and resources contribute to the collective shape of Kashgar's linguistic landscape. The findings of this research will contribute to the understanding of new insights on urban linguistic diversity of Kashgar, which is under-represented, or under-studied in the research area of urban linguistic diversity.

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On a stress in the toponyms of the Moscow area

Konstantin Filatov

*School of Linguistics, National Research University
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia*

Victoria Reshetnikova

*School of Linguistics, National Research University
Higher School of Economics, Moscow, Russia*

It appears to be a regular observation that Moscow dwellers and those who live in other parts of Russia show differences in stress placement.

Hence, the goal of our study is to establish the differences in placement of stress among native Muscovites (i.e. the people who were born in Moscow and whose parents were born there), the people who have moved from regions of Russia to Moscow (Immigrants) and those who have been living in regions for the most of their lives (region citizens).

We have chosen three toponyms of Moscow Area: Dubna, Ljublino and Balashixa. These ones demonstrate variation in their stress position: /'dʌbna/ and /dʌ'bʌnə/; /'ljudbljɪnə/ and /ljudbljɪ'nə/; /bʌ'lʌfə/ and /bʌ'lʌfə/. Moreover, they have different number of syllables, therefore, the variation we are interested in can be probably restricted by extralinguistic variables rather than intralinguistic ones.

The sample counted 120 informants. It was divided into 3 groups, 40 persons each, according to the category they belong to. The informants were aged from 15 to 25. We decided to restrict the age range to these values as we suppose these people to have the strongest ability to move from their birthplace to other cities. The majority of informants in the group of Immigrants were those who have recently started their studies in Moscow universities.

Thus, we have formed three hypotheses:

(1) Stress pattern that is spread amidst the Moscow citizens is significantly different from the pattern used by region citizens.

(2) The group of Native Muscovites behaves more homogeneously, with regard to stress pattern, than the other groups.

(3) The Immigrants are more probable to behave like native Muscovites in the respect of stress placement than region dwellers do.

To collect the data we have carried out the online-survey using the voice messages feature of VKontakte. The informants were proposed to read a short text. They had to read the text and to make a recording of their first try. The text included both stimuli and fillers.

As we got more data that it was expected, we have randomly chosen 40 items from each category and included them in the sample.

The data have been analysed using Pearson's chi-squared test. It has shown that there is a significant difference between observed and expected frequencies in categories examined (p-value < 0.01).

The charts 1 – 3 present the results.

The first hypothesis has been confirmed for all toponyms.

The second hypothesis was not confirmed for the case of Ljublino, as the Native Muscovites and Region citizens demonstrate the similar degree of homogeneity.

The third hypothesis was not confirmed for the case of Dubna. The choice of strategy of stress placement in Immigrants' group appeared to be, with the higher probability, closer to the strategy which is particular for the Regional citizens group.

/'dubnə/ vs. /dub'nə/

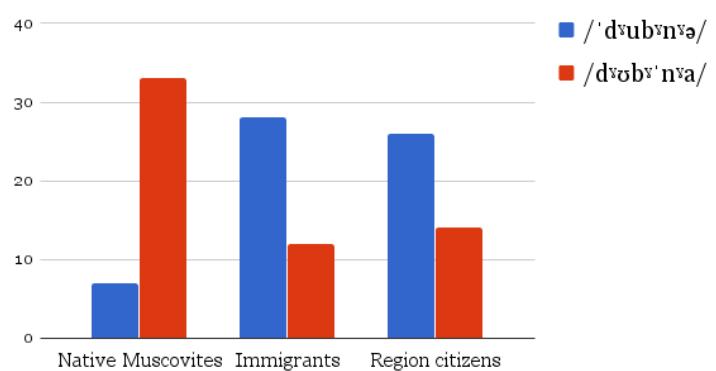
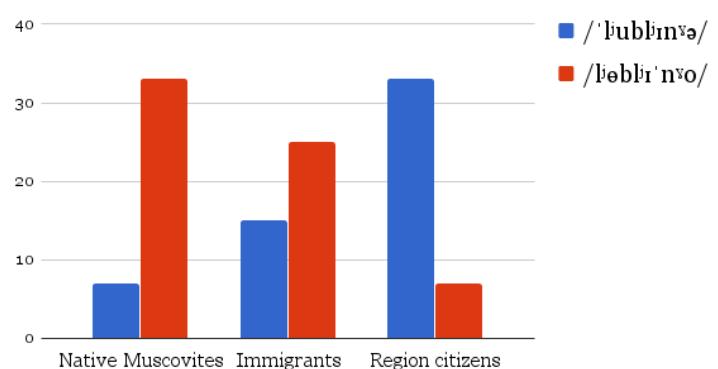


Chart 1. Variation of stress placement in Dubna.

/'lublɪnə/ vs. /ləblɪ'nə/



/bə'lvaʃəxə/ vs. /bə'lvaʃɪxə/

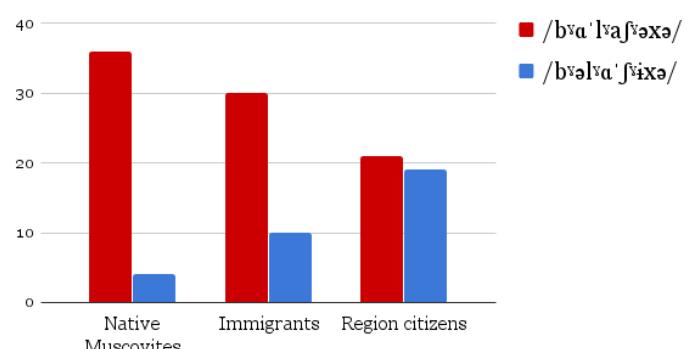


Chart 3. Variation of stress placement in Balashixa.

All the results are statistically significant (p-value < 0.01).

Linguistic parameters of the Cheboksary regional dialect of the Russian language

Eduard Fomin

*Chuvash State Institute of Culture and Arts,
Cheboksary, Russia*

Cheboksary is the capital of the Chuvash Republic. The population of the city is half a million people, including agglomeration – eight hundred thousand people. On the whole, Cheboksary agglomeration includes almost 70 percent of the Republic's population. Ethnic composition of Cheboksary is as follows: the Chuvash – 60 percent, the Russians – 30 percent, other nations – 10 percent.

The main extra-linguistic factors that determine Cheboksary regional dialect are specific historical and geographical conditions, the Chuvash influence.

In the phonetic aspect the speech of the residents of Cheboksary is characterized by less positional reduction of vowels, unlike the one that is customary for metalect. This characteristic is determined by the phonetic specific of the Chuvash language, in which reduced vowels are phonemes, unlike in Russian, and don't undergo qualitative changes.

Another characteristic of the Cheboksary regional dialect is a fixed specific stress in some words: Chuvashía, Alexandróv instead of Chuváshia, Alexándrov. The nobiliary variant of the family name Alexandróv is not possible in this case, at least because there were no noblemen in the Chuvash environment, however, due to totality the accentological form should be qualified as a marker of the Cheboksary regional dialect.

In the lexical aspect the Cheboksary regional dialect is characterized by chuvashisms (akatui “a holiday celebrating the end of spring sowing”, serde “aegopodium”, shirttan “tripe” (more information in the book: Erina 2012)), high frequency of such words as Cheboksary, cheboksarskiy (relating to Cheboksary, characteristic of or belonging to it), Chuvash (nationality/a resident of Chuvashia), chuvashskiy (relating to Chuvashia, characteristic of or belonging to it), ayda (“let's go/do something”), local toponyms, semantic division of the forms of the word “brother” (older) – “bratishka” (younger), using such names as “white” and “black” for bread instead of “wheat” and “rye”, a request for a stop in a route taxi using the word ‘ostav'te’ (leave) instead of “ostanovite” (stop) [Fomin 2013].

Morphological markers that are constituents of the Cheboksary regional dialect – substitution of the possessive pronouns “moy” (my), “tvoy” (your), “ego” (his) by the forms “u menya” (I have), “u tebya” (you have), “u nego” (he has), expressing a neutral request by the particle “-ka”, using the particle “chto li (chto l')” (“or something, perhaps, maybe”), using of the word Chuvash in the indeclinable form.

