



RUSSIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

2021 Volume 25 No. 4

**The Russian Language Maintenance and Language Contacts
of Post-Soviet Immigrants in Europe and Beyond**

Guest Editors

Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA and Olga IVANOVA

**Сохранение русского языка и языковые контакты
постсоветских иммигрантов в Европе и за ее пределами**

Приглашенные редакторы

Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ и Ольга ИВАНОВА

Founded in 1997

by the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN University)

Научный журнал

Издается с 1997 г.

Издание зарегистрировано Федеральной службой по надзору в сфере связи, информационных технологий и массовых коммуникаций (Роскомнадзор) Свидетельство о регистрации ПИ № ФС 77-76503 от 02.08.2019 г.
Учредитель: Федеральное государственное автономное образовательное учреждение высшего образования «Российский университет дружбы народов»

DOI: 10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4

RUSSIAN JOURNAL OF LINGUISTICS

ISSN 2687-0088 e-ISSN 2686-8024

Publication frequency: quarterly.

Languages: Russian, English.

Indexed/abstracted in Scopus, Web of Science Core Collection (ESCI), RSCI, DOAJ, Ulrich's Periodicals Directory: <http://www.ulrichsweb.com>, Electronic Journals Library Cyberleninka, Google Scholar, WorldCat.

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The editors are open to thematic issue initiatives with guest editors.

Further information regarding notes for contributors, subscription, open access and back volumes is available at <http://journals.rudn.ru/linguistics>.

E-mail: lingj@rudn.ru

4 выпуска в год.

Языки: русский, английский.

Входит в перечень рецензируемых научных изданий ВАК РФ.

Включен в каталог периодических изданий Scopus, Web of Science Core Collection (ESCI), RSCI, DOAJ, Ульрих (Ulrich's Periodicals Directory: <http://www.ulrichsweb.com>).

Материалы журнала размещаются на платформе РИНЦ Российской научной электронной библиотеки, Electronic Journals Library Cyberleninka, Google Scholar, WorldCat.

Подписной индекс издания в каталоге агентства Роспечать: 36436.

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Журнал строго придерживается международных стандартов публикационной этики, сформулированных в документе COPE (Committee on Publication Ethics) <http://publicationethics.org>.

Правила оформления статей, архив и дополнительная информация размещены на сайте: <http://journals.rudn.ru/linguistics>.

Электронный адрес: lingj@rudn.ru

Подписано в печать 08.11.2021. Выход в свет 24.12.2021. Формат 70x108/16.

Бумага офсетная. Печать офсетная. Гарнитура «Times New Roman».

Тираж 500 экз. Заказ № 1143. Цена свободная.

Отпечатано в типографии ИПК РУДН: 115419, Москва, Россия, ул. Орджоникидзе, 3

Printed at the RUDN Publishing House: 3, Ordzhonikidze str., 115419 Moscow, Russia,
+7 (495) 952-04-41; E-mail: publishing@rudn.ru

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115419, Москва, Россия, ул. Орджоникидзе, д. 3
Тел.: (495) 955-07-16; e-mail: publishing@rudn.ru

Почтовый адрес редакции:

117198, Москва, Россия, ул. Миклухо-Маклая, д. 10/2
Тел.: (495) 434-20-12; e-mail: lingj@rudn.ru

The Russian Language Maintenance and Language Contacts of Post-Soviet Immigrants in Europe and Beyond

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DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-828-854>

Introductory article

The Russian language maintenance and language contacts

Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA¹ and Olga IVANOVA²

¹Tallinn University
Tallinn, Estonia

²University of Salamanca
Salamanca, Spain

Abstract

In our introductory article, we outline the main sociolinguistic features of Russian as a heritage language of post-Soviet immigrants in European settings and beyond. We offer a general overview of the evolution of Russian as a global language, with a particular focus on its geodemographics and economic and social value as a *lingua franca*. Based on this, we analyse the main principles defining the maintenance of Russian as a language of migration and as a heritage language in different countries, and emphasise the most important questions that still need to be addressed in this field of research. The main objective of this special issue is to combine the most recent research on the vitality of different languages of post-Soviet republics in new political milieu, with a particular focus on European and Asian countries, but there are other objectives as well. We propose to explore the factors that have either favoured or hindered the maintenance and transmission of languages of post-Soviet immigrants and repatriates, and how these sociolinguistic processes become evident in language vitality on both private and public levels. Our special issue primarily addresses the questions of family language policy, new language contacts and their management, and linguistic landscape in heritage speakers, diasporas and their new settings in Europe, Asia and the US.

Keywords: *post-Soviet migrants, heritage language, multilingualism, language policy, language contacts*

For citation:

Zabrodskaia, Anastassia & Olga Ivanova. 2021. The Russian language maintenance and language contacts. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 828–854. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-828-854>

Сохранение русского языка и языковые контакты

Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ¹ и Ольга ИВАНОВА²

¹Таллинский университет
Таллин, Эстония

²Университет Саламанки
Саламанка, Испания

Аннотация

В данной статье мы обрисовываем основные социолингвистические особенности русского языка как эритажного в среде постсоветских иммигрантов в Европе и за ее пределами. Мы предлагаем общий обзор эволюции русского как глобального языка, с особым акцентом на его геодемографию и экономическую и социальную ценность как лингва франка. Исходя из этого мы анализируем основные принципы, определяющие сохранение русского языка как языка миграции и как эритажного в разных странах и выделяем наиболее важные вопросы, которые еще предстоит решить в этой области исследований. Основная цель этого специального выпуска – объединить самые последние исследования жизнеспособности различных языков постсоветских республик в новой политической среде, обращая особое внимание на страны Европы и Азии, хотя мы также ставим и другие цели. Мы предлагаем изучить факторы, которые способствуют или препятствуют сохранению и передаче языков постсоветских иммигрантов и репатриантов, а также то, как эти социолингвистические процессы проявляются в жизнеспособности языка как на частном, так и на государственном уровнях. В нашем специальном выпуске в первую очередь рассматриваются вопросы семейной языковой политики, новых языковых контактов и управления ими, а также языкового ландшафта среди эритажных носителей языка, диаспор и их нового окружения в Европе, Азии и США.

Ключевые слова: *постсоветские мигранты, эритажный язык, мультилингвизм, языковая политика, языковые контакты*

Для цитирования:

Zabrodskaia A., Ivanova O. The Russian language maintenance and language contacts. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 828–854. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-828-854>

1. Introduction

The sociolinguistic situation of languages of the post-Soviet states, both as national and heritage languages, has been dynamic and highly heterogeneous in the past three decades. The situation of the Russian language is, probably, one of the most complex and challenging in terms of its sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic framework. Russian is a supranational language, with more than half of its speakers living outside the Russian Federation. It is difficult to estimate how many speakers of the Russian language actually live outside Russia, and the first obstacle to determining this is the variety of terms that are used in referring to them. Based on official documents from the Russian government, Pieper (2020) mentions at least six common terms (*ethnic Russians, Russian-speakers, cultural Russians, compatriots, countrymen abroad and fellow tribesmen*), which reflect, in the author's opinion, uncertainty about whom to include in this group. Indeed,

historically Russian was not considered a language of an ethnic nation-state, but rather a “transnational connector” with functional and affective symbolism during the Soviet era (Ryazanova-Clarke 2017). As a result, current estimates show that, in addition to 146.1 million speakers living in Russia, there are approximately 32 million native speakers of Russian in the surrounding area and between 130 and 160 million speakers who use Russian as a second language all around the world (Ustinova 2016). These data place the Russian language among the ten leading world languages (Aref’ev 2014).

At present, Russian performs different functions in different sociolinguistic settings, and it is necessary to revisit social correlates of its maintenance or loss in immigrant environments. In addition to its status as a native and second language internationally, the Russian language also gained new roles outside Russia, and post-Soviet migration played a very important role in this. Extended knowledge of Russian among post-Soviet citizens not only allowed it to maintain its status as a lingua franca and a language of international communication, but also to strengthen its position in new, previously unknown ways. Among these, two new functions have received little attention: the commodification of Russian and its consolidation as a heritage language worldwide.

Concerning the first function, recent research reveals that Russian has gained a commodity which “relies on the promise of mutual understanding and the elimination of barriers for successful communication” (Muth 2017a: 405). Consequently, in many European countries (and non-European ones) Russian began to occupy an important market position, which assures its role not only as a language of international and interethnic communication, but also as a language with economic value (see Muth 2017b, Suryanarayan 2017, Viimaranta et al. 2017 etc.). Within the original theory of commodification, according to Duchêne and Heller (2012), languages are defined in terms of their ability to generate economic profit. In this respect, the situation of Russian in the worldwide arena may be described in Pavlenko’s (2015: 387) definition of languages as commodities, i.e. their role as market values: “(t)he corollary of this trend is a shift from the discourses of ‘pride’ that tie languages to identities, territories, and nation-states to the discourses of ‘profit’ that frame languages in economic terms as commodities useful for production of resources.”

However, it is the second new function of Russian, which deserves deeper attention because of its dynamics and direct effect on the understanding of the sociolinguistic value of the language. The linguistic destiny of Russian is unique, since it is a widespread language with multiple possible functions: native language or one of the first acquired languages, one of the home languages or a heritage language, a language of cultural heritage, a lingua franca, a minority language or a language of a minority group, a language of commodification, a language of a former occupier, a foreign language, a language of power, a tool of soft power, a language of (linguistic, political, geopolitical, etc.) tensions, a language for debates, etc. Indeed, this peculiar sociolinguistic situation of Russian has led to an extensive

area of research dealing with its scope as a language of diaspora and a heritage language in immigrant populations. One of the most challenging issues relates to the understanding of social and psycholinguistic aspects that drive its maintenance in immigrant families and among groups of ex-pats from different post-Soviet states. Interestingly, these countries themselves are important subjects of sociolinguistic analysis, since different approaches to national language policies have given rise to highly heterogeneous status levels of Russian and its presence in linguistic milieux.

Russophone communities – let us use this term instead of ‘diaspora,’ following suggestions of caution from Ryazanova-Clarke (2014), who defines ‘diaspora’ as less accurate for referring to all possible Russian-speakers outside Russia because it implies strong links to the homeland – are numerous and variable. Their sociolinguistic positions may be stronger or weaker, and the statuses of contact languages and cultures have a great deal to do with the vitality of Russian and its intergenerational maintenance or shift. One should also not ignore the role of attitudes and the divergence between attitudes and language competence in immigrant communities (cf. Lasagabaster 2008).

At the same time, these new sociolinguistic realities have always gone hand in hand with Russian in a new jacket (Pavlenko 2017). In summary, understanding sometimes incomparable situations may be highly enriching for the sociolinguistic description of the Russian language. According to Cheskin & Kachuyevski (2019: 4), “it is important to examine why different, generalised trends in language use, self-identification and group identification are occurring across the post-Soviet space”.

The sociolinguistic situation of Russian as a heritage language still leaves many questions unanswered and it is the purpose of this special issue to contribute to a deeper understanding of some of them. It offers new comparative studies on Russian as a heritage language transmission and maintenance in countries with (to some extent) the historical presence of Russian (e.g. Estonia, Germany, Israel, Sweden and the USA) but also in less studied milieux with very recent histories of Russian as a heritage language (e.g. Spain, Cyprus, India, South Korea and Japan). Furthermore, this special issue aims to reflect different current aspects of Russian as a heritage language: it gathers works on different communicative and functional roles of Russian as a heritage language, on family language policy related to Russian as a heritage language in different countries, on longitudinal changes in its sociolinguistic status, and on the structural changes that speakers produce in Russian as a heritage language. Thus, the contributors discuss different sociolinguistic variables which drive first-generation migrants to transmit or not to transmit their native languages to second-generation speakers; the peculiarities of identity construction in different generations of migrants; phenomena which characterise language choice and heritage language systems in successive generations; and the visibility of migrant languages in such settings as a linguistic landscape.

2. The Russian language in post-Soviet immigrant communities

The Russian language has spread all around the world. Apart from the Russian Federation and the fourteen national states resulting from the disintegration of the Soviet Union, there are numerous countries where a significant number of Russophones have settled. In addition to the traditional destinations of Israel, Germany and the United States (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), Russophone immigrant communities have recently become particularly large in Western Europe, the Near East and Asia. As stated above, most of them are internally linked by the Russian language rather than by specific ethnic or national adscription. Laitin (1998) even defined the Russian language as the marker of group identity among Russophone communities abroad, though some caution is called for in terms of different identities and attitude backgrounds among post-Soviet immigrants. Cheskin & Kachuyevski (2019) insist that Russophone identities are complex and vary among communities the Russian language is spoken in.

As a result, different definitions are currently applied to Russian as a means of communication, identity and commodification outside Russia. For post-Soviet states, it is common to define Russian as a *lingua franca*, a *language of inter-ethnic communication*, an *official language*, a *minority language* or a *foreign language* in the newly generated sociolinguistic landscapes. Importantly, as Pavlenko (2006) suggests, the role of Russian as a *lingua franca* is extremely variable within the national policies of de-Russification, and there has been extensive research on shifting language negotiation in the fourteen post-Soviet national states (e.g. Pavlenko 2008). Major findings set the Baltic States apart, with their deep and pervasive pro-national language policies (Brubaker 2014), and the Caucasian countries, which excluded Russian from legislation (Hogan-Brun & Melnyk 2012), from the Central Asian countries, with Russian-favouring language policies that recognise Russian as either an official or inter-ethnic communication language (Aminov et al. 2010). Such East European states as Belarus, Ukraine and Moldova form a particular group of countries with shifting dynamics in language management. Whilst Belarus adopted Russian as its second state language, which is currently used as a *de facto* main language of the country (Pavlenko 2013), and Moldova is polarised between the national Moldovan and the prestigious Russian (Prina 2012), Ukraine has gone through different stages of language regulation involving extreme degrees of politicisation of the language question (Cserniczkó 2017, Smaglo 2020).

Considering countries beyond the post-Soviet area, the Russian language is mainly conceived of as a common and shared trait among immigrants. In post-Soviet immigrant communities, Russian frequently serves as the *lingua franca* and the language of interethnic communication, independently of the ethnic or national groups of the speakers (cf. Ryazantsev 2015). Importantly, not all post-Soviet immigrants are Russophones. Malyutina (2020) stresses the importance of discerning among those post-Soviet immigrants who use Russian and those who want nothing to do with it, in order to avoid any superficial or oversimplified

approach to diaspora. This seems to be a very relevant observation, considering that historically there has been a general tendency to label as ‘Russian’ any immigrant from the former Soviet Union (see, for example, Andrews 1998 on such a historical perspective).

Despite these differences, it is the Russian language that has received a lot of explicit support outside Russia. The Russian Federation launched the “compatriots project”, aimed at engaging with Russian nationals living abroad, specifically encouraging connections with the homeland and using such connections to promote Russia and Russian in the West (Byford 2012). The effects of this project extend to many post-Soviet immigrants. As Suslov (2017: 10) puts it, the “Russian diaspora is not a diaspora in the strict sense, nor is it ‘Russian’”: compatriot groups worldwide not only include Russian citizens living abroad, but also immigrants from the Soviet Union, Russian-speaking former Soviet citizens, Russian nationals and former Soviet nationals in general. These immigrant communities are united by a common history and shared memories, and Russian plays a key role in these ties (Elias & Shorer-Zeltser 2006). A shared language and culture, as Mustajoki, Protassova & Yelenevskaya (2020a) state clearly, can have much more power in consolidating a diaspora successfully than any principle of ideological or political loyalty. Thus, generally speaking, the sense of belonging to a Russophone diaspora is not tied to political allegiances (Golova 2020).

In some host countries, the role of the Russian language as *the means of communication* of the diaspora has already achieved considerable success. In Israel, for example, Russian is systematically used in a very extensive network of print and electronic media (Elias 2011). Based on narratives from immigrants in Israel, Yelenevskaya & Fialkova (2003) showed that there is deep language awareness among Russian-speakers in Israel about its value and functional possibilities. As a result, Russian has been used even in the most formal situations, e.g. in business and high-tech industry. A similar situation exists in Germany and the United States, with extensive Russophone communities located in both of them. In Germany, there are approximately six million speakers of the Russian language, most of whom consider Russian their identity marker (Hamann et al. 2020). As a result, the Russian language is maintained and used in multiple contexts, from education (mainly kindergartens and primary schools) to commercial infrastructure, mass-media and social media, as well as medical institutions (Bergmann 2015). In the United States, with more than three million speakers of Russian as of 2010 (Aref’ev 2014), Russian acts as a language of immigrants’ social context (Hubenthal 2004), which is positively viewed, learnt and used by many heritage speakers (Kagan 2010). The public presence of Russian in the USA is very extensive, including not only in the press, but also in legal and medical services, educational settings, commercial infrastructure and, especially, academia (Kagan & Dillon 2010). In all the three mentioned countries, there is a generally positive attitude among Russian-speaking groups towards Russian as a heritage language, ensuring maintenance and transmission from generation to generation (cf. Moin et al. 2011 for Israel and

Germany, and Kagan 2010 for USA). However, the sociolinguistic status and functionality of Russian in other countries with major Russophone communities does not necessarily follow the same pattern. In some of them, the reason may be greater dispersion of Russian-speakers throughout the country, with less cohesive (and fewer) community connections. An example is the Russian-speaking immigrants in Great Britain, which is a highly fragmented community with strong social and cultural differences and diverse community practices (Byford 2012). As Byford (2012) reports, there is a Russian-based network of establishments within a Russian-speaking migrant *marketplace*, including material (products, labour, services, etc.) and symbolic (information, favours, contacts, etc.) forms of exchange, but it is clearly aimed at a dispersed and somewhat undefined target group, which is mainly tied through informal social networking.

In other countries, the presence of Russophones is very recent and the diaspora is not clearly organised. The most salient examples may be the Russian-speaking communities in Southern Europe, where Russian is one of the many minority immigrant languages, with challenging, dynamic and variable sociolinguistic situations. In Italy, for example, the Russophone community is characterised by individualism and atomism, mainly because of its relatively small size and high dispersion throughout the country (Perotto 2014). In her sociolinguistic study, Perotto (*ibid*) found that most members of this community were not very concerned with the maintenance of contact with other Russophones or with the preservation of the Russian language.

In summary, the sociolinguistic situation of the Russian language in post-Soviet immigrant communities is highly variable and unstable. As Yelenevskaya & Protassova (2015) point out, present-day diasporas are defined by the transnationality of their social, cultural and economic activities. This is one of the factors that explain the sociolinguistic variation in Russophone diasporas, but definitely more research is needed on more specific (national-specific and community-specific) factors that explain (and predict) the functional and symbolic value of Russian as a language of immigrants. In this respect, one of the first steps needed is to look at factors that either favour or hinder the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in different communities around the world.

3. Russian as a heritage language

The status of the Russian language as a heritage language varies greatly among communities. In some of them, Russian is a transgenerational full-fledged heritage language with a long sociolinguistic history. Such deep-rooted diasporas are composed of both Russian-speaking *émigrés*' descendants and newcomers (Mustajoki et al. 2020a). However, not all members of such diasporas maintain the Russian language and culture over time (Smyth & Opitz 2013). In fact, even in countries with important Russophone communities, such as Germany, many members of the second generation of immigrants assimilate linguistically (Golova 2020) and it is clear that there are multiple factors conditioning the maintenance of

Russian as a heritage language universally. It should be added that Russian does not remain stable and that changes and variations are inevitable (see Ryazanova-Clarke 2014 for some background reading).

Sociolinguistic and psycholinguistic research on heritage languages shows that such factors may be classified as external or internal, and that they do not act separately in driving heritage language maintenance. There are multiple factors involved in heritage language maintenance or language shift over time, and studies show the role of factors conditioned by the receiving society and factors coming from heritage language speakers themselves (Schalley & Eisenclas 2020). Indeed, the social value of a heritage language with minority status is determined by the roles it plays in the host society. Hornberger (2005) has suggested that all global characteristics of the host community play a role in heritage language maintenance, including heritage language sociolinguistic status, heritage language speakers' attitudes and heritage language presence in different public domains, such as education and the labour market. The functional potential of a heritage language outside of the home is also important. The frequency of use and the possible communicative roles of a heritage language both within and outside of family contexts are highly influential in respect to its vitality (Banfi 2018). Among other factors, research highlights the role of the prestige of a heritage language and the cultural background it conveys (Romanowski 2021), the opportunities for a heritage language to be used in situations with socioeconomic opportunities, e.g. in education, the labour market, media, healthcare systems or any other public service (Aalberse et al. 2019), the degree of self-identification with heritage language culture and positive attitudes to its symbolic and functional values (Ivanova 2019), and the amount of exposure to a heritage language and the degree of reduction of such input at home (Montrul 2016). In summary, Aalberse, Backus & Muysken's (2019: 49) statement seems particularly true: "Perhaps the main conclusion of many years of research on maintenance and shift is that there are so many factors that play a role, and they play it so differently in concrete cases, that it has proven impossible to construct a single widely accepted theory that accounts for maintenance and shift and that predicts what will happen in any given bilingual setting." Thus, social factors are systematically complemented with a set of individual characteristics of the speakers: their age, gender, marital status, language knowledge, reasons for migration, length of residence in the host country, contact group, etc. (Nesteruk 2010).