On the whole, the markers of the Cheboksary regional dialect are specifically used units of the Russian language. Mainly the diversity is manifested in the high frequency of the units influenced by the Chuvash language.

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Sociolinguistic assessment of the status of Chinese language of Moscow Russian-Chinese bilinguals

Polina German

*Russian State University of Humanities,
Moscow, Russia*

The work is devoted to studying the Chinese language of the Chinese-Russian bilinguals in Moscow. The relationship between ethnic languages and language of interethnic communication in big cities, particularly Moscow, is yet insufficiently studied, but recent interest in it has increased. Modern Russian-Chinese contacts are extensive; hundreds of thousands of people are involved. The results of these contacts can be:

a) Incipient bilingualism among small scale businessmen in the Far East, whose second language is the pidgin based on the Russian language with Russian and Chinese ethnolects. Since the pidgin was enough to accomplish the communicative tasks, more full-fledged language acquisition doesn't occur (excepting rare cases of acquisition of the rudiments of Chinese, for example, written language of the signboards) [German 2017].

b) Full-fledged bilingualism in purposeful learning of the second language in universities and on courses. Scientific comprehension of the process is reduced almost only to methodological publications on elimination of typical errors; (see example [Volkov 2017]).

An alternative method of second language acquisition is communication in mixed families in which both spouses are interested in acquisition of the partner's language. In this study we are interested in such families' children.

The aim of this work is research of the Chinese language spoken among Russian-Chinese bilinguals of Moscow who grew up in mixed families: identification of the area of their usage of the Chinese language, proficiency in it, and also revealing the influence of the Russian language on Chinese.

The study is carried out by a two-stage questionnaire survey (partially interview-based) among respondent students and their parents. In general, the research methodology leaned on the work [Belikov, Krysin 2015].

Research group consists of bilingual students aged 12 to 16 years. As far as we know, the process of intrafamilial acquisition of the Chinese language by children and teenagers hasn't yet been investigated. Few publications about the Russian-Chinese bilingualism is dedicated only to those who have learned Chinese in classes (see example [Mutylina 2010]).

We assume that the level of the Chinese language of the bilingual children, who are

living in the city where the main language is Russian, differs from the level of their parents - native speakers. Maybe under the influence of Russian they avoid some of the structures inherent in the Chinese. The survey is to verify usage of specific syntactic structures by children in comparison with their parents.

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Lari online

Anna Gromova

*Institute of Asian and African studies,
Lomonosov Moscow State University, Moscow, Russia*

For centuries Lar, capital of Larestan county (in southern Fars, Iran), has been distinguished by its striking diversity of its linguistic and sociocultural landscape [5], that more than once has become the object of dialectological studies (for the state of research before 2008 consult [4], for the up-dated literature reviews of phonology, grammar and language pedagogy works see [2; 3]).

Lari urbanolect (called also Larestani or Achomi; a branch of the southwestern Iranian languages that conserves some archaic features of Middle Persian) may be regarded as the core of dialectal continuum of Larestan that embraces Khonji, Ewazi, Bixei, Beyrami, Baladehi, and other local language varieties.

Besides of Lar and Larestan (with a population, respectively, of 62,045 and of 213,920 according to the 2016-2017 Census), nowadays Lari is spoken among multiple migrant communities in major cities of Iran, Fars province, Hormozgan province, the UAE, Qatar, Bahrein. Its usage, predominantly in informal conversations, seems to be frequently limited to a restricted number of communicative situations. Lari is listed by UNESCO as one of the definitely endangered languages of Iran (<http://www.unesco.org/culture/languages-atlas/en/atlasmap/language-id-1765.html>).

Our analysis aimed to reconstruct some features of language attitudes of the Larestani community toward their vernaculars, folklore and literature, involves the local media (Milād-e Lārestān <http://mldl.ir>, Evening Larestan <http://www.asriran.com>, Larestan Sun <http://aftablarستان.ir>, New Discourse <http://www.sohbateno.ir> etc.) and blogs (first of all <http://gapolap.blogfa.com>, <http://achomestan.blogfa.com>).

These Internet sites offer an extensive collection of news material dedicated to different cultural events concerning the Larestan language varieties, such as book launch,

poetry nights, reports of Iranian linguists at various international conferences, appearance of new media channels in dialect and so on. Apart of a vital importance for the future documentation and description of these language varieties, numerous publications of proverbs, small thematic vocabularies in dialects, poems with Persian translation or even without it, meets the demand of a rather wide audience able to enjoy reading the dialect poems or at least, comprehend them.

Lively debates on the sociolinguistic status of Lari (should it be considered a dialect or a language) and a keen interest to the announced introduction of native dialect/language courses at school demonstrate that the local dialects, although overshadowed by Persian, official language of the Iranian educational system, are perceived as a milestone of the local sociocultural identity.

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Language choice and use practices of Armenians in Istanbul

Umut Gülsün

Boğaziçi University, Istanbul, Turkey

Armenian is one of the oldest languages of Anatolia, historically spoken throughout the Armenian highlands. Its standardized modern literary forms are Western Armenian and Eastern Armenian. The latter is spoken in the Armenian Republic while Western Armenian is mainly spoken by the Armenian diaspora originating from the present-day eastern Turkey (but also other parts of Anatolia). The Armenian communities surviving the Genocide in different parts of Turkey have practically disappeared over the course of the past century, except the community in Istanbul, making Istanbul the only location in Turkey where Western Armenian is still spoken. The Armenian community of Istanbul is estimated to have about 50,000 members (1). Given the highly small size of the community and various other unfavorable factors surrounding the minority languages in Turkey,

Western Armenian, which is a definitely endangered language according to UNESCO, could be facing the threat of language shift in its last bastion in Turkey.

This research aims at addressing language choice and use practices of Armenians in Istanbul by exploring how Armenians of Istanbul switch between Armenian and Turkish in their daily lives. The data were collected through a questionnaire containing items on interlocutor and domain-based language use, language competency, and language perceptions. The questionnaire data are supported by open-ended interview questions and the researcher's informal observations during the interviews, which take place at the participants' home or work places. I was able to interview 10 informants until now. Their ages range from 20 to 86. Again of importance, two informants are born in Anatolia while the rest are born in Istanbul. Lastly, three are Catholics while the rest are Orthodox.

After interviews with 10 Armenian informants in Istanbul, which renders this research a pilot study because of the limitations arising from the number of informants, I was able to spot several factors. Dividing the sample into 3 age groups and comparing competency gives insight about intergenerational transmission and language shift, and comparing language use in different age groups tells about language perceptions. Another sociolinguistic study about Kurdish has similar results in terms of language shift (Öpengin 2012). Regarding provenance, one can compare the competency of Anatolian and Istanbul-born Armenians in order to see the extent of language shift in different areas. I claim that this difference has its roots in the Genocide (Akçam 2014). Lastly, the Orthodox-Catholic dichotomy within the Armenian community is correlated with the different patterns of language use within these two sects (Beydilli 1995). I try to show this by comparing the competency and language perceptions of these two different sects.

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Migration and urban language contact: prognoses for heritage language maintenance

Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu

Howard University, Washington, D.C., USA

Migration – a move from one place to another within or across the boundaries of a polity – has increasingly become the norm especially in today's globalized world, where individuals are constantly on the move, forced or voluntary, in search of economic

opportunities to better themselves and improve the lives of their dependents. When individuals move from one place to another, whether within a polity (internal migration) or across a polity's boundaries (external or international migration), they do not leave their heritage languages behind; rather, they bring them along on their journey to the host destinations, where they encounter people speaking languages different from their own. This paper discusses the prognoses for migrants' heritage language maintenance in urban language contact in the host destinations, using qualitative data on African migrants' linguistic practices in the Washington Metropolitan Area and in Africa's urban centers. It argues that whether or not migrants maintain their heritage languages or shift to the lingua franca spoken in the destination areas depends on a wide range of factors. These include, on the one hand, the social prestige and economic value or lack thereof of the heritage languages vis-as-vis the lingua franca, in this case English, spoken in the destination area; and, on the other hand, the core value as well as ethnolinguistic vitality of the heritage language in the destination area or context. These factors, I argue, do not operate independently of one another, but interact in complex ways to cause language shift in African migrant communities both in Africa's urban spaces and in the United States. As the mobility of things and ideas as well as of people intensifies especially in the era of globalization, the prognoses for heritage language maintenance appear bleak. This is more so because the factors that traditionally contribute to language maintenance, including those listed above, are increasingly giving way to the need for mobility and linguistic instrumentalism associated with the destination language, along with the imperatives that draw people to migrate in the first place.

The tale of two cities: English in linguistic landscapes of Moscow and Helsinki

Elena Kartushina

*Pushkin State Russian Language Institute,
Moscow, Russia*

The linguistic landscape of modern cities has recently become a popular object for research among linguists. Previously known as the language of the city (the term introduced by V. Kolesov in 1991) (Kolesov 1991), linguistic landscape now comprises billboards, signs and announcements of a particular city as a platform for language mix, creativity and (in some cases) misspellings and mistranslations.

As a methodological basis for the practical-oriented research of such kind the linguists accept (in many cases by default) the category of eventfulness. The category is regarded extrapolated from postmodernism philosophy in its interpretation by Y. Lotman (Lotman 1984). As for the category of eventfulness, the key component in its analysis is ritualism. Ritual first comes as something unusual, then becomes accepted without much resentment and, in some cases, with certain surprise. The acceptance of such a category in interpreting linguistic landscapes facilitate the process of distinguishing habitual elements from the imposed ones, the new and «others» from the old and «ours». In this regard the

«Ours-Others» dichotomy, a traditional methodological parameter in social linguistics, can be engaged in analysing the category of eventfulness within linguistic framework. In this regard, application of the category of eventfulness in linguistic landscape studies seems, to a certain extent, theoretically justified.

Despite the popularity of the linguistic landscape researches and the presence of methodological basis for such studies, the share of comparative researches in linguistic landscape analysis remains low.

In autumn 2017 we carried out a research with the purpose to identify elements of other languages (apart for the official (native) language of the city) both in Helsinki and Moscow. When undertaking the collection of practical data for research, we made a supposition that as a language of globalisation English would become the source language for linguistic landscape elements within both cities. As it should have been expected, our working assumption was verified as element of English can be tracked in the majority of billboards, names of the restaurants, announcements and advertisements in linguistic landscape of the two cities.

However, the choice of words used in the linguistic landscapes of these cities varies though not considerably as the sphere of word usage is alike.

Moreover we should not underestimate the role of other languages in the linguistic landscapes of the capital cities as it is not restricted solely to English. Thus, in Moscow linguistic landscape we can not but notice elements of the languages from the Asian part of CIS countries, while in Helsinki we also noticed elements of Swedish and Russian.

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FSU migrants on their ‘audibility’ in Russian urban environments: Self-reflection, communication patterns and performing migrant ‘voices’

Polina Kliuchnikova

Durham University, UK

Urban environments of Russian megalopolises have gradually become more diverse due to, beside other factors, constant inflows of migrants from other former Soviet Union (FSU) countries. It is argued, however, that the majority of contemporary urban ‘langscapes’ in Russia have hardly manifested their multifaceted or vibrant composition, having hidden the large proportion of their ethnic and linguistic diversity into the underbelly of suburban and downcast areas (e.g. Fedorova & Baranova 2018). The variety of languages represented by migrant communities is therefore hardly acknowledged as a constituent of Russian urban culture but is nonetheless present as integral part of most city environments.

What this implies for incoming migrants is that their linguistic background – whether they are mono-, bi- or multilingual – has to go through critical changes once they move to Russian cities. Not only do they face strong sociolinguistic normativity which automatically labels them as ‘non-native’ speakers of the dominant language (i.e. Russian) and downgrades their proficiency in other FSU languages as irrelevant to their migrant present, but their own vision of language skills at hand changes, with inevitable consequences in communicative patterns which such ‘calibration’ to a new language regime implies – both at an individual and group level of interaction (cf. Cederberg 2014; Kramsch 2009; Phipps & Kay 2014).

Based on the results of ethnographic research carried out among post-Soviet migrants in large Russian cities in April-October 2017, the proposed paper seeks to look into migrants’ own accounts of transformations their linguistic behavior undergoes in the new context of Russian urban culture. It examines their narratives through the prism of ‘migrant audibility’, or the perspective of perceived difference in their linguistic behavior and performative strategies to deal with it – both as individuals on the day-to-day basis or as a minority group with an emerging voice. I focus on three interrelated areas of migrants’ sociolinguistic experiences as reported by my interviewees: a. transformations in their metalinguistic reflection incurred by the new language culture (when migrants start to adopt external perceptions of their linguistic behavior as ‘non-standard’ and themselves as ‘audibly other’); b. transformations in their everyday communication in public spaces (i.e. how they choose to perform their reportedly non-standard linguistic behavior in relation to the local standard-language majority); c. practices of shaping a collective ‘voice’ as a discursive strategy of presenting migrant identity and placing it within a polyphony of urban language variants and lifestyle experiences.

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Vitality of inner migrants’ languages in Moscow

Yuri Koryakov

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Science,
Moscow, Russia*

Julia Mazurova

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Science,
Moscow, Russia*

Russia is a multinational and multilingual country, but the Russian language has a special status and dominates all over the country. This domination has economic and political reasons; it started long ago in the Russian Empire and increased during the Soviet period (Alpatov 2000). The functions of all other languages of the Russian Federation have

been reducing over time. Naturally, languages of RF subjects with an official status and administrative support have certain advantages that smaller languages do not possess.

Nevertheless, in the country's capital, which is the most attractive destination for inner migration, all languages are 'equal' compared to Russian. The focus of the research is the linguistic vitality of languages in their original territory in comparison with the urban context of Moscow. The main questions are: 1) linguistic situation in the RF subjects, 2) language policy and institutional support of ethnic languages in Moscow, 3) functional domains of ethnic languages in Moscow, 4) motivation for language maintenance outside the natural language environment, 5) means for language maintenance and transmission in the urban context, and 6) features of Russian ethnolects. We will discuss the features of the Tatar, Chuvash, Mordovian, Buryat, Kalmyk, Karachay, Nenets, and other speech communities.

The research is based on the corpus of sociolinguistic interviews of bilingual and multilingual Russian citizens residing in Moscow for a long time or permanently. It seems that the methods of analyzing linguistic landscape successfully applied in research of multilingualism of urban areas, for example in (Siemund et al.), cannot be applied to Moscow especially if it concerns the languages of the Russian Federation as all the citizens are the speakers of Russian. As it is shown in (Fedorova, Baranova 2018), the linguistic landscape of the Russian capital is characterized by the absolute dominance of Russian and absence of other languages (aside from English for touristic services). Our analysis shows the importance of the following factors for linguistic vitality in the urban context: 1) the language vitality in the area of language origin, 2) the number of speakers (including potential speakers) in Moscow, 3) institutional support (including ethnic mass media), 4) relationship and similarity of the community's culture to the mainstream Russian culture (including interethnic marriages, role of religion and other factors), and 5) connections of the community with the area of origin, proximity of this territory to Moscow. It seems that these factors have different degree of impact for different communities.

The research also reveals that individual motivations of speakers that cannot be reduced only to their ethnic and social background play a major role in the language vitality in the city, as it was also pointed out in (Smakman & Heinrich 2018).

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School language: Code-switching (Russian/Armenian) in educational communication

Diana Krasovskaya

Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich, Germany

In this presentation I will provide the preliminary research results of Armenian and Russian languages different usage types in diverse social communication situations in a Yerevan middle school. I consider the code-switching between Russian, standard Armenian and spoken Armenian as social conditioned communication strategies. Firstly, I set the historical context by outlining the cultural imperialism logic in late-soviet Armenia, where Russian language was used as a cultural/social/national advantage marker. This can be illustrated by the example of last names transformation into 'higher-valued' ones by dropping the typical Armenian ending (-yan) in favour of typical Russian one (-ov).