Concerning Russian as a heritage language, several observations may be made. There are some important aspects conditioning the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in different Russophone communities. Among the most influential factors are the contact language and its social prestige, educational opportunities, socioeconomic advantages, and speakers' attitudes to the political and social associations of the Russian language as the national language of Russia. Mustajoki, Protassova & Yelenevskaya (2020b: 5) summarise this very clearly: "Non-ideological support of the Russian language outside the nation is a sensitive

issue that does not only require goodwill but calls for expert knowledge of local language, education policies and the economic situation that can either create incentives for Russian-language maintenance or make it irrelevant for diasporans' socioeconomic upward mobility.”

In many countries, Russophone cultural institutions contribute to the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language through Sunday schools, heritage language courses or even (though less frequently) regular education. However, families seem to play the key role in the strength of Russian as a heritage language and, in this respect, it is essential to understand how family language policies are created in different Russophone communities globally.

In her description of the family language policy in Russian-speaking families in the U.S., Nesteruk (2010) mentions the necessity of following Fishman's distinction between *language transmission* and *language maintenance* for understanding bilingualism in heritage speakers: she points out that language transmission (using Russian as a heritage language with children in the family) is rather more common and successful than language maintenance (use of Russian as a heritage language by succeeding generations for multiple functions). With a focus on the Russophone diaspora in the USA, Laleko (2013) stresses that third – and fourth-generation immigrants, including post-Soviet citizens, usually display less intense emotional concern with the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language. Her conclusion in this respect is not very positive regarding the fate of Russian as a heritage language in the USA: “<...> assuming that language attitudes in the home serve as a predictor of continued inter-generational language maintenance in immigrant families, we may hypothesize that desire for maintaining and actively using the heritage language beyond the home and family domain may not be among the highest priorities for the American-born generation of heritage Russian speakers” (Laleko 2013: 391).

By contrast, the Finnish sociolinguistic situation shows that most family language policies favour Russian heritage language maintenance. Protassova (2008) has reported that most Russian-speaking families choose schools teaching in both Finnish and Russian or teaching Russian as the heritage language, though these results show a significant social correlation: families with low socioeconomic status are less prone to exposing their children to Russian as a heritage language. Similarly, Schwartz (2008) has shown that Russian-Jewish immigrants in Israel are highly involved in transmitting Russian as a heritage language to their children and, importantly, complain when educational and social conditions do not assure balanced exposure to Russian for their offspring. Sociolinguistic situations in regard to Russian thus vary greatly among countries, and historical issues (e.g. Russian language presence or social openness to the languages of migrants) may explain a great deal about this variation in addition to social and individual factors in the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language. Language ideologies and the management and practice of Russian as a heritage language – the three pillars of the family language policy according to Spolsky's classical model (2004) – are

country-dependent and form a sort of kaleidoscope of shifting and fluctuating contexts favouring or hindering the preservation of Russian as a heritage language.

Finally, there is the effect of the status of Russian as a heritage language and the consequent family language policies on Russian's internal evolution and change. Limited exposure to the heritage language may have an important effect on heritage language acquisition. Reduced input is systematically argued to be the major reason for difficulties in the acquisition of certain heritage language properties, for example, and particularly for Russian as a heritage language in connection with gender (cf. Rodina et al. 2020). For Russian, referential studies have been carried out in many immigrant settings, revealing changes in the structure of Russian as a heritage language (cf. Protassova 2008 for Russian in Finland, Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008 for Russian in the USA, and Schwarz 2008 for Russian in Israel). However, a very recent comparative study by Rodina et al. (2020) on Russian in Israel, Germany, Norway, Latvia and the UK has revealed the necessity of searching for common and contrasting traits of language change in Russian as a heritage language.

4. Articles in this special issue

Based on this multilateral perspective on migrants' languages and identities, this special issue addresses the following questions:

- *Sociolinguistic portraits*: who transmits or does not transmit their languages to the second generation? How Russian and other post-Soviet heritage languages are perceived?
- *Social visibility of languages*: how are these languages included in different spheres of language use (linguistic landscape)?
- *Cognition and attitudes*: what do post-Soviet immigrants and repatriates believe about their heritage languages and how do their beliefs influence their vitality?
- *Cognition, society and language system*: how do all these sociolinguistic and cognitive processes influence the transformation of the language systems of Russian and other post-Soviet languages as heritage languages in constellation with their contact languages?

Looking in detail, this issue includes case studies on language management in bilingual Russian-Estonian and Russian-Spanish families (Ivanova & Zabrodskaja), sociolinguistic patterns of the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany (Brehmer), grammatical aspects of Russian as a heritage language in Israel (Meir et al.), grammatical changes in Russian under the influence of English among Russian-English bilinguals residing in the USA (Isurin), multilingualism and translanguaging among Russian-language speakers in Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden (Karpava et al.), the presence of Russian in the linguistic landscape of Nuremberg, Germany (Ritter) and in three Asian countries – India, Japan, and South Korea (Protassova et al.), the use of Russian, Kazakh and the spread of English in naming practices (Smagulova & Madiyeva), and heritage language and identity

maintenance in the Lithuanian diaspora (Ramonienė & Ramonaitė). At the end of the current collection Branets and Verschik present a structural and extra-linguistic analysis of receptive multilingualism, providing evidence how Estonians understand Ukrainian via their knowledge of Russian. Putjata concentrates on language maintenance among multilingual teachers, presenting her research on Russian-Hebrew speakers' ideas of language related normality in educational settings. Three book reviews at the end of this issue are included with the specific aim of exemplifying how in different countries each new generation finds their own ways of using their heritage language, depending on the relationship between language and society, attitudes and perceptions. Thus, the process of the Russian language maintenance and language contacts of post-Soviet immigrants in Europe and beyond might be seen more clearly when compared with special situations involving two or more languages investigated and presented there.

5. Conclusion

Forced by political, economic and demographic instability, not only ethnic minorities (mostly Jews and ethnic Germans) but also ethnicities of already independent states began migrating to Central and Western European countries. Migration between newly independent states, which involved voluntary movements of repatriates, also became extremely intensive. As a natural result of migratory processes, many languages of post-Soviet immigrants became heritage languages of migrant families in the new milieux and started to consistently form part of their language settings. The linguistic outcome became multi-layered: while some post-Soviet migrants formed large communities of ex-pats, which favoured heritage language maintenance, use and new-place vitality, many others integrated into their host societies and/or assimilated culturally and linguistically, leaving their heritage language behind. Our special issue shows that none of these changes happened overnight and it is difficult to discern which sociolinguistic changes are still in progress.

The expected contribution of this special issue is to analyse the patterns, which define sociolinguistic and cognitive aspects of heritage language vitality, as well as the effect of such extra-linguistic factors on the internal systems of the heritage languages. In this respect, the special issue offers proposals for the further analysis of social relations in the respective societies and of language system transformation in heritage languages. These sociolinguistic realities surrounding Russian might be shortly described by a saying in Estonian: “*Heal lapsel mitu nime*”, that is, ‘A good child has many names.’ In their recent edited volume, Mustajoki et al. (2020a) pose a question: “Russian as a communicative tool: Lingua franca, mediator or something else?” and present a collection of articles trying to suggest best possible scenarios. The present special issue, while answering some old questions, leads to new ones; needless to add that some unforeseen features of Russian are discovered in a more complex situation (i.e. transfer, translanguaging, and receptive multilingualism).

As case studies in our special issue reveal, Russian and other languages (e.g. Lithuanian) of post-Soviet immigrants in Europe and beyond might become the (cultural) heritage acquired mainly as the home language, often without conscious awareness or family language policy planning. A lot depends not only on certain uses of the language, and its educational and economic status in the larger community, but also on children as active agents who may provide their own sets of norms and expectations regarding the use of the heritage language.

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1. Введение

Социолингвистическая ситуация языков постсоветских государств, как национальных так и традиционных, была динамичной и весьма неоднородной в последние три десятилетия. Ситуация с русским языком, пожалуй, одна из самых сложных и богатых на вызовы с точки зрения социолингвистических и психолингвистических систем. Русский – наднациональный язык: более половины говорящих на нем проживают за пределами Российской Федерации. Трудно подсчитать, сколько носителей русского языка на самом деле проживает за пределами России, и первое препятствие для определения этого – разнообразие терминов, которые используются для их обозначения. Основываясь на официальных документах правительства России, М. Пипер (Piper 2020) упоминает как минимум шесть общих терминов (*этнические русские, русскоязычные, русские по культуре, соотечественники / земляки, соотечественники за рубежом и соплеменники*), которые, по мнению автора, отражают неуверенность в том, кого же включать в эту группу. Действительно, исторически русский язык не считался языком этнического национального государства, а скорее «транснациональным связующим звеном» с функциональной и аффективной символикой в советское время (Ryazanova-Clarke 2017). В результате, по текущим оценкам, помимо 146,1 миллионов, проживающих в России, в прилегающих к ней районах проживает около 32 миллионов носителей русского языка, а во всем мире от 130 до 160 миллионов используют русский как второй язык (Ustinova 2016). На основе этих данных, русский язык входит в десятку ведущих мировых языков (Aref'ev 2014).

В настоящее время русский язык выполняет разнообразные функции в разных социолингвистических условиях. Необходимо пересмотреть социальные корреляты его сохранения или утраты в среде иммигрантов. Помимо статуса родного и второго языка на международном уровне, русский язык также приобрел новые функции за пределами России, и постсоветская миграция сыграла в этом очень важную роль. Знание русского языка среди постсоветских граждан не только позволило ему сохранить свой статус лингва-франка и языка международного общения, но и укрепить свои позиции новыми, ранее неизвестными функциями. Среди них двум новым функциям – коммодификации русского языка и его всемирному укреплению в качестве эритажного языка – пока что было уделено мало внимания.

Что касается первой функции, то недавнее исследование показывает, что русский язык – это коммодити, распространенный предмет потребления, «в основе которого лежит обещание взаимопонимания и устранение барьеров для успешного общения» (Muth 2017a: 405). Следовательно, во многих европейских странах (и неевропейских также) русский язык стал занимать важное рыночное положение, что обеспечивает его роль не только как языка международного и межэтнического общения, но и как языка, имеющего экономическую ценность (см. Muth 2017b, Suryanarayan 2017, Viimaranta et al. 2017 и др.). В рамках первоначальной теории коммодификации языки определяются с точки зрения их способности приносить экономическую прибыль (Duchêne & Heller 2012). В этом отношении изменилось положение русского языка на мировой арене языков как товаров, то есть их роли как рыночных ценностей: «Следствием этой тенденции является отход от дискурсов “гордости”, которые связывают языки с идентичностями, территориями и национальными государствами с дискурсами “прибыли”, которые представляют языки в экономических терминах как товары, полезные для производства ресурсов» (Pavlenko 2015: 387).

Вторая функция русского языка заслуживает более глубокого внимания из-за ее динамики и прямого влияния на понимание социолингвистической ценности языка. Судьба русского языка уникальна, поскольку это широко распространенный язык с множеством возможных функций: родной язык или один из первых усвоенных языков, один из родных языков или эритажный язык, язык культурного наследия, лингва-франка, язык меньшинства или язык группы меньшинства, язык коммодификации, «язык бывшего оккупанта», иностранный язык, язык как инструмент власти, инструмент мягкой силы, язык (лингвистической, политической, геополитической и пр.) напряженности, язык как формат для дебатов и т. д. Действительно, эта специфическая социолингвистическая ситуация с русским языком привела к обширной области исследований, посвященных ему как языку диаспоры и эритажному языку среди иммигрантского населения. Один из наиболее сложных вопросов связан с пониманием социальных и психолингвистических аспектов, которые определяют его сохранение в семьях иммигрантов и среди групп экспатов из разных постсоветских государств. Интересно, что сами эти страны являются важными объектами социолингвистического анализа, поскольку различные подходы к национальной языковой политике привели к весьма неоднородным статусным уровням русского языка и его присутствию в языковой среде.

В данной статье мы используем термин *русскоязычные сообщества*, которые многочисленны и разнообразны. Рязанова-Кларк (Ryazanova-Clarke 2014) определяет «диаспору» как менее точное обозначение всех возможных русскоязычных общин за пределами России, поскольку этот термин подразумевает сильные связи с родиной. Социолингвистические позиции русскоязычных сообществ могут быть сильнее или слабее, а с жизнеспособностью русского и его межпоколенческим сохранением или сменой во

многим связаны статусы контактных языков и культур. Важна и роль отношения к языку, и расхождений между отношением и языковой компетенцией в иммигрантских сообществах (ср. Lasagabaster 2008).

В то же время эти новые социолингвистические реалии всегда шли и продолжают идти рука об руку с русским языком в новом обликии (Pavlenko 2017). Понимание иногда несопоставимых ситуаций может быть очень полезным для социолингвистического описания русского языка. «Важно изучить, почему на постсоветском пространстве наблюдаются различные обобщенные тенденции в использовании языка, самоидентификации и групповой идентификации» (Cheskin & Kachuyevski 2019: 4).

Социолингвистическая ситуация с русским языком как унаследованным по-прежнему оставляет без ответа множество вопросов, и цель этого специального выпуска – способствовать более глубокому пониманию некоторых из них. В нем представлены новые сравнительные исследования по передаче и сохранению русского языка как эритажного в странах (в некоторой степени) с историческим присутствием русского языка (например, Эстония, Германия, Израиль, Швеция и США), но также и в менее изученных средах с очень недавней историей русского языка как эритажного (например, Испания, Кипр, Индия, Южная Корея и Япония). Кроме того, данный специальный выпуск призван отразить различные текущие аспекты русского языка как эритажного: в нем собраны работы о различных коммуникативных и функциональных ролях русского языка как унаследованного, о семейной языковой политике в отношении русского как эритажного в разных странах, о лонгитюдных изменениях его социолингвистического статуса и о структурных изменениях, которые носители производят в русском языке как эритажном. Таким образом, авторы обсуждают различные социолингвистические переменные, которые побуждают мигрантов первого поколения передавать или не передавать свои родные языки носителям второго поколения; особенности построения идентичности у разных поколений мигрантов; явления, которые характеризуют языковой выбор и наследие языковых систем в последующих поколениях; и заметность языков мигрантов в таких условиях, как языковой ландшафт.

2. Русский язык в постсоветских иммигрантских сообществах

В настоящее время русский язык распространен по всему миру. Помимо Российской Федерации и четырнадцати национальных государств, образовавшихся в результате распада Советского Союза, во многих странах обосновалось значительное количество русскоязычных. Кроме традиционных мест проживания в Израиле, Германии и США (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006), общины русскоязычных иммигрантов в последнее время стали особенно многочисленными в Западной Европе, на Ближнем Востоке и в Азии. Как уже указывалось выше, большинство из них связаны русским языком внутренне, а не конкретной этнической или национальной принадлежностью. Д. Лайтин

(Laitin 1998) определил русский язык как маркер групповой идентичности среди русскоязычных сообществ за рубежом, хотя следует проявлять некоторую осторожность с точки зрения различий в идентичности и взглядах постсоветских иммигрантов. А. Ческин и А. Качуевски (Cheskin & Kachuyevski 2019) настаивают на том, что русскоязычная идентичность сложна и варьируется в различных сообществах, в которых говорят на русском языке.

В настоящее время к русскому языку как средству общения, идентичности и коммодификации за пределами России применяются разные определения. Русский язык в постсоветских государствах принято определять как *лингва-франка*, *язык межэтнического общения*, *официальный язык*, *язык меньшинства* или *иностраный язык* в новых социолингвистических ландшафтах. Важно отметить, что роль русского языка как лингва-франка чрезвычайно варьируется в рамках национальной политики дерусификации (Pavlenko 2006). Были проведены обширные исследования меняющихся языковых ситуаций в четырнадцати постсоветских национальных государствах (например, Pavlenko 2008). Основные результаты отличают страны Балтии с их глубокой и всепроникающей политикой в отношении национальных языков (Brubaker 2014), а также страны Кавказа, которые исключили русский язык из законодательства (Hogan-Brun & Melnyk 2012), от стран Центральной Азии, с языковой политикой в пользу русского, которая признает русский язык либо официальным, либо языком межнационального общения (Aminov et al. 2010). Такие восточноевропейские государства, как Беларусь, Украина и Молдова, образуют особую группу стран с меняющейся динамикой языковой политики. В то время как Беларусь приняла русский язык в качестве своего второго государственного языка, который в настоящее время де-факто используется в качестве основного языка страны (Pavlenko 2013), Молдова поляризована между национальным молдавским и престижным русским (Prina 2012), а Украина проходит разные этапы языкового регулирования, включая крайнюю степень политизации языкового вопроса (Csernicškó 2017, Smaglo 2020).

В странах за пределами постсоветского пространства показателем общей характеристики для постсоветских иммигрантов является именно русский язык. В постсоветских иммигрантских сообществах русский язык часто используется в качестве лингва франка и языка межэтнического общения, независимо от этнических или национальных групп носителей (ср. Ryazantsev 2015). Важно отметить, что не все постсоветские иммигранты – русскоязычные. Для того, чтобы избежать любого поверхностного или упрощенного подхода к диаспоре, Д. Малютина (Malyutina 2020) подчеркивает важность различия между теми постсоветскими иммигрантами, которые используют русский язык, и теми, кто не хочет иметь с ним ничего общего. Это наблюдение кажется очень уместным, учитывая, что исторически сложилась общая тенденция называть «русским» любого иммигранта из бывшего Советского Союза (см., например, Andrews 1998 о такой исторической перспективе).

Несмотря на эти различия, именно русский язык получил широкую поддержку за пределами России. Российская Федерация запустила «проект соотечественников», направленный на взаимодействие с российскими гражданами, проживающими за границей, в частности на поощрение связей с родиной и использование таких связей для продвижения России и русского языка на Западе (Byford 2012). Влияние этого проекта распространяется на многих постсоветских иммигрантов. «Русская диаспора – это не диаспора в строгом смысле слова и не “русская”» (Suslov 2017: 10): в группы соотечественников во всем мире входят не только российские граждане, проживающие за рубежом, но и иммигранты из Советского Союза, бывшие советские русскоязычные граждане, граждане России и бывшие советские граждане в целом. Эти иммигрантские общины объединены общей историей и общими воспоминаниями, и русский язык играет ключевую роль в этих связях (Elias & Shorer-Zeltser 2006). Общий язык и культура, как ясно заявляют А. Мустайоки, Е. Протасова и М. Еленевская (Mustajoki et al. 2020a), могут гораздо сильнее способствовать успешной консолидации диаспоры, чем любой принцип идеологической или политической лояльности. Таким образом, в целом, чувство принадлежности к русскоязычной диаспоре не связано с политическими пристрастиями (Golova 2020).

В некоторых принимающих странах роль русского языка как *средства общения* диаспоры уже достигла значительных успехов. В Израиле, например, русский язык систематически используется в разветвленной сети печатных и электронных СМИ (Elias 2011). Еленевская и Фиалкова (Yelenevskaya & Fialkova 2003), основываясь на нарративах иммигрантов, показали, что русскоязычные в Израиле глубоко осведомлены о ценности и функциональных возможностях русского языка. В результате русский язык используется даже в официальных ситуациях, например, в бизнесе и сфере высоких технологий. Похожая ситуация существует в Германии и США, где проживают обширные русскоязычные сообщества. В Германии около шести миллионов носителей русского языка, большинство из которых считают русский своим маркером идентичности (Hamann et al. 2020). Вследствие этого русский язык поддерживается и используется во многих контекстах: от образования (в основном, детских садов и начальных школ) до коммерческой инфраструктуры, средств массовой информации и социальных сетей, а также медицинских учреждений (Bergmann 2015). В Соединенных Штатах, где по состоянию на 2010 год более трех миллионов человек говорили по-русски (Aref'ev 2014), русский выступает в качестве языка социальной среды иммигрантов (Hubenthal 2004), который положительно воспринимается, изучается и используется многими эритажниками (Kagan 2010). Публичное присутствие русского языка в США очень широко, в том числе не только в прессе, но также в юридических и медицинских службах, образовательных учреждениях, коммерческой инфраструктуре и особенно в академических кругах

(Kagan & Dillon 2010). Во всех трех упомянутых странах русскоязычные группы в целом положительно относятся к русскому языку как к эритажному, обеспечивая его сохранение и передачу из поколения в поколение (ср. Moïn, Schwartz & Breilkopf 2011 про Израиль и Германию; и Kagan 2010 про США). Однако социолингвистический статус и функционирование русского языка в других странах с крупными русскоязычными сообществами не обязательно следуют такой же схеме. В некоторых из них причина может заключаться в большей рассредоточенности русскоязычных по всей стране, с разобщенными (и небольшими) связями с сообществом. Примером могут служить русскоязычные иммигранты в Великобритании, которые представляют собой довольно фрагментированное сообщество с сильными социальными и культурными различиями и разнообразными общественными практиками (Byford 2012). На рынке русскоязычных мигрантов Великобритании существует русскоязычная сеть истеблишмента, включающая материальные (продукты, рабочую силу, услуги и т.д.) и символические (информацию, услуги, контакты и т.д.) формы обмена; но она явно нацелена на рассредоточенную и несколько неопределенную целевую группу, которая в основном связана через неформальные социальные сети (Byford 2012).