In my research I work with empirical data in form of audio records taken in a Russian middle school in Yerevan during the classes and student breaks. I transcribe and analyze these records trying to classify the code-switching occurrences using John Gumperz's categorisation and to determine their function in communication strategy. I examine various types of interaction between teachers and students, such as colloquial speech, formal lesson language and dialect, to specify the choice of certain language code and the articulation manner considering them as important components of communicative competence. I try to draw a connection between the form and the content of the message, where teachers' choice of lexical and grammatical structures turns out to be disciplinary, moral and aesthetic at the same time.

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The problem of Chuvash language maintenance in the conditions of internal diaspora

Marina Kutsaeva

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Science,
Moscow, Russia*

Diaspora is a group of people of a certain ethnic origin, living outside the main traditional place of settlement, united by a common ethnic identity, and as a rule

preserving its ethnic language as a means of communication [Mikhaltchenko 2006: 57]. Typologically there is a distinction between an external and internal diaspora, the latter means various diaspora groups living in a multinational state outside the main area of an ethnic group's compact residence [Mikhaltchenko 2006: 58].

The Chuvash are one of the largest peoples in the Russian Federation (1435872) [The All-Russian 2010 Census]. The way they settle has a number of peculiarities: on the one hand, they form a titular ethnic group in the Chuvash Republic, on the other hand, they are one of the most dispersedly resettled people [Ivanov 2005: 8]. Currently 43,3% of ethnic Chuvash lives outside the Republic [Fomin 2016: 826], forming both compact groups (areas stretching along the Urals and the Volga) and inhabiting dispersedly in various regions, including Moscow region (14866 – Moscow, 12466 – Moscow region) [All-Russian 2010 Census].

Therefore, the language maintenance in the conditions of isolation from the main area of ethnic settlement and moreover in a multilingual urban area is an acute problem for the Chuvash.

The material is based on the author's sociolinguistic survey held in Chuvash diaspora groups in Moscow region for two years and a half. The selection includes 100 respondents (85 belong to the first generation, 15 – to the second). The questionnaire consists of 30 questions divided into 4 large blocs, one of which deals with the problem of ethnic language maintenance.

The analysis of responses leads to the following conclusions.

In the first generation the majority of respondents (81%) have no fear of losing the Chuvash language due to a high level of proficiency as well as the opportunities provided by modern telecommunications. Respondents fear that their children who were born and live outside the Chuvash Republic will lose Chuvash.

Indeed, declaring the importance of the knowledge of Chuvash (to understand the language of grandparents, to know the roots, according to respondents), Chuvash parents hardly ever make any efforts to encourage their children to learn Chuvash.

On the one hand, they believe that their children will learn Chuvash when on holidays in a Chuvash village, but the latter are rather likely to spread the Russian language and culture there. In case they acquire a certain level of Chuvash, parents face a new difficulty: their children are able to understand them, when they use Chuvash in intra-family communication in Moscow region as a secret language to discuss adult topics in front of the children.

On the other hand, first-generation respondents in general (53%) approved of the idea of language courses in Moscow, however, when asked whether they'd like their own children to study there, three categories of responses were received. The most numerous (54,8%) is that of people who found it hard to answer, 22,5% of respondents replied positively, 22,5% - negatively (emphasizing the difficulty of learning Chuvash and its associations with a village, not urban lifestyle).

73% of second-generation respondents approved of the idea of language courses (mainly middle and junior cohorts representatives), some respondents do attend the

courses on their own initiative, which their parents, ethic Chuvash, find rather bizarre.

Thus, the problem of ethnic language maintenance in Chuvash diaspora mainly concerns second-generation members, as the intergenerational transmission of Chuvash is quite weak: in Moscow region active bilinguals would rather use Chuvash in interpersonal communication (domestic, family, friendly), as a rule with peers or elder people, almost never with children.

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Semiotics of visibility in an urban landscape

Olga Leontovich

*Volgograd State Socio-Pedagogic University,
Volgograd, Russia*

The paper discusses verbal and nonverbal markers of 'visible' and 'invisible' social groups in the landscape of a big city. The investigation is done from the perspective of semiotics and critical discourse analysis; it views a big city as a specific communication system with its own structure, channels and forms of interaction.

In the framework of urban communication study a city can be defined as: 1) a discursive formation ('text' in a broad sense of the term, e. g. 'world as text'); 2) personal and collective identity marker; 3) context of communication ('urban landscape'); 4) a complex combination of symbolic, material, and technological communication media; 5) a source of social and cultural development. The modernity of urban communication is reflected in trans-national and trans-urban social dynamics, circulation of symbolic meanings, mechanisms of knowledge transfer, migration and travel, communal media consumption and social stratification (based on ethnicity, income, education, age, gender, and so on).

The present research treats visibility from different perspectives: 1) visibility as a deviation from the social norm (ethnic and sexual minorities, young or old individuals, people with disabilities, etc.); 2) visibility as a sign of social stratification permitting to filter desirable and undesirable individuals for particular locations (restaurants, business lounges, stores, etc.); 3) visibility as a form of self-presentation and attracting attention; 4) visibility as a sign of unconventional communicative behaviour, etc.

Visibility is closely connected with verbal and non-verbal semiotics: people's appearance, clothes, speech, and numerous signs regulating social behaviour, which are the

material of our detailed analysis.

The development of modern technologies brings about drastic changes in social life, which is nowadays characterized by total visibility. The introduction of video surveillance (CCTV) in public places, permission to use our personal data, voice recordings during telephone conversations, personalized internet ads, etc. create a conflict between our need for protection and violation of privacy; changes the balance of power; endows the individual with a dubious role between a law-abiding citizen and a potential criminal. The presentation will analyse numerous semiotic signs (such as '*Внимание, ведется видеонаблюдение*', '*Видеонаблюдение ведется в целях вашей безопасности*', '*Улыбнитесь, вас снимает скрытая камера*', '*Ведется видеонаблюдение, бездельники!*') dealing with surveillance according to such dimensions as addressor, target audience, semantics, function, and effect.

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Vilnius / Вильнюс / Wilno in the sociolinguistic context of Lithuania

Ala Lichačiova

*Institute for the Languages and Cultures of the Baltic,
Vilnius University, Lithuania*

There is a direct continuation between the difficult historical fate of Vilnius and its life today – its current look, official and unofficial toponymy, ethnic heterogeneity, manifestations of linguistic nationalism and, simultaneously, the habitual polyphony of languages.

Against the backdrop of incessant emigration, which experts view as a serious threat to the country's vitality, the capital's population is growing, due in part to internal migration. By the number of young inhabitants fit for work, Vilnius is not inferior to the Scandinavian capitals, and is in a better position than the capital cities of neighbor Baltic countries [1]. The growing number of foreign companies, the increasing flow of tourists from the West and the East, an intensive university life and the development of academic exchange – all of these factors are forming the multicolored linguistic daily life of Lithuania's capital city to a much greater extent than in the rest of the country.

Overall, Lithuania is a mono-national country: data from 2015 shows Lithuanians make up 86,67% of the population. The primary ethnic minorities are Poles (5,61%) and Russians (4,78%) [2]. However, the level of ethnic homogeneity varies between different regions of Lithuania, and although a large part of the country can indeed be said to be absolutely Lithuanian, certain territories have a predominantly Polish or Russian population. Polish speaking (up to 77,8%) are the eastern and southeastern parts of Lithuania, also 16,5% of Vilnius' population is Polish. The vast majority of Russians and Russian-speaking population is concentrated in three cities: the port town of Klaipėda,

Visaginas, which was built in the 1970s in conjunction with a nuclear power plant, and the country's capital. Ethnic Russians make up 14% of the population of Vilnius, whereas those who consider Russian their native language make up 27% (data taken from the scientific project «A Sociolinguistic Map of Lithuania», in which the author of this article has taken part. The outcome of the project has been published as a collective monograph [3]). Vilnius is Lithuania's most multinational city, with its inhabitants representing as many as 128 nationalities (out of Lithuania's 154 ethnic groups), even though more than half of the city's population (63,6%) is Lithuanian [4].