В некоторых странах русскоязычные сообщества появились совсем недавно, а диаспора четко не организована. Наиболее яркими примерами могут служить русскоязычные общины в Южной Европе, где русский язык является одним из многих языков иммигрантов из числа меньшинств, со сложными, динамичными и разнообразными социолингвистическими ситуациями. В Италии, например, русскоязычное сообщество характеризуется индивидуализмом и раздробленностью, в основном из-за его относительно небольшого размера и высокой рассредоточенности по стране (Perotto 2014). В своем социолингвистическом исследовании М. Перотто (Perotto 2014) обнаружила, что большинство членов этого сообщества не очень заботится о поддержании контактов с другими русскоязычными или о сохранении русского языка.

Таким образом, социолингвистическая ситуация с русским языком в постсоветских иммигрантских сообществах очень изменчива и нестабильна. Транснациональность определяет социальную, культурную и экономическую деятельность современных диаспор (Yelenevskaya & Protassova 2015). Это один из факторов, объясняющих социолингвистические различия в русскоязычных диаспорах, но определенно необходимы дополнительные исследования более конкретных (национальных и специфичных для сообщества) факторов, которые объясняют (и предсказывают) функциональную и символическую ценность русского языка как языка иммигрантов. В этом отношении одним из первых необходимых шагов является рассмотрение факторов, которые благоприятствуют или препятствуют сохранению русского языка как эритажного в различных сообществах по всему миру.

3. Русский язык как эритажный

Статус русского языка как эритажного сильно различается в разных общинах. В некоторых из них русский язык – это полноценный язык, передаваемый из поколения в поколение, с долгой социолингвистической историей. Такие укоренившиеся диаспоры состоят как из потомков русскоязычных эмигрантов, так и из новых иммигрантов (Mustajoki et al. 2020a). Однако не все члены таких диаспор сохраняют русский язык и культуру с течением времени (Smyth & Opitz 2013). Очевидно, что существует множество факторов, обуславливающих сохранение русского языка как эритажного во всем мире. Фактически даже в странах со значительными русскоязычными сообществами, таких как Германия, многие представители второго поколения иммигрантов ассимилируются лингвистически (Golova 2020). Следует добавить, что русский язык за рубежом не остается стабильным, изменения и вариации неизбежны (в качестве общего обзора см.: Ryazanova-Clarke 2014).

Социолингвистические и психолингвистические исследования эритажных языков показывают, что внешние и внутренние условия не действуют по отдельности на сохранение унаследованных языков. Существует множество факторов, влияющих на сохранение эритажного языка или его замещение с течением времени; исследования показывают роль факторов, обусловленных принимающим обществом, и факторов, исходящих от самих носителей унаследованного языка (Schalley & Eisenclas 2020). Действительно социальная ценность эритажного языка как языка меньшинства определяется теми ролями, которые он играет в принимающем обществе. Н. Хорнбергер (Hornberger 2005) предположил, что все глобальные характеристики принимающего сообщества играют роль в сохранении эритажного языка, включая социолингвистический статус эритажного языка, отношение к нему носителей эритажного языка и присутствие эритажного языка в различных общественных сферах (например, в образовании и на рынке труда). Функциональный потенциал унаследованного языка вне дома также важен. Частота использования и возможные коммуникативные роли эритажного языка как в семейном контексте, так и за его пределами имеют большое влияние на его жизнеспособность (Banfi 2018). Среди других факторов исследователи подчеркивают роль престижа эритажного языка и отражаемого им культурного фона (Romanowski 2021); возможности использования эритажного языка в ситуациях с социально-экономическими ресурсами, например, в сфере образования, на рынке труда, в средствах массовой информации, в системах здравоохранения или в сфере любых других государственных услуг (Aalberse et al. 2019); степень самоидентификации с культурой эритажного языка и позитивное отношение к его символическим и функциональным ценностям (Ivanova 2019); и степень воздействия на язык исторического наследия, а также сокращение такого влияния дома (Montrul 2016). Из этого следует, что следующее утверждение оказывается довольно правильным: «Возможно, главный вывод многолетних исследований в области сохранения и смены языка заключается

в том, что существуют разнообразные факторы, которые оказывают свое влияние в конкретных случаях, и становится невозможным построить единую широко признанную теорию о сохранении и смене языка, предсказывающую, что произойдет в любой данной двуязычной среде» (Aalberse et al.: 49). Таким образом, социальные факторы систематически дополняются набором индивидуальных характеристик лиц, говорящих на языке: их возрастом, полом, семейным положением, знанием языка, причинами миграции, сроком проживания в стране пребывания, контактной группой и т.д. (Nesteruk 2010).

Относительно русского языка как эритажного можно сделать несколько замечаний. Есть несколько важных аспектов, обуславливающих сохранение русского языка как эритажного в различных русскоязычных сообществах. Среди наиболее важных факторов – контактный язык и его социальный престиж, возможности для получения образования, социально-экономические преимущества и отношение носителей к политическим и социальным коннотациям русского как национального языка России. А Мустайоки, Е. Протасова и М. Еленевская (Mustajoki et al. 2020b: 5) очень четко резюмируют это: «Неидеологическая поддержка русского языка за пределами страны – это деликатный вопрос, который не только призывает к доброй воле, но и требует экспертного знания местного языка, образовательной политики и экономической ситуации, которое может либо создать стимулы для сохранения русского языка, либо сделать его неактуальным для социально-экономической вертикальной мобильности представителей диаспор».

Во многих странах русскоязычные культурные учреждения способствуют сохранению русского языка как эритажного через воскресные школы, языковые курсы или даже (хотя и реже) регулярное школьное образование. Тем не менее, семьи играют ключевую роль в укреплении русского языка как эритажного, и в этом отношении важно понимать, как политика в отношении семейного языка создается в различных русскоязычных сообществах по всему миру.

В своем описании семейной языковой политики в русскоязычных семьях в США О. Нестерук (Nesteruk 2010) упоминает о необходимости, вслед за Дж. Фишманом, разграничивать *передачу языка* и *сохранение языка* для понимания двуязычия у эритажников: О. Нестерук указывает на то, что передача языка (использование русского языка как унаследованного детьми в семье) гораздо более распространена и успешна, чем сохранение языка (использование русского языка в качестве унаследованного последующими поколениями для выполнения различных функций). Делая акцент на русскоязычной диаспоре в США, О. Лалеко (Laleko 2013) подчеркивает, что иммигранты в третьем и четвертом поколениях, в том числе постсоветские граждане, обычно проявляют менее сильную эмоциональную озабоченность по поводу сохранения русского языка как эритажного. Ее вывод относительно судьбы русского языка как эритажного в США не очень благоприятен: «<...> предполагая, что отношение к языку дома выступает показателем

продолжающегося межпоколенческого сохранения языка в семьях иммигрантов, мы можем выдвинуть гипотезу о том, что стремление к сохранению и активному использованию эритажного языка за пределами дома и семьи может не входить в число высших приоритетов рожденного в Америке поколения русскоязычных эритажников» (Laleko 2013: 391).

Для сравнения: социолингвистическая ситуация в Финляндии показывает, что в большинстве случаев политика в области семейного языка способствует сохранению русского языка. Е. Протасова (Protassova 2008) поясняет, что большинство русскоязычных семей выбирают школы с преподаванием на финском и русском языках или с преподаванием русского языка в качестве эритажного, хотя эти результаты показывают значительную социальную корреляцию: семьи с низким социально-экономическим статусом менее склонны подвергать своих детей влиянию русского языка как унаследованного. Аналогично М. Шварц (Schwarz 2008) показывает, что русско-еврейские иммигранты в Израиле активно участвуют в передаче своим детям русского языка как эритажного и, что немаловажно, жалуются, когда образовательные и социальные условия не обеспечивают сбалансированного владения русским языком для их детей. Таким образом, социолингвистические ситуации в отношении русского языка сильно различаются в разных странах, и исторические вопросы (например, наличие русского языка или социальная открытость к языкам мигрантов) помогут многое объяснить в дополнение к социальным и индивидуальным факторам в сохранении русского языка как эритажного. Языковые идеологии, а также управление и практика использования русского как унаследованного языка – три столпа семейной языковой политики в соответствии с классической моделью Б. Спольски (Spolsky 2004) – зависят от страны и образуют своего рода калейдоскоп меняющихся и неустойчивых контекстов, благоприятствующих или препятствующих сохранению русского языка как эритажного.

Кроме того, наблюдаются влияние статуса русского языка как унаследованного на его внутреннюю эволюцию и изменения и связанная с этим политика в отношении семейного языка. Ограниченное знакомство с эритажным языком может иметь важное значение для его усвоения. Например, систематически утверждается, что уменьшенное количество инпута является основной причиной трудностей с приобретением основных грамматических признаков эритажного языка, в особенности русского как унаследованного, в связи с использованием родов имен существительных (ср. Rodina et al. 2020). Что касается русского языка, соответствующие исследования были проведены во многих местах проживания иммигрантов, выявив изменения в структуре русского языка как эритажного (ср. Protassova 2008 о русском языке в Финляндии, Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008 о русском языке в США, и Schwarz 2008 о русском языке в Израиле). Однако недавнее сравнительное исследование русского языка в Израиле, Германии, Норвегии, Латвии и

Великобритании выявило необходимость поиска общих и противоположных черт языковых изменений в русском языке как унаследованном (Rodina et al. 2020).

4. Статьи данного выпуска

В настоящем специальном выпуске многосторонний взгляд на языки и самобытность мигрантов способствует пониманию следующих вопросов:

- *Социолингвистические портреты*: кто передает или не передает свой язык второму поколению? Как воспринимаются русский и другие постсоветские языки как эритажные?

- *Социальная видимость* языков: как эти языки включены в разные сферы использования языка (лингвистический ландшафт)?

- *Знание и отношения*: что постсоветские иммигранты и репатрианты думают о своих эритажных языках и как их убеждения влияют на их жизне-способность?

- *Знание, общество и языковая система*: как все эти социолингвистические и когнитивные процессы влияют на трансформацию языковых систем русского и других постсоветских языков как эритажных в совокупности с их контактными языками?

Данный выпуск включает в себя тематические исследования, посвященные управлению языком в двуязычных русско-эстонских и русско-испанских семьях (Ivanova & Zabrodskaia), социолингвистическим моделям сохранения русского языка в качестве унаследованного в Германии (Brehmer), грамматическим аспектам русского языка как эритажного в Израиле (Meir et al.), грамматическим изменениям в русском языке под влиянием английского языка среди русско-английских двуязычных иммигрантов, проживающих в США (Isurin), многоязычием и транслингвизмом среди русскоязычных сообществ на Кипре, в Эстонии и в Швеции (Karava et al.), присутствию русского языка в языковом ландшафте Нюрнберга, Германия (Ritter) и в трех азиатских странах – Индии, Японии и Южной Кореи (Protassova et al.), использованию русского, казахского и распространению английского языка в практике именования и переименования (Smagulova & Madiyeva), а также о сохранению эритажного языка и идентичности в литовской диаспоре (Ramonienė & Ramonaitė). В статье А. Бранец и А. Вершик (Branets & Verschik) представлен структурный и экстралингвистический анализ рецептивного многоязычия, демонстрирующий, как эстонцы понимают украинский язык через знание русского языка. Г. Путята (Putjata) обращается к теме сохранения языка среди многоязычных учителей, суммируя результаты своего исследования, посвященного представлениям русско-ивритских говорящих о языковой нормальности в образовательной среде. Три рецензии на книги в конце данного выпуска включены с целью продемонстрировать, как в разных странах каждое новое поколение находит собственные способы использования своего эритажного языка в зависимости от отношений между языком и обществом,

языковыми установками и восприятием. Это позволяет более отчетливо представить себе процесс сохранения русского языка и языковых контактов постсоветских иммигрантов в Европе и за ее пределами по сравнению с особыми ситуациями с участием двух или более языков, исследованных и представленных в этих научных изданиях.

5. Заключение

Из-за политической, экономической и демографической нестабильности не только этнические меньшинства (в основном евреи и этнические немцы), но и этнические группы уже независимых государств начали эмигрировать с постсоветского пространства в страны Центральной и Западной Европы. Миграция между новыми независимыми государствами, которая включала добровольное перемещение репатриантов, также стала чрезвычайно интенсивной. Как естественный результат миграционных процессов, многие языки постсоветских иммигрантов были унаследованы от семей мигрантов в новой среде и начали последовательно составлять часть их языковой среды. Лингвистический результат стал многоуровневым: в то время как некоторые постсоветские мигранты сформировали большие сообщества экспатов, которые выступают за сохранение, использование и жизнеспособность традиционных языков, многие другие интегрировались в свои принимающие общества и/или ассимилировались культурно и лингвистически, отказавшись от своего эритажного языка. Наш специальный выпуск показывает, что ни одно из этих изменений не произошло в одночасье, и сложно определить, какие социолингвистические изменения все еще продолжаются.

Ожидаемый результат специального номера – выявленные закономерности, которые определяют социолингвистические и когнитивные аспекты жизнеспособности эритажных языков, а также влияние экстралингвистических факторов на внутренние системы эритажных языков. В этом контексте в специальном номере предлагается дальнейший анализ социальных отношений в соответствующих обществах и языковых системы в эритажных языках. Эти социолингвистические реалии, окружающие русский язык, можно вкратце описать с помощью эстонской поговорки: “Heal lapsel mitu nime” («У хорошего ребенка много имен»). В своем сборнике А Мустайоки, Е. Протасова и М. Еленевская (Mustajoki et al. 2020a) задаются вопросом: «Русский язык как коммуникативный инструмент: Лингва-франка, посредник или что-то еще?» и дают обзор возможных сценариев. Данный специальный выпуск, отвечая на некоторые уже знакомые вопросы, приводит к новым вызовам; само собой разумеется, что отдельные непредвиденные особенности русского языка обнаруживаются в более сложной ситуации (например, интерференция, транслингвизм, рецептивное многоязычие).

Как показывают тематические исследования в нашем специальном номере, русский и другие языки (например, литовский) постсоветских иммигрантов в Европе и за ее пределами могут стать (культурным)

наследием, приобретенным в основном в качестве домашнего языка, часто без осознанной осведомленности или спланированной языковой политики семьи. Многие зависят не только от определенных способов использования языка, его образовательного и экономического статуса в более широком сообществе, но и от детей как активных агентов, которые могут предоставить свои собственные наборы норм и ожиданий в отношении использования эритажного языка.

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Author contributions

Authors 1 and 2 contributed equally and should be considered co-first authors.

Acknowledgements

This article was supported by basic funding for research areas of national significance at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics of the University of Tartu.

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Article history:

Received: 30 May 2021

Accepted: 15 October 2021

Bionotes:

Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA (PhD) is Professor of Intercultural Communication and Head of the Communication Management Master's programme at Tallinn University. She is in charge of the management of the European Master's in Intercultural Communication programme. Her primary research interests are identity, language contacts and linguistic landscape. She is a Regional Representative (Europe) on the Executive Committee of International Association of Language and Social Psychology and a Management Committee Member of the European Family Support Network Cost Action: A bottom-up, evidence-based and multidisciplinary approach.

Contact information:

Tallinn University

Baltic Film, Media and Arts School

Narva mnt 27, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia

e-mail: anastassia.zabrodskaia@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8082-3549

Olga IVANOVA is Associate Professor of General Linguistics at the Spanish Language Department of the University of Salamanca, Spain. Her primary research interest is language development during the lifespan, with particular focus on heritage language acquisition and bilingualism and language impairment in old age and dementia. Olga Ivanova is member of the research group “Neurophysiology, cognition and behaviour” of Castile-Leon Institute of Neurosciences and of the research group “Aging and dependency prevention” of Institute for Biomedical Research, both in Spain. She is founder and president of the Association for Russian as Heritage Language in Salamanca, Spain.

Contact information:

University of Salamanca
Faculty of Philology, Spanish Language Department
Plaza de Anaya s/n, 37008 Salamanca, Spain
e-mail: olga.ivanova@usal.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-9657-5380

Сведения об авторах:

Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ (PhD) – профессор межкультурной коммуникации Таллинского университета, руководитель магистерских программ «Управление коммуникацией» и «Европейские магистры по межкультурной коммуникации». Сфера ее научных интересов – идентичность, языковые контакты и языковой ландшафт. Является региональным представителем Европы в Исполнительном комитете Международной ассоциации языков и социальной психологии, а также членом Межправительственной структуры по координации национальных исследований на европейском уровне по вопросам многоязычной семьи.

Контактная информация:

Tallinn University
Baltic Film, Media and Arts School
Narva mnt 27, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia
e-mail: anastassia.zabrodskaia@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-8082-3549

Ольга ИВАНОВА – доцент кафедры испанского языка университета Саламанки, Испания. Сфера ее научных интересов включает эволюцию владения языком в течение жизни, в особенности в условиях использования эритажных языков и двуязычия, а также изменения во владении языком в пожилом возрасте. Является научным сотрудником исследовательской группы «Нейрофизиология, познание и поведение» в Институте нейронаук Кастильи и Леона, рабочей группы «Старение и профилактика зависимости» в Институте биомедицинских исследований (Испания), а также основателем и президентом Ассоциации русского языка как эритажного в Саламанке (Испания).

Контактная информация:

University of Salamanca
Faculty of Philology, Spanish Language Department
Plaza de Anaya s/n, 37008 Salamanca, Spain
e-mail: olga.ivanova@usal.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-9657-5380



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-855-885>

Research article

Maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany: A longitudinal approach

Bernhard BREHMER

University of Konstanz
Konstanz, Germany

Abstract

The study discusses the perspectives of long-term maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany. Based on data from a longitudinal study (2014–2018) we investigated changes in the sociolinguistic situation of 19 adolescent heritage speakers and in their proficiency in Russian. The aim was to investigate whether changes in the participants' sociolinguistic situation are reflected in their knowledge of Russian. Data on the sociolinguistic situation were collected via an extensive questionnaire that the participants had to fill out once a year. Language proficiency was measured by experimental tasks targeting different linguistic domains. For the current paper, we used data from the longitudinal measurement of lexical and grammatical proficiency. The results revealed that the participants' exposure to Russian input is decreasing in several domains over time, especially concerning media consumption and personal visits to the homeland. Russian is increasingly restricted to interactions with parents, and to educational settings (classes in Russian as a foreign or heritage language). Regarding language attitudes, our participants explicitly consider Russian important primarily for family interactions and cultural factors, but less with regard to career goals. Nevertheless, there was a positive trend in lexical and grammatical proficiency. We interpret these findings as a result of the prolonged exposure to heritage language instruction which leads to a stabilized proficiency in Russian. Given the institutional support and the size of the community, we hypothesize that the perspectives for long-term maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany are better than for Russian heritage speaker communities in other countries.

Keywords: *Russian, heritage language, sociolinguistic factors, language attitudes, language proficiency, Germany*

For citation:

Brehmer, Bernhard. 2021. Maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany: A longitudinal approach. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 855–885. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-855-885>

Научная статья

Сохранение «эритажного» русского языка в Германии: лонгитюдный подход

Бернхард БРЕМЕР

Констанцский университет
Констанц, Германия

Аннотация

В статье рассматриваются перспективы длительного сохранения русского языка как эритажного (унаследованного) в Германии. При помощи лонгитюдного исследования (2014–2018 гг.) мы изучили изменения социолингвистической ситуации у 19 носителей русского эритажного языка

в подростковом возрасте параллельно с изменениями в их владении русским языком. Целью исследования было выяснить, отражаются ли изменения социолингвистической ситуации участников на знании языка. Данные о социолингвистической ситуации были собраны с помощью подробной анкеты, которую участники заполняли раз в год. Уровень владения языком проверялся с помощью экспериментальных заданий в различных языковых областях. В настоящей работе мы использовали данные лонгитюдного анализа знаний в области лексики и грамматики. Результаты показали, что с течением времени у подростков количество контактов с русским языком в разных сферах его употребления снижается. Особенно это касается потребления СМИ и частоты личных визитов на родину родителей. Русский язык все больше ограничивается общением с родителями и образовательной средой (занятия русским языком как иностранным или унаследованным). Что касается отношения к языку, то подростки однозначно считают русский язык важным в первую очередь для семейного общения и сохранения культуры, но в меньшей степени для профессиональных целей. Тем не менее, наблюдалась положительная тенденция в лексическом и грамматическом владении языком. Мы интерпретируем эти результаты как итог длительного обучения унаследованному языку, что приводит к стабилизации уровня владения им. Учитывая институциональную поддержку и количество носителей русского языка, мы предполагаем, что перспективы длительного сохранения эритажного русского языка в Германии лучше, чем у русскоязычных сообществ в других странах.