However, the sociolinguistic situation in Vilnius differs from that of the other regions of Lithuania firstly due to its historically determined multilingualism: here, in addition to the state language (Lithuanian), Russian and Polish have been used regularly since a long time ago. In public transport, schools, places of trade and the service sector, code-switching is a widespread practice: one can overhear dialogues consisting of phrases in Lithuanian and Russian, Russian and Polish, or even all three languages. To rephrase the remark made by sociologist-urbanologist Sharon Zukin about those who 'have inherited the city (spacing added by me – A.L.) hav[ing] a claim on its central symbolic spaces' [5, 44], one could say that, for the same reason, the city's heirs may have a claim on the linguistic design and filling of the urban spaces.

The intention of this work is to analyze the contradictory attitude of the Lithuanian population towards local, historically determined Lithuanian-Polish-Russian multilingualism, on the one hand, and the aspiration to strengthen the reputation of a modern, tolerant, multilingual capital city, on the other. The material used comes from online publications and forums, where the subject of urban languages is brought up, as well as interviews with respondents of sociolinguistic research projects conducted by the specialists of Russian studies at Vilnius University.

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The motivation to learn Tatar among Moscow's Internal Diaspora

Svetlana Moskvicheva

*Peoples' Friendship University
of Russia, Moscow, Russia*

Liliana Safina

*Moscow Automobile and Road
Construction State Technical
University (MADI), Moscow, Russia*

Dinara Kendzhebulatova

*L. Gumilev Eurasian National
University, Astana, Kazakhstan*

The phenomenon of internal diaspora and the role of language in its structuring and maintenance appears pertinent. In this contribution, we propose an analysis of one of the fundamental aspects that support the structural links of the internal diaspora, namely, the motivation for learning the Tatar language. In the socio-psycholinguistic triad of describing linguistic situations (representation of the language – need – motivation), the latter is of paramount significance, since it largely determines the vector of preservation and development of the minority language, including and particularly in a megacity, in the absence of any status and in the context of rigid diglossia.

This study was conducted on the basis of the Tatar language courses at the Tatar Cultural Center in Moscow. We developed a special questionnaire (40 copies), aimed at identifying types of motivation in the learning of an ethnic language by students of the courses. These questionnaires were refined and supplemented in oral semi-structured interviews (10).

The theoretical platform which served as the methodological basis of the study is the sociopsychological theory of instrumentation and integration by Gardner and Lambert (1959, 1972), where questionnaires and interviews were interpreted in terms of instrumental and integration needs. Using the theory of autodetermination (TAD) (Heutte, Deci, Ryan, Vallerand) enabled us to analyze the motivation from the point of view of satisfying internal and external requests, e.g., from the point of view of external challenges or the projection type of motivation. The TAD was supplemented by the Carré model (Carré 2001), which made it possible to build a motivational structure in students (epistemic, affective, hedonic, economic, prescriptive, derivational, etc.). A number of other theories were used, in particular works by Vallerand (Vallerand 2009), which hierarchize motivation in pragmatic terms (global, contextual, situational).

The study relied on the experience of similar research conducted in Catalonia (2008), in Corsica (2012), the study on the Occitan language (PARLESC project) (2006) and especially on the work by Isabelle Duguine (Duguine 2017) (the Basque language). However, the conditions of the internal diaspora are quite different from those listed above, which was taken into account when drafting the questionnaire and conducting interviews.

As a result of the study, trigger moments in learning the language, as well as factors that favored and impeded the Tatar language learning were identified and described in the first approximation.

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Arabic in the Palestinian ‘imagined communities’

Kazuhiko Nakae

Kansai Gaidai University Osaka, Japan

This study deals with the variation and change of Palestinian colloquial Arabic depending on the historical sketch based on various stages of migration, urbanization of the places where they have lived and language/variety contact. In a true linguistic sense what can be called ‘Palestinian Arabic’ does not exist (Dougan 2017) as one independent entity but it does exist in the ‘imagined communities’ (Pavlenko & Norton 2007) of those of Palestinian descent originated in the rural, not urban, communities of Palestine. This imaginary encompasses every aspects of Palestine and Palestinians want to stick to this imagining connotation the language entails. This has constructed their ‘imagined identities’ (Barkhuizen & de Klerk 2006).

Many of the refugees from Palestine have lived in Amman, Jordan. After the time of migration Amman has been urbanized to become a cosmopolitan city with much linguistic and ethnic diversity so that the urbanized linguistic varieties exist side by side with the non-urbanized linguistic varieties. For example, as a phonological realization of the phoneme /q/ (voiceless uvular plosive) they originally pronounced [k] (voiceless velar stop) but nowadays they normally pronounce [ʔ] (glottal stop) in addition to the local pronunciation [g] (voiced velar stop), simply to explain.

Some of them have further migrated to work in Saudi Arabia and Arabian Gulf countries such as UAE. People usually pronounce [ʔ] or [g] in the urbanized cities there. But unlike in Amman they tend to use [k] instead of [ʔ] or [g]. This tendency gets stronger generation by generation. Most of them have never visited nor lived in Palestine in their generation. They associate the pronunciation [k] with Palestine in their «imagined communities». Arabs usually construct their national identities around the cultural capital (Bourdieu 1991) of the capital cities. Here Palestinians feel identified to be linked to Jerusalem in their imaginary. This kind of indexical feature is not restricted to the phonological dimension.

I assert that speakers’ imagining association can determine linguistic variation, not vice versa, through my field research combined with the socio-historical sketch of linguistic variation of colloquial Arabic spoken by Palestinians.

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Making money with the expats - an analysis of business communication of Russian and international companies targeting expats in Moscow

Dionys Neubacher

University of Vienna, Austria,

and National Research University Higher School of Economics, Nizhny Novgorod, Russia

In my conference paper I present recent findings on B2C (business to consumer) communication of multinational and local corporations targeting expats living in Moscow.

Moscow as a megapolis hosts a huge community of expats and migrants from many different countries.

While the social composition of non-Russians living in Moscow (migrants and foreign employees) has been subject of many research projects, less is known about business communication, hence, languages used in targeting those consumers.

The aim of my paper is to get a better understanding of the role of foreign languages in B2C communication in Moscow.

This subproject is part of my ongoing research on language management of multinational corporations in the Russian market.

For my presentation I have selected three different business areas that are of significant importance to expats and migrants living in Moscow.

1. Infrastructure (mobile phone operators)
2. Consumer goods (clothing and electronics)
3. Banking

I have carried out an analysis of open available data (company websites and twitter feeds) and responses to faked consumer inquiries.

The results have shown, that the vast majority of both - Russian as well as international companies do not follow a specific strategy regarding the use of foreign languages in B2C communication.

While the results indicated different types of language strategies, the dominating type turned out to be the no-strategy-type.

My analysis of company responses to consumer inquiries in their native language (English and German) suggest, that language decisions are mostly made by low-level company representatives themselves.

The results give a better understanding of B2C communication and the social stigma associated with foreign languages.

For the linguistic analysis I have used Python3. As it may be helpful for future research, I will present the code in my presentation.

Multilingualism in the modern Russian scenery

Ekaterina Protassova

University of Helsinki, Finland

All modern landscapes are multicultural (Backhaus 2007, Dufva, Pietikäinen 2009, Itagi, Singh 2002). In Russia, LL becomes a crossover of official language policy and people's images of a normal or better life; in the national republics, an organized intervention into the landscape may help to add regional colour to the scenery.

Russia enjoys playing with Western values and Westernized identifications, while searching at the same time for its own roots. It is not surprising that freedom is associated with the deliberate use of letters. The intersection of Russian and English dominates in big cities, while minority languages are underrepresented. The same tendencies are spotted in all major cities, while the countryside remains almost beyond the reach of foreign influences. The attitudes of the representatives of various layers of civil society are grounded on cultural preferences; the self-identification on the axes 'the own' vs. 'the other', or East vs. West, or authoritarianism vs. democracy, or sympathy vs. opposition to the powers depends on collective and individual experiences, not ignoring the emotions (Mustajoki, Protassova 2012). In parallel, ethnic mobilization plays an important role in the national regions (Kutlay, Kroon 2003), and one of the marks of this reclaiming of public places can be seen in the new ways in which people use languages.

I carried this study out in 2010–17 during multiple trips to different parts of Russia (besides big and small Russian places all over the country, I visited Finno-Ugric republics, Chuvashia, Sakha (Yakutia), Sakhalin, Buryatia, Tatarstan and took several thousands of photos of LL. Clashes of Slavicisms, localisms, and globalisms in the spontaneous use of brand names in the urban space and in the provinces lead to the creation a specific mixed culture. This culture uses the Roman script – sometimes independently of the rules of any existent language, sometimes in accordance with a transliteration system. This constructed Westernness diminishes when one goes deeper into the countryside, but never disappears completely. The full-scale use of the national languages prevails in the villages.

As in many places around the world, the state language dominates, mutilated international English has made its entrance into the original multicultural frame, and a moderate presence of other foreign and local minority languages can be observed (cf. Coluzzi 2009).

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Moscow ethnolinguistic groups: Towards a comprehensive sociolinguistic portrait of a megalopolis

Marina Raskladkina

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow, Russia*

Urban linguistic studies are currently flourishing, forming a separate direction in speech communication theory. For a long time the description of languages of social or territorial units fell within the domain of dialectology and onomastics. Currently, the studies of Russian and international authors address various aspects of language situations in certain territories. These include socio- and psycholinguistic, rhetorical, methodological, environmental, economic, and geopolitical issues, etc. The concept of a territory also varies: from a region as an administrative-territorial unit of the Russian Federation or a set of territorial units to small settlements or places of residence of particular linguistic groups.

The project «Languages of Moscow» aims at comprehensive description of the language situation in the multiethnic and multilingual capital of the Russian Federation. The project adopted a basic approach, according to which the lives of individual ethnolinguistic groups is explored, including their cultural and linguistic interactions. It is necessary to study the life of an ethno-linguistic group in order to understand what processes are taking place within each community, what is their synergistic effect, what is the distribution of languages across spheres and contexts of language use in the ethnolinguistic groups of the metropolis; what characterizes the interaction of the linguistic experience of communities in the situation of one idiom's dominance, the influence of the dominant idiom upon the development – preservation - extinction of the linguistic minority's mother tongue. The linguistic experience of each community constitutes a fragment of the city culture and a part of the common cultural and communicative space.

To accomplish these tasks, the project participants have developed a scheme for

describing the ethnolinguistic groups of Moscow and the Moscow region. The scheme includes a collection of socio-geographical, ethnographic, sociolinguistic characteristics of the community and the description of its representatives' linguistic environment.

Our main research tools are questionnaires and in-depth interviews with the representatives of ethnolinguistic groups. Also, representatives of linguistic minorities are involved in the study as researchers; their activity will help to look from the inside at the sociolinguistic situation in the Moscow metropolis.

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Ethnic media in a multilingual urban area: The case of Moscow

Olga Romanova

*Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences,
Moscow, Russia*

Ethnic media sprung up in abundance in the metropolitan Moscow area in the late 1980s in response to the needs of ethnic communities that hitherto had been denied the initiative to speak for themselves. The primary aim of ethnic press at the time was to inform the communities about the developments in the world at large, with special reference to the facts that concerned a particular community, and provide a link to their respective homelands. The goals of well-established ethnic communities in Moscow (Tatars, Armenians, Azerbaijani, Jews) and the communities of newer immigrants to the city differed. While members of the diaspora-type communities like the ones named above were well adjusted to life in the metropolis, having probably lived in the city for generations, what they needed to get from ethnic media was information on political and cultural issues. New immigrants to the city needed to get introduced to a new way of life, be provided with information on navigating the city, finding jobs, and at the same time wanted to keep up with the situation at home. Apart from differences of scope, the editions of the two groups differed in the language which they used: the Russian language in the first case and (mostly) ethnic language(s) in the second case. Until January, 1991 print media with the circulation of up to 1.000 copies were not required to get registered and were exempt from taxation. Most of the editions of the second group did not make it into the 1990s. Media of the first group, however, stayed on well into the 21st century. Nowadays the communities that have print ethnic media are Tatars, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Jews, Koreans, Germans and (relatively) new to the city Chinese and Vietnamese. At the time when most ethnic media go online this is a sign of the robustness of the community. These media are published primarily in Moscow, some of the more vital communities have editions published in the country of origin and distributed in Moscow at ethnic cultural centers, ethnic restaurants, in the malls and at the airports. Dwindling expat community in

Moscow following the financial crisis of 2008, and delivery problems led to termination of the English-language weekly and the French-language fortnightly print editions that went online. On the other hand, the Italian-language online quarterly paper was set up in 2013, not only to answer the needs of a small Italian community in Moscow but to appease the interest to Italian language and culture by the Russian public.

In 1996 the Federal Law decreed the creation of the national-cultural autonomies (NCA) which gave state financial support to ethnic communities under the condition that they register with the state bodies. NCA (70 NCA are registered in Moscow) are represented online, some of them also have or used to have until quite recently print media. Those NCA which serve the needs of the communities with the countries of origin within the former SU are either bilingual (Russian/community lg) or have sections in the community language.

In this paper we shall try to analyze the content of the NCA sites.

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Self-identification of the Moscow bilingual schoolchildren (Based on materials of an essay contest)

Olga Siniova

*Moscow State Lomonosov University,
Moscow, Russia*

Sociolinguistic studies, dedicated to the speech behavior of migrants, held in 2010-2017, address the issues of strategy and conditions of the Moscow bilingual student's identity preservation (Mother-Tongue 2017). The data obtained with the help of questionnaires containing multiple choice, as well as interviews in the form of a dialogue, and demonstrate a trend where children's knowledge/use of their mother-tongue is becomes weaker in the course of their socialization and integration into the Russian society (the same 2017). In this relation, the analysis of the texts, which were produced in the framework of "Bilingua" Moscow City Open Contest of Children's Creativity (contest of bilingual essays written in the Russian and ethnic language of the bilingual student), discloses value systems and assessments of children from bilingual families. Genre specificity of the essays and problematics of the contest (history of family, fate of the mother-tongue, my motherland) and paradoxical wordings of the topics seem to motivate the authors to a maximally explicit presentation of their position. Narration about life experience, trials, feelings of the authors is infused with reasoning and generalization. This corresponds to the genre of the essay, which also presupposes the dialogue in monologue: appeal to the reader, reference to different positions concerning the certain issue. The topics, which refer to the value orientation and self-identification, are the most popular among the participants. The report analyzes the texts dedicated to the theme of mother-

land and disclosing such dyad concepts as: us-them, here-there, now-then, sense-heart ("Motherland in your heart"), large-small (motherland, country), part-whole (I am part of the motherland, motherland is a part of my soul), complicated-simple (about language), your-another-alien. Implicit oppositions connected with the description of life in the country of origin: comfortable-not comfortable, free-not free, calm-not calm (frightening and anxious life in the country of origin). As a rule, these polar oppositions are used in those parts of essays, where the authors disclose the reasons of leaving their motherland and plans to return there. Examples (stylistics, punctuation of the author): "But the thought, that you **don't have** a Motherland, seems to me one of the most serious considerations Motherland - ... is that comfort zone, where you feel good (Li, 15 years old); "Motherland is **the place**, where you feel free and happy (M., 13 years old). "I consider, that I am a rich person, as I speak and think in two languages". (Ch., 16 years old).

The bilingual schoolchildren's sense of belonging to their ethnic group and speech community, independently of the place of birth, is conditioned by their value orientation. These values are formed and supported both in educational institutions due to special form of extracurricular activities, such as the above-mentioned "Bilingua" contest, and within the family ("I will bring up my children as my mother did: with pride to my nation and respect to another cultures and traditions" - A., 13 years old).