Ключевые слова: *русский язык, «эритажный» (унаследованный) язык, социолингвистические факторы, отношения к языку, знание языка, Германия*

Для цитирования:

Brehmer B. Maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany: A longitudinal approach. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 855–885. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-855-885>

1. Introduction

Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union Russian has become one of the most widely spoken allochthonous minority languages in Germany (cf., among many others, Besters-Dilger 2013, Brehmer 2007, Isurin & Riehl 2017). Estimations of the number of Russian-speaking inhabitants in Germany vary from 2 to 6 million speakers, depending on the criteria applied to count speakers of Russian in Germany (e.g., place of birth, L1 speakers, heritage speakers, foreign language learners etc., see Lokshin 2020). According to official statistics, more than 3.5 million people who lived in Germany in 2017 either immigrated themselves from states of the former Soviet Union to Germany or had at least one parent who did so (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018: 130). Among them, 1.38 million people have their roots in the Russian Federal Republic (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018: 127). While we can safely assume that individuals who immigrated as adults from Russia and possibly also other member states of the former SU retain at least a basic knowledge of Russian, this cannot be presupposed for people who immigrated as small children or were even born in the new host country. Only 1.1 million people who came from the Russian Federal Republic to Germany migrated themselves. Consequently, more than 280.000 individuals were born in Germany to families, where at least one parent is an L1 speaker of Russian (Statistisches Bundesamt 2018: 130). It is this group of individuals that we will focus on in our contribution. As usual in

linguistic research, we will use the label ‘heritage speakers’ to refer to this group: “A heritage speaker is an early bilingual who grew up hearing (and speaking) the heritage language (L1) (in our case: Russian, B.B.) and the majority language (L2) (in our case: German, B.B.) either simultaneously or sequentially in early childhood (...), but for whom L2 became the primary language at some point during childhood (at, around, or after the onset of schooling). As a result of language shift, by early adulthood a heritage speaker can be strongly dominant in the majority language, while the heritage language will now be the weaker language” (Benmamoun et al. 2013: 133). Given the fact that the peak of immigration from countries of the former Soviet Union to Germany was in the early 1990s, the offspring of the first generation of Russian-speaking immigrants are currently building their own families which inevitably involves the decision whether to transmit their heritage language Russian to the following (= third) generation or not.

For this reason, our contribution focuses on the perspectives of long-term maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in Germany. Due to the significant number of speakers of Russian in Germany, there has been a constantly growing body of research on (heritage) Russian in Germany. The sociolinguistic studies among them tackle the question of the general vitality of Russian as a minority language in Germany (cf. Achterberg 2005), but also issues related to language use and attitudes in families (Anstatt 2013, 2017, Levkovych 2012, Ries 2013) or identity matters (e.g. Dietz & Roll 2017, Isurin 2011, Meng & Protassova 2003, 2009, 2013, Schnar 2010, Ždanova 2004, 2008a, 2008b). Most of the (socio)linguistic studies on Russian in Germany share one feature: they rely on data drawn from cross-sectional designs only. In case that developmental tendencies are addressed in the papers, the respective observations are based on a comparison of different age groups of Russian heritage speakers (apparent time approach, cf., e.g., Böhmer 2015 or Brehmer & Usanova 2017) or on a comparison of first- and second-generation immigrants from the former Soviet Union (cf., e.g., Brehmer & Mehlhorn 2015, Brehmer & Kurbangulova 2017 or Warditz 2019). ‘True’ longitudinal designs which focus on the linguistic trajectories of individuals or the development of sociolinguistic factors over the life-span of Russian-German bilinguals are clearly the exception. In this respect, the data discussed in studies by Meng and Protassova (cf., e.g., Meng 2001 and Meng & Protassova 2017) are almost the only source of information on long-term bilingual development of speakers of Russian in Germany. They followed several families of Russian Germans (Russian: *русские немцы*, German: *Spätaussiedler* ‘repatriates’), i.e. ethnic Germans who repatriated to Germany from the former Soviet Union in the early 1990s, in a systematic participant observation from the time of their arrival in Germany over a time span of more than 20 years. Although the authors established some common trends in the development of sociolinguistic factors as well as their impact on the proficiency in both languages (cf. Meng & Protassova 2017), the studies lack a systematic and quantifiable analysis of the interplay between the self-reports and the linguistic data throughout the observed time span.

To address this research gap, we conducted a longitudinal analysis of a sample of adolescent Russian heritage speakers where we focused both on the development of sociolinguistic factors which shape the process of language maintenance and/or language loss, and the linguistic development of their heritage language Russian. Section 2 provides a brief summary of previous research on sociolinguistic factors which impact on language maintenance in heritage speakers of Russian. In Section 3 we introduce the research questions of the current study, followed by the introduction of our study design and the participants in Section 4. Section 5 presents the results regarding the development of some selected sociolinguistic factors and aspects of the participants' proficiency in heritage Russian over the investigated time span. Section 6 discusses the results and the interrelation between the sociolinguistic and linguistic developmental trends in our sample of speakers. The paper ends with some general conclusions and an outlook on some open questions that we could not address in our paper.

2. Sociolinguistic factors shaping language maintenance in Russian heritage speakers

Due to the fact that populations of Russian heritage speakers can be found in many countries all over the world, there have been quite a lot of attempts to identify (socio)linguistic factors which influence the maintenance and transmission of Russian to the following generation(s) (cf., among others, Armon-Lotem et al. 2011, Gagarina & Klassert 2018, Eriksson 2015, Karpava et al. 2018, Otwinowska et al. 2021, Rodina et al. 2020, Zemskaja 2001). Building on general models of assessing language vitality in immigrant settings (Lo Bianco 2008, Lo Bianco & Peyton 2013), Laleko (2013) mentions three groups of factors which prove to be the most influential parameters of language maintenance and shift in the Russian-speaking community in the U.S.:

2.1. Sources of capacity development in Russian heritage language acquisition

Capacity refers to “the level of knowledge that heritage speakers of Russian have in the heritage language and the factors that create conditions for development of such capacity” (Laleko 2013: 89). These factors include possibilities to receive formal instruction in the heritage language, e.g. by attending community schools or other extra-curricular educational settings which target heritage language learners. The extent to which such community schools or other opportunities for receiving heritage language instruction are available depends on the countries of residence: while the situation in the U.S. seems to be characterized by a lack of community schools for heritage learners of Russian (Kagan 2005: 213f., cited in Laleko 2013), Russian-speaking parents in Germany can get major support in their efforts to transmit Russian to their children from various institutions. These include public schools which offer classes of Russian as a foreign or heritage language, Saturday/Sunday (community) schools as well as cultural, church or private institutions which organize language courses but also different leisure activities

where children can get acquainted with various aspects of Russian culture¹. However, the availability of such offers varies regionally due to the federal educational system in Germany. Especially in rural areas access to external support in heritage language transmission is often limited. Furthermore, even when such support is established locally, the use of these opportunities is always linked to additional efforts (regarding time and perhaps also money) for the families. It also requires a high level of motivation from the children's side. Thus, it is "not uncommon for parents to serve as the primary (and often only) source of linguistic input for children in immigrant families. For Russian, language exposure at home emerges as the most significant factor in heritage language maintenance and transmission" (Laleko 2013: 93f.). The success of intergenerational transmission of Russian crucially depends on the patterns of daily language use at home, i.e., the amount of input the children receive in their heritage language from other family members. Studies on family language policies in Russian heritage communities revealed a direct correlation of successful transmission of the heritage language Russian with parental language preferences, repertoires and active use of Russian in the families (see, among many others, Eriksson 2015, Karpava et al. 2018, Kopeliovich 2010, Otwinowska et al. 2021). Again, the circumstances for Russian heritage speakers to receive sufficient encouragement from their parents to actively use Russian on a daily basis seem to be more favorable in the European context when compared to the U.S.² The parents' decision regarding the amount and consistency of the use of the heritage language in family interactions reflects such considerations like the need for communication with the extended family in their countries of origin, the frequency of contact with other bilingual families in the host country, the social and educational environment (SES, level of education and/or employment status of parents etc.) or psychological factors (e.g. degree of integration in the host society, attitudes towards majority and heritage language and culture etc.) (see Karpava et al. 2018 for an overview of relevant research on these factors).

2.2. Opportunities for the use of Russian in different domains

Besides the amount of passive exposure to the heritage language, the possibility to actively use Russian in a wide range of contexts is another crucial factor for language maintenance by heritage speakers of Russian. Given the large size of the Russian-speaking community in Germany (cf. Section 1) and the rather small size of the host country (compared, e.g., to the U.S.) as well as the still

¹ See, e.g., Brehmer & Mehlhorn (2018) for an illustration of the range of possibilities to receive Russian heritage language instruction in Germany. Kreß (2014) offers insights into the structure, topics and organization of Russian heritage language instruction in one community school in Lower Saxony.

² See Laleko (2013) and the studies cited therein for the American context vs. the above mentioned studies on family language policies in Russian-speaking families in several European countries like Sweden, Ireland, Estonia or Cyprus.

ongoing immigration from Russian-speaking countries to Germany (although on a much lower level compared to the 1990s), the general prospects for Russian language maintenance are quite favorable. Although the majority of Russian speakers does not live in clearly defined ethnic or linguistic neighborhoods in Germany (with some local exceptions, see Dück 2020: 304), which might also be a consequence of the Russian-speaking population's heterogeneity in Germany³, there are quite numerous opportunities to use Russian outside the home. Especially in major cities and large metropolitan areas the Russian-speaking diaspora in Germany has established close social, cultural and educational networks and an infrastructure supporting the use of Russian in different domains outside the family circle: clubs, cultural associations, religious organizations, Saturday/Sunday schools, cafes and restaurants, ethnic shops and grocery stores which offer Russian-language press, films, books or foodstuffs, but also their 'own' travel and insurance agencies, medical offices, lawyers, discotheques or nursery schools (Besters-Dilger 2013: 189). The availability of public services and business in Russian also provides employment opportunities where knowledge of Russian is required⁴. Furthermore, with the advance of the Internet and subsequent developments towards global interconnectedness (including e-mails, social networks, Skype, satellite radio and television) both access to Russian-language media (from the homeland and from Germany-based providers) and possibilities to maintain links with people, culture and life in the countries of origin are nowadays virtually unlimited. However, despite these most favorable sociolinguistic conditions for language maintenance, the question arises to what extent the individuals make use of these facilities. Laleko (2013: 95f.) reports results from studies on media use among second-generation Russian Americans which reveal that "these growing

³ The Russian-speaking population in Germany is split into three distinct groups that are distinguished not only by their histories and motivations to come to Germany: (i) Russian Germans, i.e., ethnic German repatriates from the former Soviet Union who were immediately eligible for German citizenship after their arrival; (ii) Jews from the former Soviet Union who were allowed to enter Germany in the 1990s in order to strengthen the Jewish communities in Germany; (iii) ethnic Russians who immigrated to Germany due to various motivations and under different legal circumstances (students, au pairs, scientists, spouses etc.) (cf. Besters-Dilger 2013, Brehmer 2007 or Isurin & Riehl 2017). Despite their common linguistic background with Russian as their L1, they differ with respect to ethnicity, geographic, economic and educational backgrounds, their legal and socio-political status in Germany, but even more so regarding their language attitudes and affiliation to the Russian culture. As a consequence, the single groups often show a high degree of internal coherence (including a preference for in-group marriages and friendships, see Meng & Protassova 2017: 189), and often avoid close contact with members of the other groups (cf. Behrend 2014 or Isurin & Riehl 2017). While differences in identity building and language attitudes have been already addressed in research (cf., e.g., Irwin 2017), there is still no study that systematically investigates possible differences between these groups concerning actual L1 maintenance.

⁴ We know from studies on L1 attrition that the use of the home language in professional contexts (i.e. as a translator, teacher etc.) is a very strong predictor for language maintenance (cf. Schmid & Dusseldorp 2010). Zemskaja (2001) also stresses the importance of the use of Russian in professional settings ("русский язык – кормилец") as a main motivation to preserve the heritage language.

opportunities do not seem to change the established patterns of preference for English-language media”, so that the heritage speakers “listen predominantly to American music, watch American movies, and spend time on the Internet visiting English language websites”. The latter tendency cannot be accounted for by the lack of literacy skills in Russian, because even the majority of those heritage speakers who acquired basic literacy skills do not to access Russian internet resources or read in Russian outside of school (Carreira & Kagan 2011, cited in Laleko 2013: 96).

2.3. Heritage learner motivations and desire for continued use of Russian

The last group of factors concerns mostly the attitudes of heritage speakers and their parents towards maintenance of Russian and its transmission to the next generations. Positive attitudes towards Russian are also a prerequisite for capacity building and making an effort for creating opportunities for language use within and outside the family circle. Consequently, “linguistic attitudes may directly influence the choice of language in certain situations” and have “an indirect effect on the acquisition and attrition of linguistic structures themselves” (Anstatt 2017: 204). In her empirical study on language attitudes among second-generation speakers of Russian in Germany, Anstatt (2017) – following a model proposed by Garrett (2010) – distinguishes between three different components of individual dispositions towards languages which strongly interact and overlap to a certain extent:

(i) *Affective language attitudes* relate to “feelings like pride or comfort using the language, to aesthetic judgments and to loyalty towards the language” (Anstatt 2017: 205). These feelings are often connected with a general desire to maintain autonomy and distinctiveness from the host culture or with a desire for identification with the majority group.

(ii) *Cognitive components* of language attitudes are of a more objective nature and pertain to “judgments about the perceived benefit from the language”, i.e. the belief that the language can be useful in certain situations (Anstatt 2017: 208).

(iii) *Behavioral attitudes* include aspects of the predisposition to use a language in a given situation and therefore overlap with factors that were discussed in Section 2.2. Thus, Anstatt treats answers to questions concerning the frequency of use of Russian in different situations that allow for a relatively free language choice as indicative of language preferences and, therefore, as reflecting behavioral attitudes towards the heritage language (Anstatt 2017: 209).

All three components are inevitably influenced by the real and/or perceived prestige of the heritage language in the host community⁵.

⁵ In an interesting study on Russian in Israel, Remennick (2003) could show how the increasing ethnic power of Russian speakers during the 1990s and the ensuing higher status of Russian as the most important immigrant language in Israel motivated members of earlier waves of immigration from the Soviet Union to Israel to return to Russian as a means of everyday communication after many years of oblivion.

2.4. Vitality of heritage Russian in Germany: Observations from previous studies

For the American context, Laleko (2013: 98) states that the main motivation of heritage speakers to maintain Russian “is fueled to a large extent by affective, rather than purely practical, factors and aims first and foremost at preserving familial continuity and strengthening emotional ties to the cultural heritage”. Thus, it is considered predominantly as a “bridge to the past”. Professional goals are hardly mentioned as the driving force for (re-)learning the heritage language which according to Laleko points to the rather few opportunities that knowledge of Russian provides in the American job market. It is for these reasons that Laleko provides a rather pessimistic view on the future of Russian as a heritage language in the U.S. She considers it to be an endangered language which does not survive beyond the second generation (cf. Laleko 2013: 89). Previous research on linguistic vitality of Russian as a heritage language in Germany reveals some striking parallels to these observations, but differs with regard to predictions regarding its future. Thus, Russian is the language that yields the highest scores on the vitality index proposed for Slavic immigrant languages in Germany in the comparative study of Achterberg (2005). However, this prominent position is mostly due to the size of the community as well as its role as the dominant and most frequently used language for everyday communication within and partly also outside the family (Achterberg 2005: 252). Two caveats have to be mentioned when interpreting these results: First, data collection for Achterberg's study took place in the early 2000s, so 20 years have passed since then which might lead to divergent results when the current situation is under focus. Second, Achterberg did not distinguish between first- and second-generation immigrants which does not allow to draw more fine-grained conclusions with regard to the vitality of Russian as a heritage language for people who were already born in the host country. An additional hint that the situation for heritage Russian in Germany might not be so different from the American context comes from the results of Anstatt's study on language attitudes of second-generation speakers of Russian in Germany (Anstatt 2017): Based on data from questionnaires and interviews with adolescent heritage speakers, she found that “Russian (...) is a language with a high affective value and enjoys a very high loyalty. It is closely linked to home and parents, and, somewhat less, to the maintenance of Russian culture” (Anstatt 2017: 210). German, on the other hand, is seen as less emotionally charged, but as a prerequisite for educational and professional success, and also as the language for communicating with peers, even with those who come from Russian-speaking families (Anstatt 2017: 210). This resembles very closely the “division of labor” between heritage and majority language which Laleko found for American Russian.

3. Aims of the present study

The current study specifically addresses the development over time of these three groups of sociolinguistic factors that shape Russian language maintenance in

a sample of adolescent heritage speakers. In contrast to previous studies, our data rely on a longitudinal design where we focused on the situation of second-generation speakers of Russian. We believe that it is this group of adolescent speakers who function as important decision-makers in questions of long-term maintenance of Russian in Germany. They play an important role in passing down a certain attachment to the Russian language and culture which will be decisive for the future of Russian in Germany (Eriksson 2015, Anstatt 2017). As Isurin and Riehl (2017: 5) state: “By looking at the second or 1.5 generation (...) of Russian migrants/repatriates we can project how integration, language acquisition, and attitudes toward language and culture maintenance shape those young people who might claim Germany as their home”. The specific situation of the second generation is very often stressed in heritage language research: On the one hand, there is the heritage language as the language of their families and the necessary link to maintain relationships with relatives and acquaintances in the countries of origin. On the other, there is the majority language as the language of education, employment and main means of communication with the environment (including peers). There seems to be a general agreement in heritage language research that the majority language almost inevitably develops into the primary language, whereas the heritage language turns into a secondary language which might be associated with some emotional value, but serves rather restricted functions in everyday life. Thus, it is predicted that the situation of the second generation is characterized by a steady decline of the use of the heritage language throughout the life-span and a rapid adoption of the majority language which gradually replaces the heritage language (see the definition for ‘heritage speaker’ cited in Section 1). It remains to be seen whether this characterization also fits the situation of Russian as a heritage language in Germany. The research questions that we want to address here include the following:

RQ1: Do the sociolinguistic factors that have been identified as shaping the probability of heritage language maintenance (cf. Section 2) change over time in the examined sample of adolescent Russian heritage speakers in Germany?

RQ 2: Is the development of these factors accompanied by observable trends in the development of linguistic proficiency in the heritage language?

RQ3: Can the results obtained from RQ1 and RQ2 serve as predictors regarding long-term preservation of Russian as a heritage language in Germany?

4. Material and method

4.1. Participants

The data were gathered in a longitudinal project on Russian as a heritage language in Germany. Data collection started in summer 2014 and ended in 2018, with every participant being tested once a year (apart from 2016). When data collection started in 2014, we had 28 participants from Russian-speaking families who lived in two German metropolitan areas: Hamburg ($n = 16$) and Leipzig ($n = 12$). Four years later 19 participants took part in the last wave of data collection

(ten from Hamburg and nine from Leipzig). As our study addresses the longitudinal development, only those participants were included in the sample who took part in all four points of data collection (2014, 2015, 2017, 2018). Table 1 offers an overview of these 19 participants' basic demographic characteristics.

Table 1

Participants' demographic characteristics	
Variable	Participants
Sex	9 males; 10 females
Age at first testing (mean (SD))	12.3 (0.82)
Place of birth	Germany (n = 12) Russian Federation (n = 4) Ukraine, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan (per each n = 1)
Age at immigration [foreign borns] (mean (SD))	10.1 months (5.2)
Group affiliation	Russian Germans (n = 8) Jewish (n = 6) Mixed families (n = 4) ⁶ , Others (n = 1)
Educational background	Higher secondary school (n = 16) Middle secondary school (n = 3)
Access to (any kind of) Russian language instruction	yes (n = 14), no (n = 5)

For our study, we specifically focused on teenage heritage speakers who had rather recently started to attend secondary school (grades 6 and 7). According to the literature (see Section 1), this is the time where a shift to the majority language as the dominant language is expected. On the other hand, at least some of our informants had the possibility to select their heritage language Russian as a regular school subject. Two participants took advantage of this and attended lessons in Russian as a second foreign language starting from grade 6. Our sample is certainly not representative of all adolescents who grow up in Russian-speaking families in Germany, which limits the possibility to generalize the findings. First, 74% of our participants had at least some exposure to heritage language instruction (see Section 5.1. for more details). Second, their educational background is rather strong: 84% attend a higher secondary school, which is above average for children with a migration background in Germany. Third, as we recruited our sample in two German major cities (Hamburg, Leipzig), our findings reflect the situation in urban contexts rather than in rural areas, where the possibilities for gaining external support for heritage language development are more limited. Furthermore, the

⁶ In all mixed families except one Russian functions or functioned (in case the parents are now divorced) as the main means of communication: In two families the fathers are from Afghanistan, but lived in Russia or Ukraine for a longer period, where they met their partners (one mother is Russian, the other is Ukrainian). In another family the mother is German, but studied and worked in Russia for many years. Then, there is one family in our sample where the father is German and does not speak Russian, but the mother is an ethnic Russian and speaks her mother tongue to her children. And finally, in one family both parents were born in the Russian Federation, but did not disclose their affiliation to one of the above mentioned groups ('Others').

sample is biased since participation in the study was on a voluntary basis. Consequently, our study attracted mostly families with a high interest (and presumably also confidence) in taking measures to secure Russian language maintenance by their children. If, however, we will find a decline in Russian language use or a declining status of Russian over the examined time span even in these adolescents, the perspectives for heritage language maintenance of Russian in Germany in general do not look very promising.