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The impact of language policy on linguistic landscape: A case study

Javanshir Shibliyev

*Eastern Mediterranean University,
Famagusta, North Cyprus*

Necdet Osam

*Eastern Mediterranean University,
Famagusta, North Cyprus*

Fatoş Erozan

*Eastern Mediterranean University,
Famagusta, North Cyprus*

Urban centers are not only the places where beautifully illuminated banks, hotels or shopping malls attract passers-by; they are also arenas where diverse languages compete for power. In other words, urban centers can serve as an open space laboratory to "test" the power of languages. As Landry and Bourhis (1997, p. 23) demonstrate, "the linguistic landscape may serve important informational and symbolic functions as a marker of relative power and status of the linguistic communities inhabiting the territory". In other words, although public signs may seem chaotic for passers-by, they are inevitable elements "of symbolic construction of the public space" (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, p. 7). They can also provide valuable data about the role the language policy taken by local governments. In

this regard, it would be interesting to evaluate the effectiveness of such policy vis-à-vis linguistic landscape, i.e., to what extent the legislative acts taken by the government are reflected in the language visibility of an urban center. Thus, the aim of the paper is to analyze the public signs in the central part of Baku (Azerbaijan) regarding the official language policy taken by Azerbaijan Republic.

Two approaches have been used in this study, top-down and bottom-up, to categorize the public signs. The aim for the top-down approach was to see to what extent official signs reflected the language policy of the republic while for the bottom-up approach the aim was to see the private sector's attitude towards the regulations envisaged by the propositions of the language policy. On the other hand, legal acts taken by the Azerbaijani state concerning language management were scrutinized to see to what extent the actual language visibility reflects the language policy provisions.

It was found out that nearly all provisions of the language policy were violated. It was mostly evident in bottom-up signs. Moreover, the ethnic diversity of Azerbaijan was not proportionally reflected in public signs whereas non-indigenous languages were overrepresented. Turkish has begun to influence the state language, Azerbaijani, whereas the share of Arabic, Persian and Russian elements have kept decreasing. In fact, Turkish seemed to establish its status as an influential language. Concerning the place of Russian in the public signs, Russian has completely lost its traditionally strong position. Even in instances when Russian is used in signs, it has subsidiary functions. Traditional Azerbaijani-Russian bilingualism in public signs has been replaced with Azerbaijani-English one.

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Diglossia and Tamil varieties in the city of Chennai (India)

Anna Smirnitskaya

Institute of Oriental Studies,

Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia

Chennai (formerly known as Madras till 1996) is the 5-th largest city in India, according to the Census of India 2011. It is the capital of the Indian state Tamil Nadu, and has a population more than 4,6 mln. Tamil language plays a predominant role here, with Telugu, Urdu, Malayalam and Hindi gathering 10% or less of population. Along with the growth of Madras in recent centuries, the city gained its city slang, called Madras bashai (from Sanskrit bhasha "language") (Smirnitskaya 2013). The sources of lexical items in the slang are from Telugu, Urdu, Hindi and English predominantly, not to mention the

influence of other dialects of Tamil (Andronov 1962, Smirnitskaya 2013).

Nowadays the majority of the Chennai population knows English to some extent, and often mix it with Tamil. This English variety has a common name Tanglish from Tamil + English (compare Hinglish (Kothari, Snell 2011). It is spoken mostly by younger generation. Elder people consider it corrupting their “centamiz” (“beautiful Tamil language”).

The situation is more complex because of Tamil diglossia (Britto 1986). Even ancient grammar tolkāppiyam attested the existence of two forms of Tamil – Literary Tamil and Colloquial Tamil (koṭuntamiz, “rude variety”) (Dubyanskiy 2013). Today the High variety serves as a language of education and children learn it at schools. Low variety has a lower prestige. The very first attempts to describe Colloquial Tamil were made 1970-80th [5, 8]. Only a few manuals are published till now (Asher, Annamalai 2005).

Main differences between these varieties are phonological. For example, short /a/ in the last syllable becomes nasal /o/ with reduction of the last /m/: LT maram — CT marō ‘tree’ [8]. The vowels of first syllable change before retroflex consonant: /i/ > /u/ or /e/; /e/ > /o/: LT piṭi — CT puṭi ‘to catch’, LT peṇ — CT poṇṇu ‘girl’, LT viḷakku — CT velakku ‘a lamp’etc. In this report we consider the phonological and morphological features of Tamil in Chennai in its modern varieties – from Colloquial Tamil to Tanglish.

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Contact-induced discourse marking in Baku Russian

Murad Suleymanov

École Pratique des Hautes Études, Paris, France

Permanent Russian-speaking settlements in the southeast Caucasus (present-day Azerbaijan) appeared in the 1830s, with the immigration then being mostly rural. Starting in the 1850s, Russian speakers began settling in the urban centres and soon came to form a large portion of their population. In Baku, the role of Russian as the official language throughout the twentieth century caused gradual linguistic assimilation of ethnic non-Russians.

Despite its dominating role, Russian of Azerbaijan became receptive to influences from Azeri. While these influences in the case of rural Russian are well-researched (Mikirtuni 1952, Aslanov 1967, Gulieva et al. 2005), little is known about the urban Russian variety of Baku.

Baku Russian is characterised by phonological, lexical and syntactic differences due to a unique situation of language contact (Suleymanov 2016: 37–47). The speech of all Baku Russian speakers regardless of their fluency in Azeri reflects the same basic set of contact-induced features. While their distribution varies according to sociolinguistic factors, a certain levelling among today's youths is observed.

One striking feature is the abundant use of particles borrowed from Azeri. Xatunceva & Axmedova (1979) offer a semantic classification of these borrowings based on a field study among young Russian speakers from Baku. A mention is made of the «emotional-expressive particle» *da* (op. cit. 15–17). It is described as a focaliser and an imperative marker, with the two functions often overlapping within the same token.

1. *O Lenin-e da peredača byl-a* (op. cit. 15)
about PN-OBJ DA TV.program was-F
The program was about Lenin (and not someone else).
2. *Skaži da emu čtob za-molčal* (ibid.)
say.PERF.IMP DA 3SG.DAT so.that PFX-be.silent.PST:M
Tell him to be quiet, will you?

A more recent insight into the use of *da* among Russian speakers born between 1978 and 1998 reveals another previously unaddressed function of *da*: that of a filler.

3. *Načal-i tancevat', a ja uže za-věl-sja da*
begin.PERF.PST-PL dance.INF ADVS I already PFX-carry.PST:M-PTFX DA
(We) began to dance, and I had already been worked up, you see. (own fieldwork)

The filler *da* is different from the standard Russian particle *da*, which can act as a balanced tag question marker. In Baku Russian, questions are marked by a manifestly distinct intonation, different from the one in standard Russian, eliminating all ambiguity between the tag and the filler.

One can suppose the broadening of the semantic domain of *da* in the past decades due to a growing influence from Azeri. At the same time, the particle inventory of standard Russian may also offer clues as to the wide(ning) distribution of this morpheme.

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An online city forum as an extension of urban space: Translanguaging and cultural hybridity (The case of Russian-speaking Haifa, Israel)

Maria Yelenevskaya

*Technion-Israel Institute of Technology,
Haifa, Israel*

Metropolitan cities are often blamed for breeding alienation and triggering disappearance of the feeling of belonging and community among urbanites. These negative effects may be particularly severe for immigrants who have to adapt to a new socio-cultural environment. However, accessibility of information technologies and wide participation of lay people in social networks has given rise to the emergence of new communities: city forums. Sometimes these groups function primarily as electronic notice boards, yet there are others which are viewed by participants as a medium providing instrumental aid and emotional support, a platform for advertising services and goods, and even as a means of starting off-line friendships.

This paper will analyze activities of a Facebook discussion group uniting over 15,500 Russian-speaking residents of the city of Haifa, Israel. Although the main goal of the group is to exchange information about city events, it also serves as a favorable platform for marketing local businesses and social initiatives, as well as for informal communication and opinion exchange. The group is public and active, with dozens of new posts appearing daily. Some of these remain without a follow-up but others are followed by numerous “likes” and “shares”, as well as comments posted immediately or days after the initial message.

Based on the content and text analyses, the paper will explore which topics draw attention of the participants. We will look into different forms of user involvement in the activities of the group, as well as verbal and non-verbal response to posts. While most of the discussion in the group is conducted in Russian, we see many cases of translanguaging, when Hebrew and English are inserted in the posts. Sometimes the whole discussion is conducted in two languages, with some participants writing in Russian while others respond in Hebrew. In addition, there are many cases of language creativity when code-mixing is used for persuasive purposes or creation of the humorous effect.