4.2. Data collection

Our data collection proceeded in several steps: We gathered data for the sociolinguistic part of our study via an extensive written questionnaire that contained 34 mostly closed questions regarding (i) biographic information; (ii) the participants' language biography and acquisition; (iii) their attitudes towards the heritage and majority language; (iv) their language use and preferences in different communicative situations inside and outside of the family; (v) factors that might influence their language choice and the likelihood of code-switching when communicating with other people from the same linguistic background; (vi) the intensity of contact with people residing in the countries of origin. The questionnaires were delivered during all phases of data collection (i.e. once a year), which leads to a total of four completed questionnaires per participant. Questionnaires were not only distributed to the adolescents, but also separately to their mothers in order to cross-check the answers given by our adolescent participants with the answers delivered by their parents (e.g. regarding language use in the families). As an additional step, we conducted semi-structured in-depth oral interviews on the linguistic situation in the family and language attitudes with both adolescents and their parents to enrich and validate the data that were collected through the questionnaires. The interviews were transcribed, relevant topics were coded and analyzed against the data that were gathered in the questionnaires. For both questionnaire and interview, the participants could choose the language they felt most comfortable in (German or Russian). For the present investigation, however, we will focus on the quantitative data obtained from the questionnaires.

As we did not want to solely rely on the self-assessments of the proficiency in the heritage language, our informants were exposed to a large test battery. The tests mostly aimed at eliciting experimental, but also semi-spontaneous production data that targeted different domains (lexicon, grammar, phonetics). Furthermore, we used tests that provided data on different modalities of skills (oral comprehension, reading comprehension, reading aloud, writing, mediation) in the heritage and partly also the majority language (for a comprehensive overview on the applied test battery see Brehmer & Mehlhorn 2015). For the purpose of the current study, we will restrict ourselves to longitudinal data that targeted vocabulary knowledge and grammatical proficiency in Russian. For assessing lexical skills, we used a word-list/vocabulary task where the informants had to translate a list of 100 words from

German to the heritage language Russian ($n = 50$) and vice versa ($n = 50$). The test items were selected to include all parts of speech, different semantic domains and also different degrees of frequency. For each correctly translated item the participants scored one point, leading to a maximum score of 100 (see Brehmer et al. 2017 for more details on the vocabulary task). The participants had to take the same test with the same items at each wave of data collection. The same applies to the test on grammatical proficiency, where we used a Cloze test which targeted knowledge of nominal and verbal morphology in Russian. The test consisted of a coherent text in Russian that depicted a retelling of an episode taken from the famous *Maša i Medved'* cartoon movie. The text contained 74 gaps overall that had to be filled by the participants who had to use the correct grammatical form of the respective word that was given in the base form (nominative singular for nouns, pronouns and adjectives; infinitive for verbs) in brackets following the gaps. The test items focused mainly on nominal case inflection ($n = 30$) and verb inflection ($n = 32$). The test was delivered as a paper-and-pencil task for participants who could read and write in Russian. Orthographic errors were neglected when scoring the results for each participant. For illiterate participants each sentence of the text was read out orally by the test instructor and the participants had to give the correct grammatical form for each test item. In order to avoid learning effects the text was rewritten for data collection waves three and four, but the test items and target forms stayed the same. Test administrators were all L1 speakers of Russian. Interviews/questionnaires and language tests were conducted on different days.

5. Results

5.1. Sources of exposure to Russian

Following the three groups of parameters that were distinguished by Laleko (2013) for assessing heritage Russian vitality in the U.S., we first present the results of our analysis regarding the answers to questions which targeted the conditions for developing proficiency in the heritage language. This includes the *possibility to receive formal instruction in the heritage language*. One characteristic feature of the participants in our sample is that almost all of them attended schools or private organizations that offered Russian language courses. Only five participants (26%) were never exposed to formal teaching in Russian. The extent to which the other participants attended heritage language instruction, however, differs. As stated earlier, two participants selected their heritage language Russian as a regular school subject starting from grade 6 with an average amount of 4 lessons per week. Both of them had had already earlier exposure to teaching of Russian, because they attended Russian language courses which were offered by different state or private institutions while they went to kindergarten and/or elementary school. The same applies to the other participants in our sample who took Russian language classes at community schools or other extra-curricular educational settings, including private initiatives like organizing home classes (see Brehmer & Mehlhorn 2018 for

details). Three participants (16%) had already stopped attending Russian language classes before we started collecting our data in 2014, another three participants quit these extra-curricular activities during the longitudinal study. The duration of attendance of these additional courses exceeds five years and more for most of our participants; only three participants received instruction in the heritage language between two and four years. The amount of lessons per week also varies between 1.5 and 3 hours. Thus, the ratio of participants who have been exposed to formal instruction in their heritage language over a longer period is very high in our sample and stands in stark contrast to the situation in the U.S., where “[a]ccording to the most recent data, in a sample of 254 heritage learners of Russian, 84.3% have never studied Russian at a community or church school, and only 14.7% reported having attended a community or church event in their heritage language within the last six months” (Laleko 2013: 92).

As a next step, we analyzed *language preferences for everyday communication within the family* as a proxy for the amount of input that the adolescents receive in their heritage language at home. Figure 1 depicts the total number of participants who stated that they use only or predominantly Russian when addressing members of their core family (mother, father⁷, siblings) or that they are addressed only or predominantly in Russian by the respective family members. The picture evolving from the answers reveals a quite typical pattern for heritage language settings: The heritage language does not play a significant role in communicating with siblings, and this does not change throughout the examined period. It is mostly mothers (13–15 out of a total of 19) who address their adolescent children only or predominantly in Russian, while the number of fathers that use at least predominantly the heritage language when addressing their children is lower (8–9 out of 16). This might be related to the fact that in our sample mixed marriages consist of mothers with L1 Russian and fathers with other languages than Russian as L1, but even in most of these families Russian could have functioned as the language of intrafamily communication (see footnote 6). Thus, the rather low amount of adolescents (8–10) who perceived parent–parent communication to be predominantly or exclusively in Russian is striking.

Overall, the distribution of language preferences within the families stays rather stable over the examined period, with Russian playing a slightly less important role only during the second wave of data collection in 2015. A clearly positive trend can be established for Russian as the preferred language of the adolescents when they address their mothers: While in 2014 only ten informants declared that they use only or predominantly Russian when addressing their mothers, the number increased to 13 in 2018. Still, this does not eliminate the

⁷ The number of answers regarding language practices of fathers and mothers varies due to the fact that three participants lived in single-mother households, because the parents were divorced and/or lived separately during the data collection procedure.

asymmetry regarding the role of Russian as a preferred means of intrafamily communication between mothers and their children.

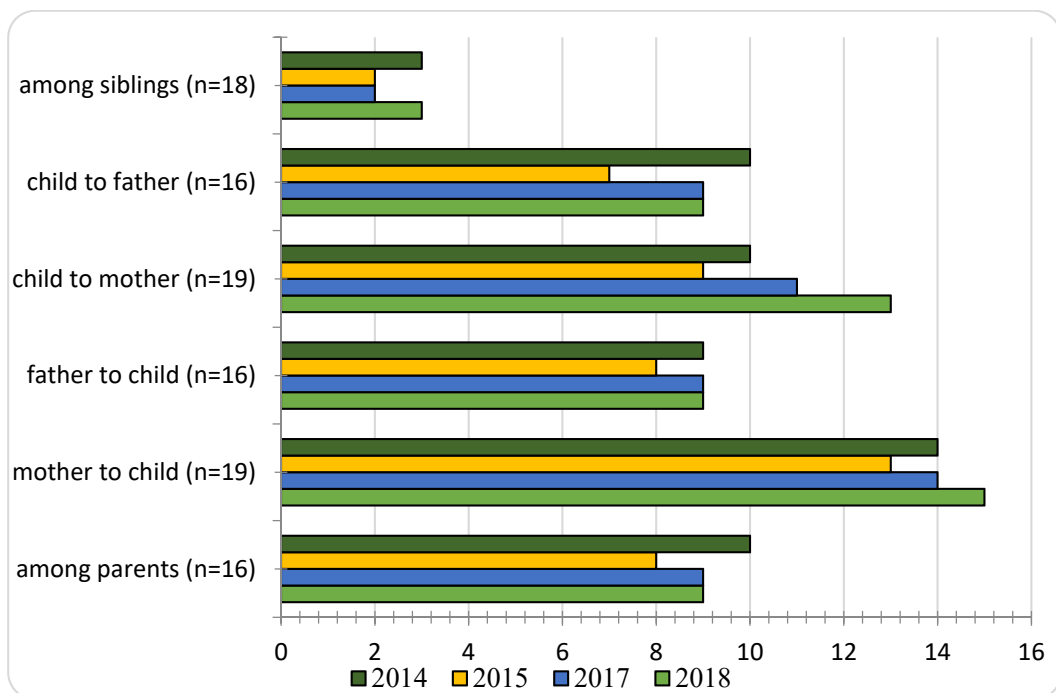


Figure 1. Exclusive or predominant use of Russian in interactions between family members

In order to gain insight into the consistency of language use in intrafamily communication, we asked our participants to reflect on their code-switching between Russian and German in interactions with different members of the core family. Figure 2 depicts the number of participants who stated that they regularly code-switch when communicating with the respective addressees. Again, the participants observed that they most often resort to code-switching when talking to their mothers which obviously mirrors the fact that mothers are most frequently addressed in Russian (see Figure 1). However, there seems to be a decrease in the amount of code-switching with parents over time. This clearly contrasts with code-switching when talking to siblings where more participants reported on instances of code-switching in the later waves of data collection compared to 2014 (increase from six participants in 2014 to eight participants in 2018). Still, the ratio of use of Russian when communicating with siblings is obviously quite low in the investigated sample.

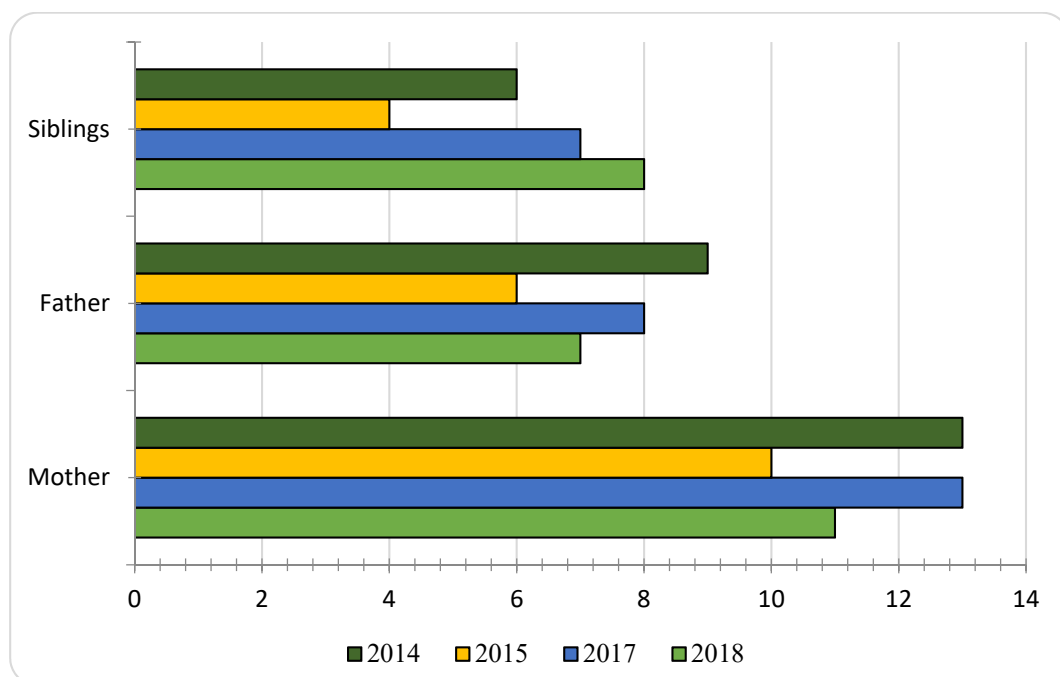


Figure 2. Regular code-switching when communicating with family members (n=19)

5.2. Use of Russian in different domains

Despite the highly developed Russian-speaking infrastructure in Germany mentioned in Section 2.2., the German host community clearly dominates the participants' *social networks* in our study, which limits the exposure to the heritage language Russian outside the family.⁸ Only one participant claimed to have a fellow student in school, with whom she engages in casual conversations in Russian. Three participants have Russian-speaking friends, which is why Russian is “sometimes” used for in-group communication. Regarding the immediate neighborhood, only two participants stated in 2014 that they sometimes use Russian when talking to neighbors or other adolescents living in the same district. During the later waves of data collection only one participant in 2018 reported on the same experience. Overall, there is neither an increase nor decrease in the low numbers of interlocutors outside the family with whom our participants can use Russian as a means of communication on a regular basis.

When asked about the efforts that are made to stay in touch with *relatives and friends in the home countries* of their parents, almost all participants (18 in 2014, 19 in 2015) claimed that they keep in touch with the countries of origin. These numbers drop, however, towards the end of our longitudinal studies: in 2017, only

⁸ These observations contrast with findings from other studies. Meng & Protassova (2017: 189) report that in their sample of Russian German young adults there is a clear tendency for in-group marriage and close relationships with other members of the same community. However, they also confirm that the preferred or only language of the informants among themselves is German, while Russian is only used occasionally.

17 participants reported on such contacts, in 2018, 16 participants continued their communication with family members and acquaintances in Russian-speaking countries. Figure 3 shows the ways in which these personal contacts are maintained.

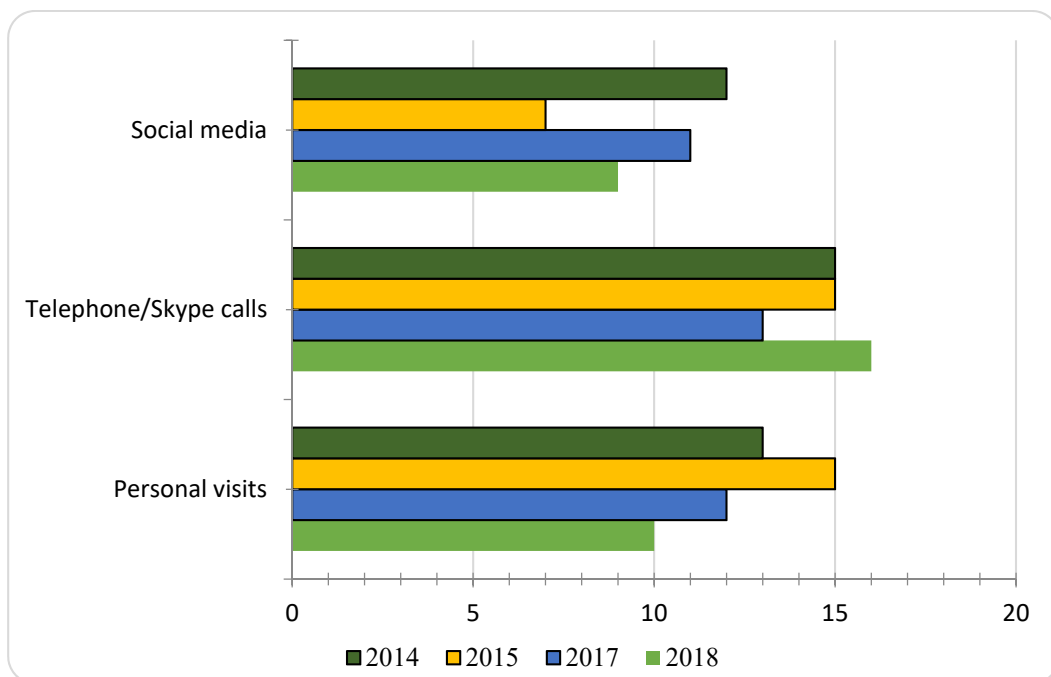


Figure 3. Ways of keeping in touch with relatives and acquaintances in the home countries

‘Classical’ telephone or skype calls are the preferred means for communicating with residents in the home countries, while the number of participants who pay regular personal visits drops from a maximum of 15 in 2015 to only ten in 2018 at the end of data collection. As the teenagers grow older, regular visits to the countries of origin obviously lose their attractiveness, which may be due to a preference for other holiday destinations or financial and administrative constraints (the need to apply for a visa). Communicating via social media plays a surprisingly marginal role, but this might be due to the fact that in most cases it is the grandparents or other elder relatives who still reside in the countries of origin, which does not make use of technically advanced media always feasible.

Media are another domain where the heritage language can be employed, e.g., for reading Russian websites or print media, watching Russian TV and films (via satellite or on the Internet) or listening to Russian music. With the advance of the digital age, heritage speakers nowadays have gained almost unlimited access to media in the heritage language, either produced in the countries of origin or by the local communities themselves, which are distributed on the Internet. Technical advance, thus, allows to counteract the geographical distance and “to participate, almost seamlessly and in real time, in the mainstream of Slavonic-language life of their homelands” (Kamusella 2013: 219). For Russian heritage speakers in the U.S.,

however, it was established that these media are used mostly by the elderly or middle-aged generation, while the younger generation clearly prefers English-language media (Dubinina & Polinsky 2013: 163, Laleko 2013: 95f.). Figure 4 depicts the regular use of Russian-language media by our participants over the examined time span.

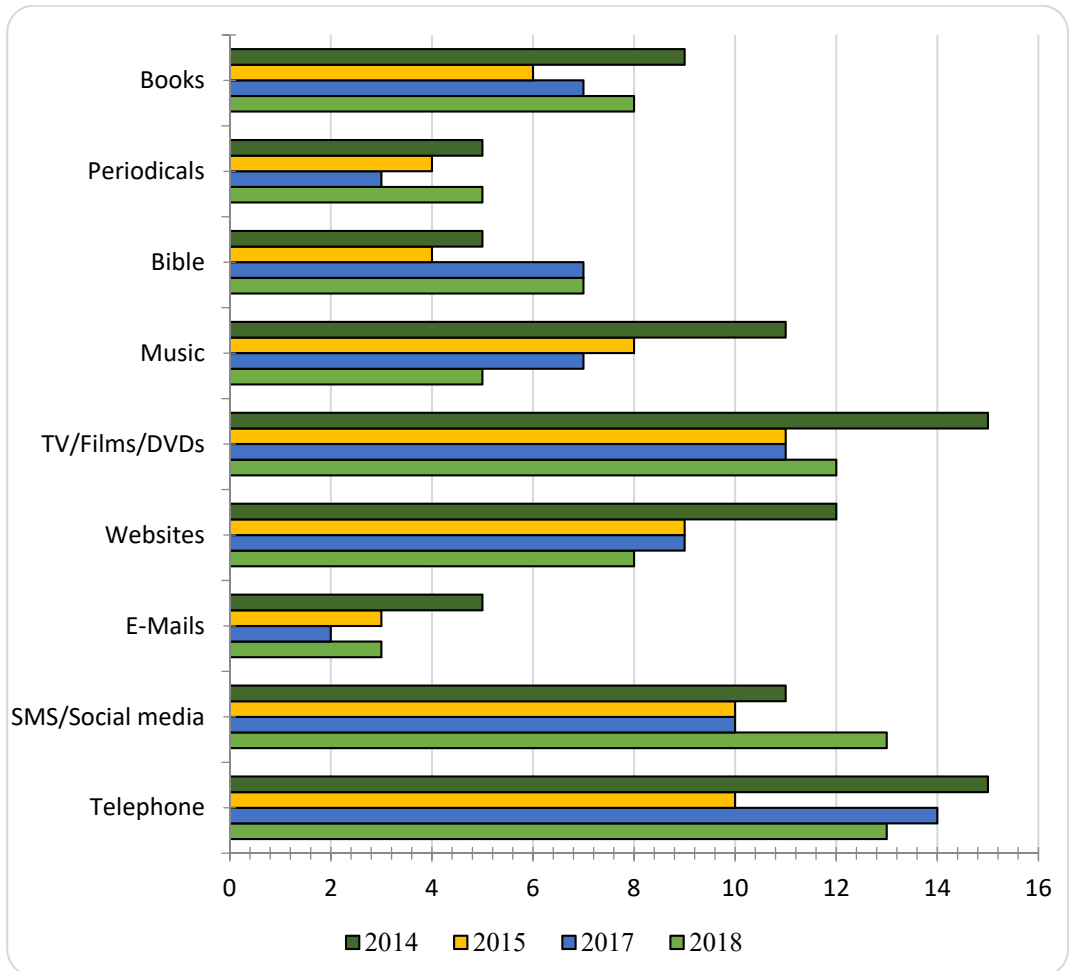


Figure 4. Regular use of Russian language by type of media

Our participants use their heritage language predominantly for media that enables them to stay in touch with friends and relatives (telephone, SMS, WhatsApp, social media like Facebook), with social media and short messenger services becoming a more important means over the examined period (13 out of 19 participants use Russian both for telephone calls and social media in 2018). Among the media that primarily serve entertaining functions our participants mostly resort to Russian-language TV programs and films, although the number of participants who regularly watch Russian films and TV programs is decreasing over time (15 in 2014, 12 in 2018). The same applies for visiting websites in Russian.

An even more rapid decrease can be observed in the domain of listening to Russian music (11 participants in 2014, just five in 2018).⁹ Classical print media such as books or periodicals are regularly consumed in Russian only by a minority of participants in our sample, with Russian books being far more popular than periodicals. This might be related to the fact that there is a high share of participants who still attend heritage language classes or classes in Russian as a foreign language, where reading (excerpts of) texts in Russian comprises an integral part of the teaching program. Media that require the active composition of longer texts in Russian (E-Mails) are the least popular in our sample. Generally speaking, there is an average decline in the regular use of Russian in almost all types of media, but still the number of participants who use or consume media in Russian is comparatively high when compared, e.g., to heritage speakers of Russian in the U.S. (cf. Carreira & Kagan 2011).