Greeks of Moscow: A sociolinguistic overview

Dionysios Zoumpalidis

*National Research University Higher School of Economics,
Moscow, Russia*

Pontic Greeks can be found in many urban centres as well as rural areas in different parts of the world. Relatively large communities with Greek roots settled in Australia, the UK, the USA, and in the post-Soviet countries including Russia. Moscow (along with southern regions of Russia) is home to thousands of Pontic Greeks where Greek traditions, customs and language strive to co-exist with the dominant Russian culture and language.

In this paper, I am going to investigate how and why the attempts to preserve or rather revive the Greek language and culture among predominantly Russian- / Turkish-speaking Pontic Greeks in Moscow are significant to the community in question. These attempts are usually put forward in a top-down manner by the influential Federal National/Cultural Autonomy of Greeks of Russia and the Greeks of Moscow organization. More specifically, I will try to provide answers to the following questions: How does mother tongue (Greek/Russian/Turkish/Pontic Greek) influence ethnic self-identification of Pontic Greeks? Does this influence obtain a different character in different age groups? Is there a specific family language policy employed? In light of the fact that the Greek language has been officially introduced as a foreign language in some public schools in Russia, it is of high interest to look at educational aspects of learning/teaching the Greek language. The present investigation adopts a qualitative approach employing semi-structured interviews with officials, teachers, students, and parents.

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LIST OF AUTHORS

Name of the participant	Position, Affiliation	e-mail	PP
Ekaterina Arutyunova	Senior research fellow, Center for the Study of Inter-Ethnic Relations of the Federal Center of Theoretical and Applied Sociology of the Russian Academy of Sciences <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	981504@mail.ru	
Vlada Baranova	School of Linguistics, National Research University Higher School of Economics <i>St. Petersburg, Russia</i>	vlada_b@mail.ru	
Vladimir Belikov	Professor, Lomonosov Moscow State University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	vibelikov@gmail.com	
Mira Bergelson	Professor of linguistics, School of Philology, National Research University Higher School of Economics <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	mirabergelson@gmail.com	
Anastasiya Bespalova	Student, Lomonosov Moscow State University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	anastasiabesp1@gmail.com	
Leila Dodykhudoeva	Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	leiladod@yahoo.com	
Irem Duman	Research Assistant, Collaborative Research Centre, University of Potsdam <i>Potsdam, Germany</i>	duman@uni-potsdam.de	
Iuliia Egorova	Associate professor of Linguistics, Translation and Intercultural Communication, Lomonosov Moscow State University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	iegorova64@yandex.ru	
Ablimit Baki Elterish	University of Manchester <i>Manchester, United Kingdom</i>	Ablimit.Baki.Eltterish@manchester.ac.uk	
Fatoş Erozan	Assistant Professor, Department of Foreign Language Education, Eastern Mediterranean University <i>Famagusta, North Cyprus</i>	fatos.erozan@emu.edu.tr	

Kapitolina Fedorova	European University at St. Petersburg <i>St. Petersburg, Russia</i>	<i>fedorova@eu.spb.ru</i>
Konstantin Filatov	Student, School of Linguistics, National Research University Higher School of Economics <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>kvfilatov@edu.hse.ru</i>
Eduard Fomin	Chuvash State Institute of Culture and Arts <i>Cheboksary, Republic of Chuvashiya, Russia</i>	<i>yeresen@yandex.ru</i>
Polina German	Student, Russian State University of Humanities <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>germanpolia@yandex.ru</i>
Anna Gromova	Lecturer, Institute of Asian and African studies, Lomonosov Moscow State University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>agromova@yandex.ru</i>
Umut Gülsün	Boğaziçi University <i>Istanbul, Turkey</i>	<i>umut.ggulsun@gmail.com</i>
Nkonko M. Kamwangamalu	Professor of Linguistics, Howard University <i>Washington, D.C., USA</i>	<i>nkamwangamalu@howard.edu</i>
Elena Kartushina	Associate Professor, Pushkin State Russian Language Institute <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>eakartushina@gmail.com</i>
Dinara Kendzhebulatova	Master's student, L. Gumilev Eurasian National University <i>Astana, Kazakhstan</i>	<i>k.dinara02.11@mail.ru</i>
Andrej A. Kibrik	Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences; Lomonosov Moscow State University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>aakibrik@gmail.com</i>
Polina Kliuchnikova	Postdoctoral Research Associate, Durham University <i>Durham, UK</i>	<i>p.s.klyuchnikova@durham.ac.uk</i>
Yuri Koryakov	Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>ybkoryakov@gmail.com</i>
Diana Krasovskaya	MA student in Cultural and Cognitive Linguistics, Ludwig Maximilian University of Munich <i>Munich, Germany</i>	<i>kdianame@gmail.com</i>

Marina Kutsaeva	PhD student, Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>moscoop@yandex.ru</i>
Olga Leontovich	Professor and Chair, Department of Intercultural Communication and Translation, Volgograd State Socio- Pedagogic University <i>Volgograd, Russia</i>	<i>olgaleo@list.ru</i>
Ala Lichačiova	Professor, Department of Russian Philology, Institute for the Languages and Cultures of the Baltic, Vilnius University <i>Vilnius, Lithuania</i>	<i>ala.lichaciova@flf.vu.lt,</i> <i>a.lichaciova@gmail.com</i>
Yaron Matras	Professor of Linguistics, School of Arts, Languages, and Cultures, University of Manchester. Affiliated Researcher, Faculty of Asian and Middle Eastern Studies, University of Cambridge <i>Manchester, UK</i>	<i>yaron.matras@</i> <i>manchester.ac.uk</i>
Julia Mazurova	Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences, <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>mazurova.julia@gmail.com</i>
Svetlana Moskvicheva	Senior Lecturer, Peoples' Friendship University of Russia <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>moskvitcheva@mail.ru</i>
Kazuhiko Nakae	Professor of Linguistics and Middle Eastern Studiesm, Kansai Gaidai University <i>Osaka, Japan</i>	<i>nakae@kansaigaidai.ac.jp</i>
Dionys Neubacher	Austrian Lecturer (Austrian Academic Exchange Service - OEAD), University of Vienna <i>Vienna, Austria;</i> National Research University Higher School of Economics <i>Nizhny Novgorod, Russia</i>	<i>neubacherd14@univie.ac.at</i>
Necdet Osam	Professor, Department of Foreign Language Education, Eastern Mediterranean University <i>Famagusta, North Cyprus</i>	<i>necdet.osam@emu.edu.tr</i>

Ekaterina Protassova	University Lecturer, University of Helsinki <i>Helsinki, Finland</i>	<i>ekaterina.protassova@helsinki.fi</i>
Marina Raskladkina	Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>marina.raskladkina@gmail.com</i>
Victoria Reshetnikova	Student, School of Linguistics, National Research University Higher School of Economics <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>vareshetnikova@edu.hse.ru</i>
Olga Romanova	Institute of Linguistics, Russian Academy of Sciences <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>olgaromanov@gmail.com</i>
Olga Sinyova	Lomonosov Moscow State University <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>olga_sinyova@mail.ru</i>
Liliana Safina	Senior Lecturer, Moscow Automobile and Road Construction State Technical University (MADI) <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>chaja_kiz@mail.ru</i>
Javanshir Shibliyev	Associate Professor, Department of Foreign Language Education, Eastern Mediterranean University <i>Famagusta, North Cyprus</i>	<i>javanshir.shibliyev@emu.edu.tr</i>
Dick Smakman	Leiden University <i>Netherlands</i>	<i>D.Smakman@hum.leidenuniv.nl</i>
Anna Smirnitskaya	Junior research fellow, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>nyushas@gmail.com</i>
Murad Suleymanov	Ph.D. student, École Pratique des Hautes Études <i>Paris, France</i>	<i>muradsul@gmail.com</i>
Maria Yelenevskaya	Senior Teaching Fellow, Department of Humanities and Art, Technion-Israel Institute of Technology <i>Haifa, Israel</i>	<i>ymaria@technion.ac.il</i>
Dionysios Zoumpalidis	School of Philology, National Research University Higher School of Economics <i>Moscow, Russia</i>	<i>dzubalov@hse.ru</i>

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