5.3. Attitudes towards Russian

The desire for maintaining the heritage language is crucially shaped by the degree of identification with the heritage language, the personal connection to it as well as the ethnic, linguistic and cultural identities of the heritage speakers (Laleko 2013: 97). In order to assess these factors in our sample, we focused on the affective components of attitudes towards the heritage and the majority language. Following a proposal by Anstatt (2017: 205), we analyzed answers to questions which “relate to feelings like pride or comfort using the language, to aesthetic judgments and to loyalty towards the language” as indicative of the degree of emotional identification with Russian and German. In a series of closed questions in the questionnaire our participants were asked to rate their assessment of several statements by using a five-point Likert scale (ranging from point 1 = “I thoroughly disagree with this statement” to point 5 = “I thoroughly agree with this statement”). Figure 5 depicts the scores for a couple of questions targeting the feeling of comfort our participants experience when they speak, hear, read and write Russian.

The participants feel on average very comfortable both when they hear and speak the heritage language and this does not change throughout the examined time span. When it comes to modalities of language use that require literacy skills (reading, writing), however, they clearly feel more uncomfortable and the degree of variation within the group increases considerably. This reflects more varied proficiencies in the realm of reading and writing among the participants which is a typical feature of heritage speakers (see Böhmer 2015 for heritage Russian in Germany). There is no clear developmental trend over time in either direction. Due to lack of space, we cannot go into detail regarding the corresponding values for the majority language German. Generally speaking, the participants show an equally,

⁹ Here again, our sample seems to differ from other studies on Russian heritage speakers in Germany: Anstatt (2017) and Meng & Protassova (2017) find for their informants that they consider it more customary to listen to Russian music than to watch Russian TV programs or films, as the high speech rate in Russian films makes it hard for them to follow.

although on average slightly lower positive attitude towards speaking and hearing German when compared with Russian. However, the values for reading and writing reveal a higher degree of comfort when this is done in German compared to Russian.¹⁰

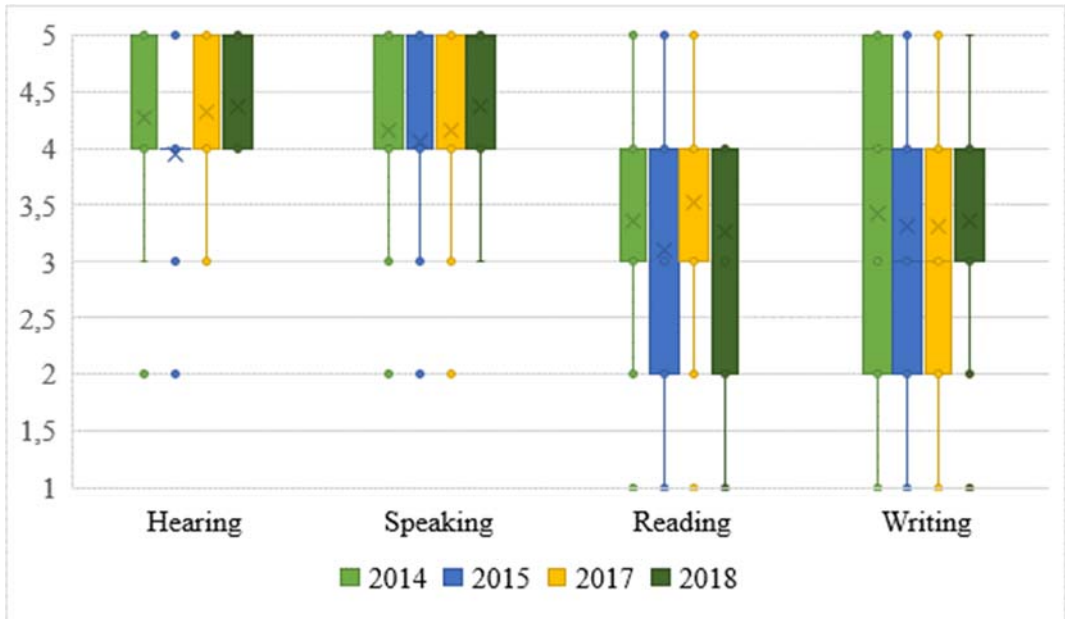


Figure 5. Assessment of statement "I like to hear / speak / read / write Russian"

To address the question of loyalty towards the heritage language, we included statements regarding the readiness of the participants to accept a partner that does (not) speak the heritage language (Question: "I would not mind having a (a) German-speaking / (b) Russian-speaking partner") and the willingness to pass the heritage language on to their own children (Question: "If I have children, I want them to first learn (a) German / (b) Russian"). Figure 6 shows the reactions to these two statements.

Our participants essentially do not care about the mother tongue of their future partners, which means that they do not exclude the possibility that their potential family language will be primarily (or only) German. This would place the whole burden of passing Russian on to their children solely on them if they decide that their children should learn Russian. Most of our participants want their children to speak Russian, but top priority is given to German if they had to choose which language their children should acquire first of all. With increasing age, the mean

¹⁰ Average scores for the data obtained in the last wave of data collection (2018): Hearing: 4.37 (Russian) / 4.16 (German); Speaking: 4.37 (Russian) / 4.21 (German); Reading: 3.26 (Russian) / 3.84 (German); Writing: 3.37 (Russian) / 4.0 (German). There are no major changes in these values throughout the examined time span for German. Interestingly, however, the average scores for hearing and speaking German show a slight decrease over time, while the opposite is true for these modalities in Russian.

rate of agreement with the statement that their children should learn Russian first is decreasing, but the fact that the majority still prefers a “neither agree nor disagree” reaction indicates that the ideal option for most of our informants is a bilingual education of their children, as can be deduced from the in-depth interviews that we conducted after the participants filled in the questionnaire.

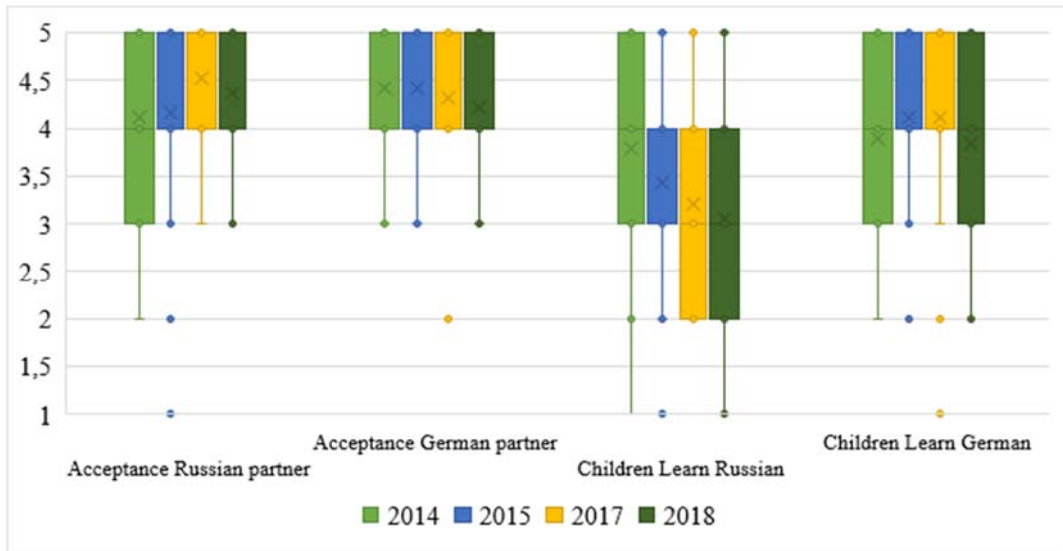


Figure 6. Assessment of statements (i) “I would not mind having a German-speaking / Russian-speaking partner” and (ii) “I want my children to first learn German / Russian”

Overall, the quantitative data from the questionnaires underline that Russian has a high emotional value for our participants. When asked why they decide to code-switch from Russian to German if a German-speaking person joins the group of otherwise bilingual interlocutors, none of our participants declared that this is due to the fact that they feel uncomfortable while speaking Russian in public. Single participants, however, admitted that they try to avoid the use of Russian in public places in Germany.¹¹ The majority explained their code-switching behavior in these instances as a result of the wish to get themselves understood by all interlocutors and/or considered it an issue of politeness not to choose a language that is unfamiliar to single interlocutors.

5.4. Longitudinal development of Russian language skills

Although this paper focuses on the longitudinal development of factors which determine the sociolinguistic situation of Russian adolescent heritage speakers in Germany, we are also referring to data taken from the linguistic part of the longitudinal study where we investigated the development of proficiency in the

¹¹ A maximum of four participants chose that option in the 2015 data collection wave, two persons opted for this answer in 2014 and 2017 while only one participant in 2018 admitted that this is a relevant factor for his/her code-switching behavior.

heritage language. Our aim is not to establish statistical relationships between the development of sociolinguistic factors and linguistic proficiency (for such an analysis compare, among others, Anstatt 2017), but to cross-check whether changes in the sociolinguistic situation are accompanied by observable trends in the development of language skills. For this purpose, we collected data on Russian language proficiency from experimental tests targeting different linguistic domains (see Section 4.2.).

5.4.1. Development of vocabulary knowledge

Figure 7 shows the results of the test targeting lexical proficiency in the heritage language from the longitudinal study. We replicated the same task at every data measurement point (see Section 4.2.).

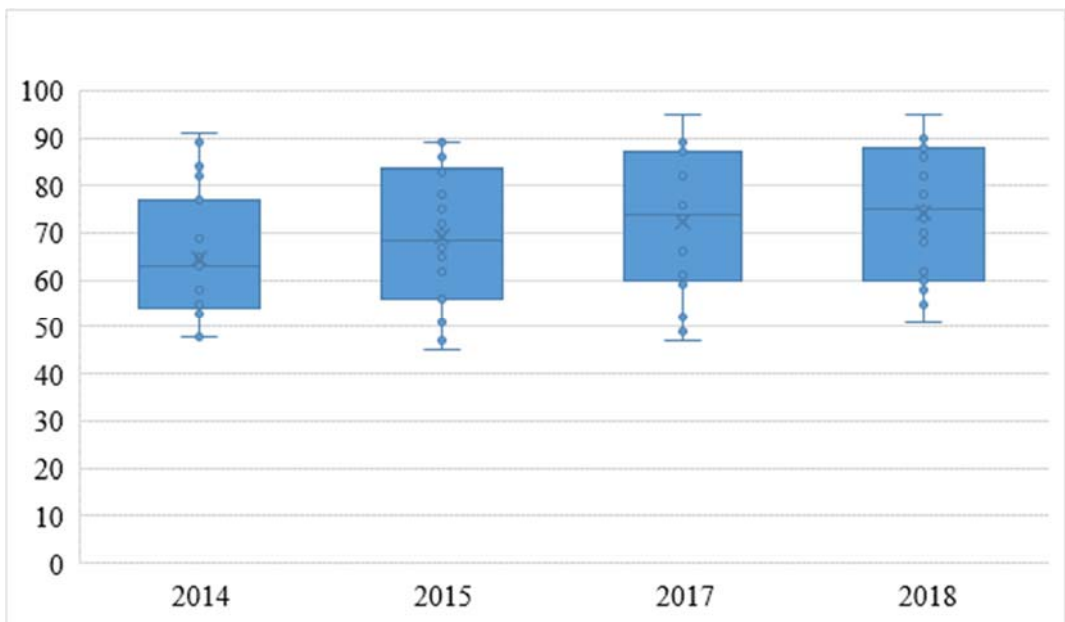


Figure 7. Development of lexical correctness scores (in %) over time

A look at the data reveals a steady increase in average lexical correctness scores. The average correctness scores rise from 64.74% in 2014 to 74.16% in 2018. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA yielded a highly significant improvement for the investigated time span ($F = 21.086$, $df = 3$, $p < .00001$).

5.4.2. Development of grammatical proficiency (inflectional morphology)

Figure 8 gives an overview on the development of the morphological correctness scores (in %) over the examined time span which we obtained from a Cloze test that targeted mostly noun and verb inflection in Russian (see Section 4.2.).

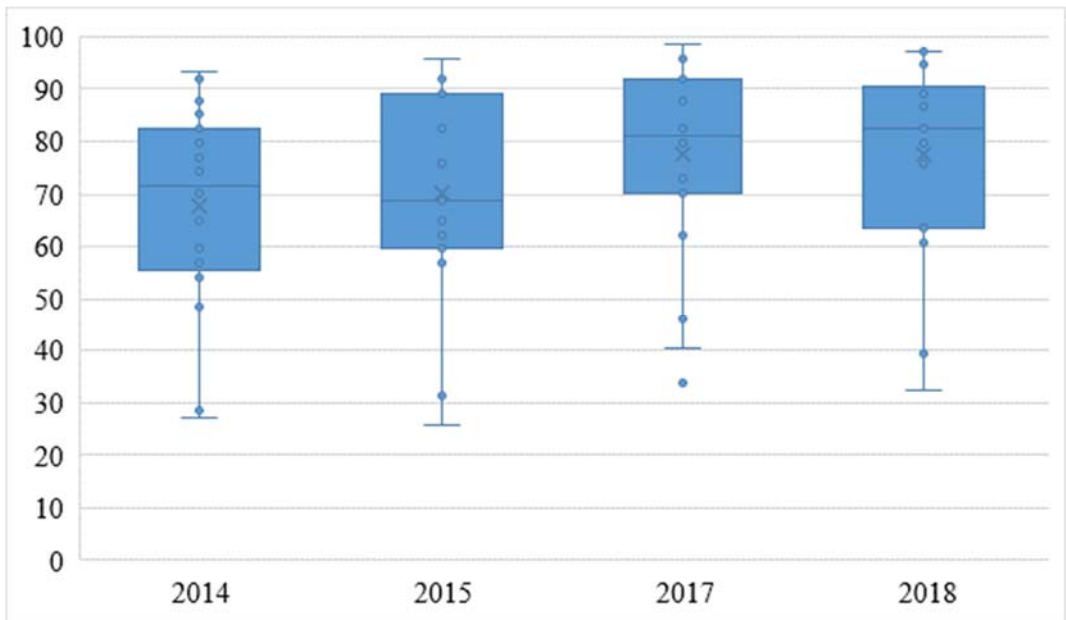


Figure 8. Development of morphological correctness scores (in %) over time

The data, again, show an increase in morphological correctness scores over time. This increase is especially conspicuous for the period between the data measurement points two and three, when the average correctness score rose from 70.1% in 2015 to 77.5% in 2017. A one-way repeated measures ANOVA revealed a significant difference for the investigated time span ($F = 14.141$, $df = 3$, $p < .00001$).

6. Discussion

6.1. Changes in sociolinguistic parameters during the examined time span (RQ1)

The sociolinguistic parameters that according to the previous literature influence the probability of heritage language maintenance do develop in different ways. With regard to the *exposure to explicit heritage language instruction* two participants selected their heritage language as their second foreign language subject in school at the beginning of our study. This ‘upgrading’ of the status of heritage language instruction from a previous additional activity that happened in the spare time of our participants to a regular school subject certainly enhances the prospect for future heritage language maintenance for these individuals. At the same time, three participants in our sample abandoned their attendance of heritage language instruction during our longitudinal study, another three stopped attending voluntary heritage language instruction already around the time when they entered secondary school, i.e. shortly before we began collecting our data. The fact that six informants resigned from explicit heritage instruction due to motivational problems and time constraints after or shortly before entering secondary school seems to be quite typical for adolescent heritage speakers. This tendency was also attested in

the interviews that we conducted with heritage language instructors during the project. However, given the rather long period that most of our informants were exposed to heritage language instruction in different institutions, we can presuppose that heritage language skills might have already stabilized by the time the participants stopped attending these language classes. The high level of lexical and grammatical proficiency in Russian (as well as for other modalities of heritage language proficiency that we could not report on here) that we found for most of our informants seem to corroborate this assumption.

Language exposure at home has been identified as one of the most significant factors in heritage language maintenance and transmission. Regarding this parameter, a positive development emerges from our data, as the amount of exposure the informants receive in their families remained quite stable during the longitudinal study. Despite the rather low amount of consistent use of Russian in parent–parent communication, the number of participants who claimed to use at least predominantly Russian when talking to their parents considerably increased, especially with regard to mother–child interactions. Mothers are the most active part in providing Russian input for their children (see Figure 1), which, however, might also reflect the fact that participation in our study was on a voluntary basis and therefore attracted mostly mothers and adolescents who had a certain interest in preserving the heritage language. Communication with siblings takes place mostly in the majority language German with code-switching between Russian and German being a rather common feature of these interactions. Although code-switching regularly also occurs with other family members, an increase in regular resorting to code-switching could only be found for interactions between siblings (see Figure 2). Anstatt (2017) reported on the importance of the use of Russian as a means of communication between peers for heritage language maintenance in adolescents. This factor, however, could not have been a contributing factor to the high and stable proficiency in Russian that we found in our sample, as the composition of our participants' social networks is clearly dominated by German as the means of communication with people outside the core family, including peers. This is true for the whole time span that we covered in our study.

A negative trend could be established for the *use of Russian in different domains*. The number of participants who regularly visit the home countries of their parents drops towards the end of our longitudinal study. Contacts with friends and relatives in these countries are maintained largely by telephone calls and less so by social media which might be due to older relatives still residing in the countries of origin. This decrease in active contacts to Russian-speaking people in the homeland is not compensated for by a higher use of media in Russian. On the contrary, the consumption of media that require higher literacy skills remains a source of input in Russian for less than one third (writing e-mails) or half (reading books) of our participants or shows a rapid decline in use (visiting websites) during the course of our study (see Figure 4). Even passive consumption of Russian via listening to Russian music loses importance towards the end of the study. Only visual media

like watching Russian programs or films and social media provide a constant source of regular linguistic exposure to Russian for two thirds of our participants. The preference for activities that do not require a high degree of literacy in Russian (speaking on the phone, watching TV and movies, composing short messages in social media) resembles the patterns found for media use in American heritage speakers of Russian (Carreira & Kagan 2011), despite the very high share of participants that have at least basic literacy skills in Russian in our sample.

The *attitudinal factors* that we obtained from the questionnaires indicate an overall stable positive attitude towards the heritage language. Our participants feel comfortable when using Russian (especially regarding hearing and speaking Russian, less so when they have to read it or write in it) and most of them have no reservations to use it in public (see Figure 5). However, their loyalty to Russian does not go so far that the language factor is considered a key variable for selecting a future partner. This hints at a reduced need to stay (linguistically) separate from the surrounding majority community. On the other hand, they do not exclude the possibility of having a partner from the Russian-speaking community. When asked whether they want to pass Russian on to their children, nearly all participants declared the wish to do so in the interviews that followed the questionnaire, although on average they granted a higher priority to the acquisition of the majority language German (cf. Figure 6), as this is considered the key to their children's educational and professional success. Additional support for the claim that our participants exhibit a high emotional attachment to their heritage language comes from the interviews. Almost all participants are proud of having an additional language “for free” compared to their monolingually raised peers. Knowledge of Russian is mostly considered an essential part of their linguistic identity and a cultural value in itself. This parallels the findings regarding the loyal and emotional relationship to Russian in other samples of Russian-speaking adolescents in Germany (see, among others, Anstatt 2017 or Meng & Protassova 2017). In our sample we observed a close relationship between the attitudes towards the Russian language and culture exhibited by the parents and their children (Burkhardt et al. 2018). However, when asked why they deem it important to maintain Russian, differences between the two generations emerge which relate to differences between affective and cognitive components of language attitudes (see Section 2.3.). The parents attribute a certain economic value to the knowledge of Russian, i.e., they see good proficiency in Russian as an asset on the job market in Germany, while the children place more emphasis on maintaining Russian as a sign of loyalty towards their family and their own roots, which means their attitudes are mostly affective by nature (for a similar finding see Anstatt 2017: 206f.).

6.2. Development of proficiency in Russian

For both investigated linguistic domains (knowledge of vocabulary and inflectional morphology) there was a positive trend in correctness scores obtained by our participants throughout the examined period. Participants received significantly higher scores towards the end of the longitudinal study. This proves

that there are no signs of attrition with regard to lexical and morphological proficiency in Russian on the group level. One could claim that the two investigated domains do not depend on literacy development and should therefore be less vulnerable to changes in the sociolinguistic setting like the abandonment of formal instruction in the heritage language or decreasing use of Russian media. However, the observed trend is also valid for other modalities of the language skills that we investigated in the project, including reading comprehension and orthographical correctness scores.¹² In sum, our participants exhibit a stable or even progressing proficiency in their heritage language.

6.3. Predicting long-term maintenance of Russian

Our data pose some challenges regarding predictions of further maintenance of Russian by our participants. On the one hand, there is a clear positive trend regarding proficiency in the heritage language, at least on the group level. On the other hand, there are also some indications that the exposure to Russian input is decreasing in several domains, first and foremost with regard to media consumption or personal visits to the homeland of their parents. Russian seems to be more and more restricted to intrafamily communication at home, especially to interactions with the parents, and to educational settings (classes in Russian as a heritage or foreign language). This trend is mirrored by the attitudes of our participants towards Russian, as they explicitly consider Russian important primarily for family interactions and cultural factors, but less with regard to career goals. The motivation for maintaining Russian and passing it on to the following generation is therefore, as Laleko (2013: 99) puts it, linked to seeing “Russian as a heritage language [that] retains primarily retrospective (or past-oriented), rather than prospective (or future-oriented) value for its speakers”. It is for this reason that Laleko (2013: 98) concludes that Russian as a heritage language in the U.S. is in danger of being abandoned after the second generation, unless “the language begins to be viewed as having real value in the present and future lives of the speakers, rather than only as a bridge to the past”. However, the essential difference – as we see it – between the American and the German context lies in the fact that in Germany access to institutional support for receiving formal instruction in the heritage language is readily available, at least in major cities. This opens up additional possibilities for obtaining and improving Russian language skills outside the family setting and does not put the whole burden on individual members of the Russian-speaking community itself (e.g., regarding the development of literacy skills in Russian and other skills available to competent speakers).

The question remains whether future generations of speakers of Russian as a heritage language will actually make use of these opportunities and whether the German society will continue to offer and expand possibilities for receiving heritage

¹² Literacy development in the heritage language Russian deserves a closer examination in a separate study.

language instruction. Currently we are witnessing a change in language policy in Germany which favors a reevaluation of linguistic superdiversity in educational settings and tries to counterbalance a monolingual habitus that has dominated official language ideology in Germany for a long time. The process, however, is hampered by the federal system of Germany, where innovations in the educational sector are often restricted to the individual federal states (*Bundesländer*). The reevaluation of heritage languages and linguistic diversity in general could benefit from assigning a certain “market value” to these languages, which could turn the linguistic resources available to the individual speakers into a benefit on the job market. This prospect, however, also depends on the development of the political and economic climate between Germany and the Russian-speaking countries. On the one hand, heritage speakers of Russian could benefit from the traditionally close economic and cultural cooperation between Germany and Russia. On the other hand, the political and economic development in the successor states of the former Soviet Union also play a central role for future immigration or remigration processes which could lead either to a replenishment or a decrease of the number of immigrants from Russian-speaking countries. This, in turn, has an impact on the number of heritage speakers of Russian in Germany and also on the continued inter-generational language maintenance. Technical advance and global interconnectedness both in the private and trade sector offer additional possibilities for enhancing heritage language maintenance. Owing to the considerable size of the Russian-speaking community in Germany, the prospects for its continuous existence in Germany do not look as grim as some of its members or some linguists claim. After all, the experiences of other larger immigrant communities in Germany (Turkish, Italian, Greek, Serbian/Croatian) bear witness that heritage language maintenance beyond the second generation is possible.

7. Concluding remarks

The results of our study obviously have to be treated with some caution. First, the small sample size limits the possibilities for generalizing the trends that we highlighted in this paper by drawing on quantitative evidence from questionnaires and experimental tests on selected aspects of Russian language proficiency. Second, the time span covered in our study is five years only, which makes dramatic changes in the sociolinguistic situation of the participants rather unlikely. Future studies should cover a larger time period, preferably also the transition of participants from school into the working environment, and systematically monitor the development of both sociolinguistic factors and language skills in the heritage language. Third, our sample is certainly biased because of the high share of participants who receive(d) formal instruction in the heritage language and who are on average highly educated as almost all of them attend higher secondary school tracks. Furthermore, participation in the study was voluntary and therefore attracted mainly parents and adolescents with a certain degree of language awareness and a positive attitude towards bilingualism and biculturalism. The fact that our findings match

the findings reported in other studies on adolescent heritage speakers of Russian in Germany (e.g., Anstatt 2017) quite well, however, indicates that the results might nevertheless be applicable to at least a certain subgroup of second-generation speakers of Russian in Germany.

The study was built on quantitative data that were presented on the group level. While this allows to highlight some common trends in the investigated sample, a more in-depth look at individual trajectories, both concerning the sociolinguistic settings as well as the linguistic development, would enable us to run a more fine-grained analysis on the relevance of certain sociolinguistic parameters regarding decisions that lead to abandoning the heritage language or retaining or even expanding its use. A longitudinal investigation of individual case studies, however, lies outside the scope of the current paper. The data obtained in the semi-structured interviews that followed the questionnaires provide, however, a fruitful basis for conducting such an analysis in the near future.

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Acknowledgments

The research reported in this study was funded by the German Ministry of Education and Research (BMBF) from 2013 to 2019 as part of the joint research project “Russian and Polish heritage languages as a resource in school” (Grant-No. 01JM1302/1701) which was conducted at the Universities of Greifswald and Leipzig. I would like to thank all participants who took part in the longitudinal study and my collaborators in this project for helping to collect and analyze the data. Special thanks are due to the research assistants Tatjana Kurbangulova and Vladimir Arifulin who collected the Russian data in this project.

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Article history:

Received: 22 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionote:

Bernhard BREHMER, PhD, Full Professor of Slavic Linguistics at the Department of Linguistics at the University of Konstanz (Germany). Research Interests: Heritage Language acquisition and maintenance, language contact and cross-linguistic influence, L1 attrition, Heritage Russian and Polish, Phonetics, Morphology, Morphosyntax, Syntax, Pragmatics (politeness and forms of address), Literacy development (esp. writing).

Contact information:

Department of Linguistics

University of Konstanz

Universitätsstr. 10

78464 Konstanz, Germany

e-mail: bernhard.brehmer@uni-konstanz.de

ORCID: 0000-0002-5065-7719

Сведения об авторе:

Бернхард БРЕМЕР – доктор филологических наук, профессор славянского языкознания на кафедре общей лингвистики Констанцкого университета (Германия). Сфера научных интересов: освоение и сохранение эритажных языков, языковой контакт и межъязыковые взаимодействия, утрата первого (родного) языка, русский и польский языки как эритажные, фонетика, морфология, морфосинтаксис, синтаксис, прагматика (формы вежливости и обращения), формирование грамотности.

Контактная информация:

Department of Linguistics

University of Konstanz

Universitätsstr. 10

78464 Konstanz, Germany

e-mail: bernhard.brehmer@uni-konstanz.de

ORCID: 0000-0002-5065-7719



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-886-907>

Research article

Israeli Russian: Case morphology in a bilingual context

Natalia MEIR, Marina AVRAMENKO and Tatiana VERKHOVTCEVA

University of Bar-Ilan

Ramat Gan, Israel

Abstract

The current study investigates case morphology development in a bilingual context. It is aimed at investigating potential mechanisms driving divergences in heritage language grammars as compared to the “baseline monolingual standards.” For the purposes of the study, 95 bilingual and monolingual children and adults were compared. Bilinguals residing in Israel acquired Russian from birth, while the age of onset of Hebrew varied. The participants completed a production task eliciting accusative case inflections. Both child and adult heritage speakers of Russian with early age of onset of Hebrew (before the age of 5) showed divergences in the production of the accusative case inflections as compared to monolingual Russian-speaking controls (adult and child), whereas grammars of Israeli heritage Russian speakers with later ages of onset of Hebrew, after the age of 5, were found to be intact. On the basis of Russian in contact with Hebrew, the study discusses how heritage language grammars differ from the baseline grammars of monolingual speakers and which mechanisms are associated with heritage language ultimate attainment. The effects of the age of onset and cross-linguistic influence from the dominant societal language are discussed as potential factors affecting the acquisition / maintenance of linguistic phenomena in heritage language grammars.

Keywords: *heritage language, case morphology, accusative case, the Russian language, Israel*

For citation:

Meir, Natalia, Marina Avramenko & Tatiana Verkhovtceva. Israeli Russian: Case morphology in a bilingual context. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 886–907. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-886-907>

Научная статья

Израильский русский: падежная морфология в двуязычном контексте

Наталья МЕИР, Марина АВРАМЕНКО, Татьяна ВЕРХОВЦЕВА

Университет Бар-Илан

Рамат-Ган, Израиль

Аннотация

В настоящем исследовании изучается усвоение падежной морфологии в двуязычном контексте. Целью данного исследования является выявление потенциальных механизмов, вызывающих расхождения в «эритажной» грамматике по сравнению с «монолингвальными языковыми нормами». В исследовании приняли участие 95 детей и взрослых монолингвов и билингвов. Билингвы, проживающие в Израиле, слышали русский язык с рождения, в то

время как возраст начала изучения иврита варьировался. Мы провели эксперимент, направленный на порождение форм винительного падежа. Результаты показали, что билингвы, которые начали изучать иврит в возрасте до 5 лет (как и дети, так и взрослые-«эритажники»), продемонстрировали расхождения в воспроизведении винительного падежа по сравнению с русскоязычными группами монолингвов. Винительный падеж билингвов с более поздним началом изучения иврита соответствует нормам монолингвов. На базе русского «эритажного» языка в контакте с ивритом данная статья иллюстрирует грамматические изменения в языке наследия и потенциальные механизмы, связанные с этими изменениями. Возраст начала усвоения второго языка и кросс-лингвистическое влияние под давлением доминирующего языка обсуждаются как потенциальные факторы, влияющие на усвоение / поддержание языковых структур в «эритажной» грамматике.

Ключевые слова: «эритажный» (унаследованный) язык, надежная морфология, винительный падеж, русский язык, Израиль

Для цитирования:

Meir N., Avramenko M., Verkhovtceva T. Israeli Russian: Case morphology in a bilingual context. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 886–907. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-886-907>

1. Introduction

1.1. Heritage languages

The current study investigates case morphology of child and adult speakers of Israeli Russian, i.e., speakers who acquire Russian as their heritage language (hereafter HL) and Hebrew as the societal language (hereafter SL), with a special focus on case morphology. The term ‘heritage language’ also labeled ‘minority language’, ‘community language’, ‘home language’, ‘family language’, ‘mother tongue’, ‘L1’, refers to a language that is spoken at home but is not the SL of the society (Benmamoun et al. 2013, Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2018a, Polinsky & Scontras 2020, Rothman 2009). HL speakers are typically the second or third generation of immigrants who acquire their HL from birth until the onset of schooling (approximately ages 4–5) via naturalistic exposure to native input. Although HL speakers acquire HL as their native language in childhood, their linguistic performance shows divergences from the baseline, i.e., language spoken in the country of origin or language spoken by the first generation of immigrants who are dominant in this language (for more details see Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2018a). The exact mechanisms of the HL grammar formation and the exact trajectory of HL ultimate attainment are still the subject of ardent debates (see a keynote paper by Polinsky & Scontras (2020) and the commentaries to it). This current study documents the case system of HL-Russian speakers (children and adults) with the focus on the accusative case morphology. Our aim is to understand the underlying factors contributing to previously reported divergences in HL grammars as compared to the baseline ones. We compare child and adult HL-Russian in order to contribute to the ongoing discussions about the trajectory and mechanisms shaping HL formation (see a keynote paper by Polinsky & Scontras (2020) and the commentaries to it). Polinsky (2018b) suggests that

“[i]n order to fully understand adult HL, it is imperative to consider the language of ‘future heritage speakers’: childhood bilinguals who are still receiving daily input in the home language but who operate under similar sociolinguistic conditions to those reported for adult heritage speakers” (Polinsky 2018b: 548).

In the next subsections of the introduction (1.2–1.4), we will briefly discuss the socio-linguistic status of the Russian language in Israel. Subsequently, we will overview available studies on case acquisition in monolingual and bilingual Russian speakers. We will conclude the introductory subsection with the specific research questions and the rationale of the current study.

1.2. Heritage Russian in Israel

Today Russian is the most frequently spoken HL in Israel, after Hebrew (the official language of the State of Israel) and Arabic (which has a special status in Israel) (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999, Meir et al. 2021). In the early 1990s, Israel experienced a massive immigration wave from the Former Soviet Union (FSU) resulting in more than one million speakers of Russian, or approximately 15% of the total population of Israel (Altman et al. 2014, Yelenevskaya 2015). *Olim xadashim* ‘new immigrants’ to Israel from the FSU continue to account for the largest proportion of immigrants to Israel. For example, in 2016 immigrants from Russia and Ukraine comprised 57% of all immigrants to Israel (Konstantinov 2017). The arrival of over one million immigrants from the FSU in the 1990s has changed the linguistic balance in Israel, fostering Russian, as a channel of information, education, and culture to facilitate faster integration of immigrants (Yelenevskaya & Fialkova 2017). The mass immigration from the FSU has created a rich ethnolinguistic community with its own economic, social, and political networks based on Russian language and culture, reflecting identity choices ranging from assimilation to separatism (Remennick 2003a). The Russian language is present in all spheres of Israel’s public life, which is evident in Russian signs and Russian texts in business and commercial areas where they target both domestic and international customers, making the Russian language a valuable commodity in Israel (Yelenevskaya & Fialkova 2017). Russian-language commodification has seen a rise around the world with the flourish of mass and individual tourism for leisure, culture and shopping from the FSU (Muth 2017, Pavlenko 2017).

Many members of the Russian-speaking community in Israel are interested in maintaining the Russian language and culture and transmitting Russian to the next generation (Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Leshem & Lissak 1999, Schwartz et al. 2011). Most immigrants perceive Russian culture and language as superior to the Hebrew culture and language (Niznik 2011). Russian-speaking immigrants promote the acquisition of the Russian language among their children, including those who are born in Israel (Schwartz et al. 2011). While the policy of the State of Israel recognizes the legitimate right of each community to acquire and support its native language, the transmission of heritage languages, including Russian, is considered to be the parents’ responsibility (Niznik 2007). There are private Russian-only and

bilingual Russian–Hebrew kindergartens for children ages 2–5 as well as afternoon schools for elder children (Moin et al. 2013), reflecting the community’s strong desire to maintain and transmit Russian to future generations. In addition to the Russian language, mathematics, science, logic, English, and the arts are taught in Russian complementary schools (Kopeliovich 2011). The *Mofet* network founded by a group of immigrant teachers from the FSU in 1991 provided a suitable educational system for Russian-speaking immigrant children (Epstein & Kheimets 2000a, b). Today *Mofet* supplementary evening schools and day-schools focus on math, science, computer skills, and the Russian language. In the first years of the *Mofet* schools, the language of instruction was Russian, yet today all the lessons are conducted in Hebrew (Epstein and Kheimets 2000a, b), reflecting the shift towards Hebrew in the second generation of immigrants.

Despite the ubiquitous presence of Russian in Israel and a strong desire to maintain and transmit HL-Russian to future generations, recent studies show a decline in Russian proficiency among 1.5 and second-generation speakers of HL-Russian in Israel (Meir & Polinsky 2021, Niznik 2011, Remennick 2003). Although there are Russian periodicals, Israeli radio and TV channels which broadcast exclusively in Russian, Russian speakers residing in Israel over 11 years show preference for watching Israeli channels, listening to Hebrew radio stations, visiting Hebrew websites and reading Hebrew periodicals (Remennick 2003). This trend is also observed in the second-generation children born in Israel. A recent survey conducted among Russian-speaking mothers in 4 countries, including Israel, showed that 96% of the respondents in Israel indicated that their children could speak and understand Russian. However, 47% of the respondents showed dissatisfaction with their children’s proficiency in HL-Russian (Otwinowska et al. 2021). Furthermore, the respondents indicated that only 41% of children had literacy skills in HL-Russian. Thus, after 30 years of the massive immigration of Russian Jews to Israel, there is a linguistic shift to Hebrew. The gradual attrition of Russian among immigrant adolescents and the linguistic shift towards Hebrew is consistently reported in recent studies (Niznik 2011, Remennick 2003). The current study is set to investigate the change in the case system of HL-Russian child and adult speakers in Israel.

1.3. The Case of the accusative case in monolingual and HL acquisition

The Standard Modern Russian is a language with rich nominal inflectional morphology; all Russian nouns, adjectives, numerals, pronouns and demonstratives must bear a case inflection (Timberlake 2004). There are six main cases in Russian in singular and plural: nominative (NOM), genitive (GEN), accusative (ACC), dative (DAT), instrumental (INSTR), and prepositional (PREP). There are three more cases, which do not apply to all nouns: locative (LOC), partitive (PART), and vocative (VOC).

Following Zaliznjak’s (1977) classification based on the gender and phonological type of the stem, Russian nouns are divided in three declension

classes. Feminine and masculine nouns ending in *-a/ja* (e.g., *zvezda* ‘star’; *papa* ‘father’) are referred to as the 1st declension class; masculine and neuter nouns (e.g., *stol* ‘table’; *pingvin* ‘penguin’; *okno* ‘window’) are the 2nd declension class. Feminine nouns ending in a soft consonant (e.g., *tetrad’* ‘notebook’) are referred to as the 3rd declension class, and they were not tested in this study due to their low frequency in input.

Table 1 lists NOM and ACC case inflections for singular nouns across the 1st and 2nd declension classes. On some nouns (e.g., feminine nouns of the 1st declension and masculine animate nouns of the 2nd declension), a dedicated inflection is used for ACC which is different from the NOM one (i.e., NOM≠ACC). However, on other nouns, the ACC case inflection is homophonous to the NOM one (e.g., inanimate nouns of the 2nd declension), i.e., (NOM=ACC).

Table 1

The Russian case inflections ([NOM] → [ACC]) across two declension classes

	NOM≠ACC	NOM=ACC
1st declension	<i>klubnik-a</i> → <i>klubnik-u</i> ‘strawberry.FEM’ <i>zvezd-a</i> → <i>zvezd-u</i> ‘star.FEM’	<i>n/a</i>
2nd declension	<i>petux</i> → <i>petux-a</i> ‘rooster.MASC’ <i>krokodil</i> → <i>krokodil-a</i> ‘crocodile.MASC’	<i>stol</i> → <i>stol</i> ‘table.MASC’ <i>mylo</i> → <i>mylo</i> ‘soap.NEUT’

1.3.1. Acquisition of accusative case in monolingual Russian-speaking children

Monolingual children acquiring Russian have to acquire the case system of Russian, i.e., 72 possible nominal inflections (6 cases [NOM, GEN, ACC, DAT, INSTR, OBLQ] × 2 number classes [singular, plural] × 3 genders [feminine, masculine, neuter] × 2 animacy classes [animate, inanimate]) (see Kempe & MacWhinney 1998). Animacy is not relevant for all the cases; thus Voeikova (2011) suggests that the number of cells in the paradigm should be lowered to 40. Russian-speaking children acquire the complex case system in a short period of time. Initially, base forms, i.e., singular NOM forms are predominant in monolingual child production (Gagarina & Voeikova 2009). Case oppositions (e.g., oppositions of NOM and other case markings) make up only 5% of all produced nouns at the very onset of noun production. The first case oppositions occur at about 1;9 (Voeikova & Gagarina 2002), and NOM-ACC opposition is the first to appear in speech production (Eisenbeiss et al. 2009, Gvozdev 1961, Voeikova 2011). Monolinguals start with adult-like ACC case inflections on feminine nouns (Hržica et al. 2015, Gagarina & Voeikova 2009, Protassova 1997, Protassova & Voeikova 2007), then the number of unmarked base forms drops to 50% within 3–4 months of initial appearance of case oppositions (Gagarina & Voeikova 2009). At the age of 3, monolingual Russian-speaking children show high accuracy of case production on familiar nouns. To sum up, monolingual Russian-speaking children

acquire case inflections before the age of 3, although the mastery of some irregular forms might continue up to age 6 (Babyonyshev 1993, Cejtin 2009, Gvozdev 1961, Hržica et al. 2015, Gagarina & Voeikova 2009, Protassova 1997, Protassova & Voeikova 2007).

1.3.2. Acquisition of accusative case in bilingual children who acquire Russian as their HL

In contrast, child bilingual Russian-speaking children, i.e., “future HL speakers” as referred by Polinsky (2018b), are reported to show consistent difficulties with the production and comprehension of case inflections (Gagarina 2011, Janssen 2016, Meir & Armon-Lotem 2015, Meir, et al. 2017, Protassova et al. 2017, Ringblom 2014, Turian & Altenberg 1991, Schwartz & Minkov 2014), especially when the SL of HL-Russian speakers has a sparse case morphology. For example, Schwartz and Minkov (2014) investigated the acquisition of the Russian case system by three simultaneous and six sequential Russian-Hebrew speaking children acquiring HL-Russian in contact with Hebrew longitudinally, over a period of 7 months. The authors reported quantitative differences between simultaneous (exposure to Hebrew before 12 months) and sequential bilinguals (exposure to Hebrew around the age of 2). The accuracy rate for the ACC case was reported to be 55% among child HL-Russian speakers with the onset of Hebrew before 12 months, and 80% among children with the AoO after 2 years. Similarly, Kopeliovich (2010) reported on the change in the Russian case system in children and adolescents who acquire Russian as their HL in contact with Hebrew. The NOM case is used as a default case form in various syntactic environments which require cases other than NOM. The NOM case form is used by child HL-Russian speakers with such words as *mnogo* ‘much/many’, *malo* ‘little/few’, *net* ‘there is no’, which assign the GEN case in Modern Standard Russian. Furthermore, the OBLQ case is also reported to be substituted with NOM forms in HL-Russian in contact with Hebrew.

Meir and Armon-Lotem (2015) reported low accuracy scores both on elicited production of the ACC case and on comprehension. The length of exposure (LoE) and age of onset (AoO) to the SL were found to be related to case production, but not to comprehension. Children with longer LoE to Hebrew were found to have more difficulties with case inflections in HL-Russian. Similar results were obtained in Meir, Walters, and Armon-Lotem (2017) based on a Sentence Repetition task: bilinguals with different AoO of Hebrew (before 24 months, between 24–48 months, and after 48 months) had significantly more case errors as compared to age-matched monolinguals on the Russian Sentence Repetition task. In monolingual and bilingual children, most of the case errors were produced in subject and object relative clauses. However, in the bilingual groups, ACC case errors were also found in object questions and simple sentences with non-canonical word orders (OVS and SOV); these structures elicited very few ACC case errors in monolingual Russian-speaking children. Janssen and Meir (2019) compared

HL-Russian speakers in Israel and in the Netherlands to monolingual Russian-speaking aged-matched and younger controls. The child HL-Russian speakers were found to be less accurate on the elicited production and on the comprehension of SVO and OVS sentences which require sensitivity to case morphology. Child HL-Russian speakers with earlier AoO of the societal language and less HL use at home were found to be less accurate on ACC case production and repeating sentences with different word orders. However, a recent study tapping into processing of ACC case morphology showed that despite lower accuracy of ACC production, HL-Russian child speakers showed sensitivity to case morphology when parsing OVS and SVO sentences, yet the integration of ACC case cue was delayed compared to monolingual controls (Meir et al. 2020).

1.3.3. *The accusative case in adult HL-Russian*

Studies on adult HL-Russian speakers residing in Israel are sparse. However, previous studies on adolescents and adult HL-Russian speakers who are dominant in English show difficulties with case morphology (e.g., Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008, Polinsky 2006, 2008, but see Łyskawa & Nagy 2020). In the seminal paper, Polinsky (2006) reported a dramatic reduction of cases in American HL-Russian compared to Modern Standard Russian. Polinsky concluded that American Russian ‘has a basic two-case system: the unmarked case and the case of the second object (goal)’ for consistency (Polinsky 2006: 220): in American Russian, ACC forms were reported to be used for indirect objects. Some of the existing case forms are suggested to be fixed lexical items. Unlike Polinsky (2006), Isurin and Ivanova-Sullivan (2008) reported a slightly different picture for the American HL-Russian case system based on the narrative data. Although substitutions of DAT case with ACC were observed only for pronouns, no ACC case use was observed for indirect objects, as previously reported by Polinsky (2006). Furthermore, unlike Polinsky (2006), Isurin and Ivanova-Sullivan (2008) did not find the loss of oblique cases and the use of default NOM forms. Studies tapping into numerical phrases which require special morphology in Russian also bring conflicting evidence for adult American HL-Russian ($n = 31$) and German HL-Russian ($n = 19$) (see Denisova-Schmidt 2014, Ivanova-Sullivan 2015, Polinsky 2018). Some studies show that HL-Russian speakers showed no traces of case system re-structuring (Denisova-Schmidt 2014, Ivanova-Sullivan 2015, Polinsky 2018a). Similarly, a recent study showed that the processing of *wh*-questions is baseline-like in American HL-Russian speakers with various AoO to English ($n = 24$): 8 were born in the USA, 8 arrived before 6, and 8 between 7 and 13 years (Sekerina & Laurinavichyute 2020). It should be kept in mind that correct comprehension of *wh*-questions in Russian is ensured by the sensitivity to case morphology. In the same vein, Łyskawa and Nagy (2020) concluded that HL-Russian speakers retain the concept of the case. Their experiment was based on narrative data and shows that participants retain the rules (the syntax) of the case but have difficulties with selecting and producing normative

morphological forms; thus, acquisition of inflected forms of pronouns is easier than nouns. This may be explained by the existence of pronoun case marking in English (all participants live in English-dominant Toronto). More than that, HL speakers tend to shift to NOM across all cases (except DAT), but also the tendency for fairly high normative usage in ACC contexts was observed. To sum up previous research on adult HL-Russian, studies bring inconclusive evidence with respect to case system of HL-Russian speakers. Furthermore, previous research has been mainly conducted on HL-Russian in contact with English.

Research on HL-Russian in contact with Hebrew is scarce. Sociolinguistic research reports extensive insertions of Hebrew lexical items into Russian discourse among the first generation of Russian-speaking immigrants residing in Israel, turning “immigrant Russian” into a contact language, comprehensible only to bilinguals (Naiditch 2000, Remennick 2003a, Perelmutter 2018a, 2018b, Prashizky & Remennick 2018). The immigrants belonging to the 1.5-generation report mixing Russian and Hebrew in their daily use: 49% report that they mix Russian with some Hebrew, and 9% report using so-called *HebRush*, the code-switched variety of Hebrew and Russian, only 36% report using Russian without mixed Hebrew (Remennick 2003b). Despite extensive borrowings from Hebrew, studies on the first generation of immigrants who are dominant in Russian show that these borrowed Hebrew items (see (1) in bold) are inflected for case following the Russian system of case assignment based on the declension classes. The grammar of first-generation immigrants seems not to deviate from that one of Standard Modern Russian. Correct assignment of case (even on Hebrew borrowings) is indicative of intact grammatical structure among first-generation immigrant speakers who are dominant in Russian.

- (1) *včera byl v bank-e, poprosil y pakid-a alva'-u, on mne jeje ne dal,*
 yesterday was in bank-LOC, asked at clerk.MASC-ACC credit-ACC he me it not give
ja pošjol k menahel-u snif-a i taki polučil išur na alva'-u.
 I went to head-DAT branch-GEN and got authorization.ACC on credit.ACC.
 Yesterday, I was at the bank, asked a clerk to arrange a credit for me, he did not give it to me,
 I went to the head of the branch, and I was given authorization for a credit.

A recent study by Meir and Polinsky (2021) investigated grammatical abilities of adult HL-Russian speakers in contact with Hebrew with various AoO of Hebrew. Three groups of participants were compared: HL-Russian speakers with AoO before age 5, HL-Russian speakers with AoO between 5–13, and Russian-dominant bilinguals. Participants in all the three groups had been exposed to Russian from birth and had been residing in Israel on average 20 years. Sensitivity to ungrammaticalities in adjectival phrases and numerical phrases were tested. The study tested sensitivity to case ungrammaticalities within numerical¹ phrases (**tri*

¹ In Russian, paucal numerals combine with the paucal count form (e.g., 2/3/4 *samolet-a 'planes.PAUC'*), and numerals 5 and above combine with the genitive plural (e.g., 5/6/7 *samolet-ov 'planes.PL.GEN'*).

samolet-ov ‘three plane.M-PL.GEN’ versus **pjat*’ *samolet-a* ‘five plane.M-PAUC) were tested. Findings demonstrated a robust effect for AoO on the development and maintenance of HL-Russian in adult HL-Russian speakers. The group with late AoO (Russian-dominant bilinguals) showed ceiling-level performance in sensitivity to (mis)matches for both adjective-noun and numeral-noun conditions, confirming similarities to the Modern Standard Russian. HL speakers with earlier AoOs (before age 5 and from 5–13) were less accurate in detecting ungrammaticalities than the Russian-dominant group. The two groups of heritage Russian speakers showed reduced sensitivity to ungrammatical numeral-noun constructions in comparison to adjective-noun constructions. The authors suggested restructuring of the numerical phrases under indirect influence from the dominant language (i.e., Hebrew) as one of the possible explanations. Both groups of speakers with earlier AoOs (before age 5 and between 5–13) seemed to favor simpler structures within numeral-noun constructions. HL speakers with an earlier AoO were more likely to accept mismatches within numeral-noun constructions as grammatical all together (numeral-noun expressions with paucal numbers and numbers 5 and above). The authors suggested that HL-Russian speakers, who received exposure to Hebrew starting before the age of 5, might have problems with case forms more generally, under the influence of Hebrew which has sparse case morphology.

To summarize, previous research brings inconsistent evidence on case morphology in adult and child HL speakers. Some studies report restructuring and profound case difficulties in HL speakers: both children (Gagarina 2011, Turian & Altenberg 199, Ringblom 2014, Schwartz & Minkov 2014, Meir & Armon-Lotem 2015, Janssen 2016, Meir et al. 2017, Protassova et al. 2017) and adults (Polinsky 2006, 2008). Others show no evidence for case restructuring (Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008, Łyskawa & Nagy 2020, Sekerina & Laurinavichyute 2020). Furthermore, the research by Meir and Polinsky (2021) indicates that adult HL-Russian speakers with early AoO to Hebrew who are dominant in Hebrew might also have difficulties with case production. The current study is the first study to compare ACC case morphology in HL-Russian adult and child speakers to monolingual child and adult controls.

1.4. The current study

The current study was set to test the production of ACC case morphology in adult and child HL-Russian speakers, who acquire their HL-Russian in contact with Hebrew. Russian-Hebrew bilingualism offers a unique opportunity for understanding the ACC case morphology, as both languages mark ACC case, albeit differently. While Russian uses case inflections to mark ACC case, Hebrew marks the ACC case by the particle *et* only before definite nouns (Berman 1978). The contrast between Russian and Hebrew is presented below (2).

(2) “A/The penguin sees a/the crocodile”

RU	<i>Пингвин</i>		<i>видит</i>		<i>крокодил-а.</i>
	<i>pingvin</i> .NOM.ANIM.MASC		sees.SG.3P		crocodile.ACC.ANIM.MASC
HE(INDEF)	<i>ha- pingvin</i>	<i>ro'e</i>		<i>tanin.</i>	
	DEF.pingvin	sees.M.SG.3P		crocodile	
HE(DEF)	<i>ha- pingvin</i>	<i>ro'e</i>	<i>et</i>	<i>ha- tanin.</i>	
	DEF.penguin	sees.M.SG.3P	ACC	DEF- crocodile	

The choice of ACC case morphology is not accidental. Morphology is known to be particularly fragile under HL bilingual acquisition, and language structures involving case assignment are reported to be among the most vulnerable (Albirini et al. 2013, Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2018a). Looking into the existing evidence on HL-Russian in contact with English for adult HL speakers, the rich case paradigm seems to be prone to divergences: HL-Russian speakers use unmarked NOM forms in contexts that require the use of dedicated case inflections (Polinsky 2006, 2008, Meir & Polinsky 2021, but Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008, Łyskawa & Nagy 2020, Sekerina & Laurinavichyute 2020 for an alternative view).

Yet, previous research showing simplifications in complex morphological paradigms relies mainly on the evidence from HLs in contact with English. Thus, it is not clear whether these divergences in rich case paradigms are the outcomes of all HLs or alternatively, the result of the specific contact situation with English, which has a sparse case system and lacks grammatical gender. Furthermore, it is not clear how ACC case morphology develops over the lifespan of HL speakers. This study aims to evaluate the effect of AoO and the influence of the contribution of Hebrew to the acquisition / maintenance of ACC case in children and adult HL speakers of Russian residing in Israel.

2. Method

2.1. Participants

A total of 95 participants were recruited for the study across the four adult groups and two child groups (see Table 2). The current study is part of the larger ongoing project aiming to investigate characteristics of HL-Russian among adult and child speakers residing in Israel and the USA. The adult participants from Israel were split into three groups based on their AoO, i.e., the onset of Hebrew exposure: before the age of 5 (HL-EarlyAoO); between the ages of 5 and 13 (HL-LateAoO), and after the age of 13 (RUS-DOM) (similarly to Meir & Polinsky 2021). All participants reported Russian to be their mother tongue. The adult Russian-speaking controls were recruited in the Russian Federation, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, all the monolingual Russian-speaking controls reported Russian to be their mother tongue and the language of their daily communication. Two child groups were recruited for the purposes of the project. The child HL-Russian speakers (hereafter HL-child) and their monolingual controls (hereafter Mono-Child). All the children in the HL-child group were born and raised in Israel in Russian-speaking families.

Reflecting the design of the study, there was a significant effect of age ($F(5, 89) = 140.47, p < .001$) and a significant effect of AoO for the Israeli groups ($F(3, 52) = 85.68, p < .001$). Starting with the AoO, there were significant differences between the adult groups (RUS-DOM > HL-LateAoO > HL-EarlyAoO, $p < .001$), yet there was no significant difference between HL-EarlyAoO and HL-child, $p = .99$). Importantly there were no significant differences between Mono-Adult and RUS-DOM, which are considered to be the baseline in the current study for the adult groups. There were no significant differences with respect to age between HL-LateAoO and HL-EarlyAoO. Furthermore, the two child groups (Mono-Child and HL-Child) were not significantly different from each other with respect to age.

Table 2

Demographic data on the participants across the groups

	Adult Groups				Child Groups	
	Mono-Adult (n=14)	RUS-DOM (n=14)	HL-LateAoO (n=8)	HL-EarlyAoO (n=15)	Mono-Child (n=19)	HL-Child (n=22)
Age	46 (13) 26-66	42 (5) 33-52	32 (7) 20-40	24 (5) 19-33	6 (1) 4-10	6 (1) 4-8
AoO of Hebrew	n/a	20 (6) 13-38	10 (1) 8-11	2 (1) 0-4	n/a	2 (2) 0-4
Length of residency in Israel	n/a	21 (4) 14-28	21 (8) 9-29	24 (5) 17-33	n/a	6 (1) 4-8
Self-rated proficiency in HL-Russian (Rating Scale 0-5)	n/a	5.0 (0.0)	4.0 (0.5) 4-5	3.2 (1.2) 1-5	n/a	n/a
Self-rated proficiency in SL-Hebrew (Rating Scale 0-5)	n/a	4.3 (0.6) 3-5	4.9 (0.4) 4-5	4.9 (0.2) 4-5	n/a	n/a

2.2. Experimental Task

An elicitation task elicits ACC case inflections on 36 nouns (Janssen 2016, Janssen & Meir 2019). The participant was asked to describe what he/she sees on the computer screen by saying *ja vizu* _____ ‘I see (target noun)’. If the participant failed to respond to the sentence with *ja vizu* _____ ‘I see _____’, s/he was reminded to start the sentence with *ja vizu* ‘I see’. This was done for each target noun to ensure that the syntactic environment for the ACC case was produced.

The participants’ responses were coded as ‘correct’ and 1 point was given when a target ACC inflection was produced. Responses with non-target inflections were coded as ‘incorrect’, in this case the participants were allocated a score of 0. In addition, we noted the type of error.

The task elicited 3420 responses, yet 29 responses (totalling 0.8%) were excluded from data analysis as unscorable. For example, items code-switched into Hebrew were not analyzed.

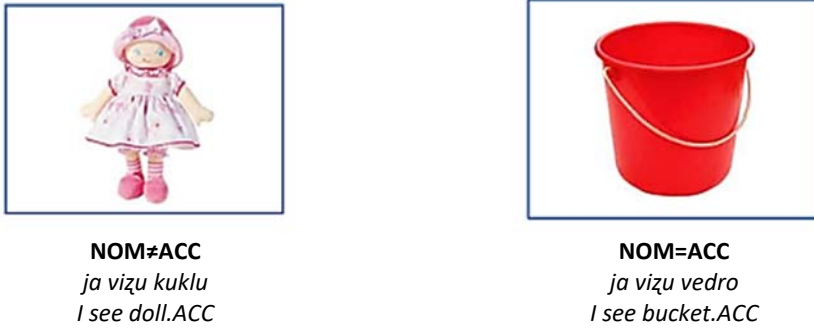


Figure 1. Examples of items used in the production task

2.3. Procedure

The current study is part of a larger project, funded by the Israel Science Foundation (ISF: 552/21), awarded to Natalia Meir, aimed at investigating characteristics of Israeli and American Russian among children and adults. The study was approved by the review board of Bar-Ilan University. Informed written consent was obtained prior to participation for adult participants. For children, informed parental consent was secured as well as child ascent before testing. Each participant was tested individually via Zoom. The task was presented via a PowerPoint presentation. The experimenter gave oral instructions. Four warm-up items were administered to familiarize the participants with the task, and they were not included into the analysis. Participants' responses were audio-recorded for off-line analysis.

3. Results

Figure 2 presents the performance on the case task across the groups comparing the accuracy production of the ACC inflections across the nouns requiring the dedicated ACC inflection (i.e., $NOM \neq ACC$) versus the noun on which the ACC case inflection is homophonous to the NOM one (i.e., $NOM = ACC$). The results indicated a ceiling effect in the Mono-Adult, RUS-DOM, HL-LateAoO and Mono-Child, while lower accuracy in the HL-EarlyAoO and the HL-Child groups. A large individual variability should be noted in the two groups of HL-Russian speakers with early AoO of Hebrew on nouns requiring the use of the ACC dedicated inflection (HL-EarlyAoO: $M = 0.77$, $SD = 0.42$; HL-Child: $M = 0.73$, $SD = 0.44$).

The analysis was conducted using a statistical package SPSS 25. Given the binary nature of our dependent variable — the accuracy of the ACC case production (target ACC production = 1, non-target ACC production = 0), we analyzed the data using a binomial mixed-effects logistic regression model. Participants and items were included as random factors with a random intercept and a random slope. The inclusion of these two variables enabled us to account simultaneously for participant-specific and item-specific variability and allowed for generalization

beyond both the sample of participants and the set of stimuli items. We included Inflection_Type, Group and the interaction Inflection_Type* Group interaction as fixed effects. The results demonstrated a significant effect of Inflection_Type ($F(1, 3379) = 15.34, p < .001$), a significant effect of Group ($F(5, 3379) = 14.99, p < .001$) and a significant Inflection_Type* Group interaction ($F(5, 3378) = 5.86, p < .001$).

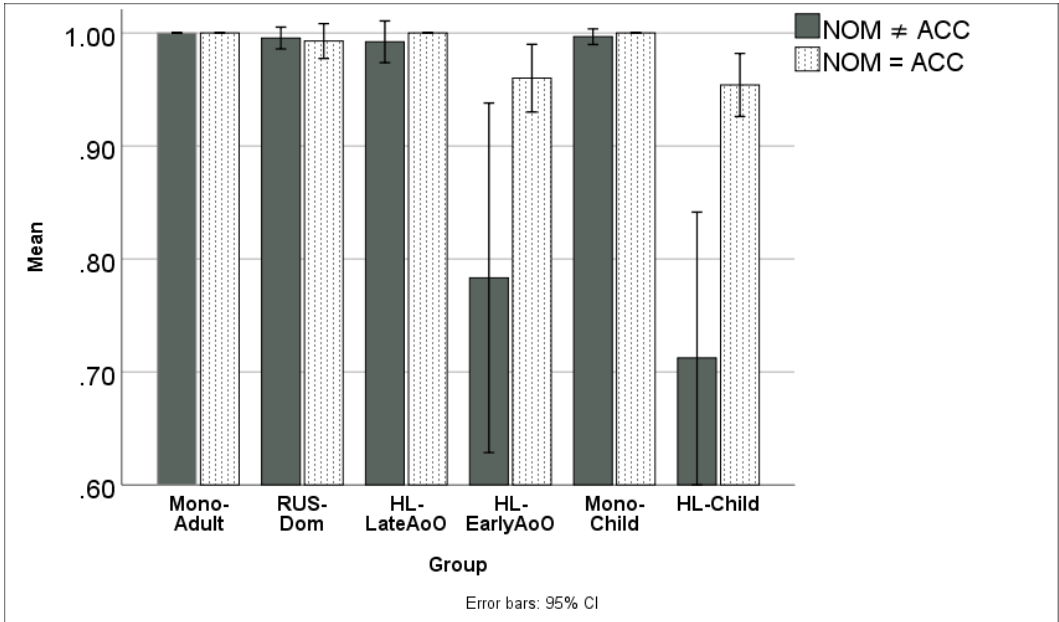


Figure 2. Performance of the ACC case task across the groups

Table 3

Results for the NOM≠ACC vs. NOM=ACC contrast per group

Group	Contrast Estimate	Std. Error	t	Adj. Sig.
HL-Child	-0.22	0.02	-9.16	$p < .001$
Mono-Child	0.00	0.01	-0.13	$p = .90$
HL-EarlyAoO	-0.18	0.03	-5.90	$p < .001$
HL-LateAoO	-0.01	0.02	-0.43	$p = .67$
RUS-DOM	-0.02	0.02	-1.02	$p = .31$
Mono-Adult	0.00	0.02	0.00	$p = 1.00$

As a follow-up on the interaction, we set pair-wise contrasts evaluating the difference between the accuracy across nouns requiring the dedicated ACC infection (i.e., $NOM \neq ACC$) and noun on which ACC is homophonous to NOM (i.e., $NOM = ACC$) with an adjusted alpha-level for multiple comparisons. The difference between the $NOM \neq ACC$ nouns and the $NOM = ACC$ was significant only for the HL-EarlyAoO ($p < .001$) group and HL-Child ($p < .001$) (see Table 3).

Table 4

Error pattern profiles among the HL-EarlyAoO and the HL-Child groups

	HL-EarlyAoO	HL-Child
The use of NOM default form instead of the dedicated ACC inflection on NOM≠ACC nouns	76.6%	86.4%
The addition of <i>-u</i> inflection on NOM=ACC nouns	9.0%	10.2%
The addition of <i>-a</i> inflection on NOM=ACC nouns	9.0%	2.5%
Other	5.4%	0.9%

We further explored the error patterns in the adult HL-Early AoO and the HL-Child groups (see Table 3). The error pattern analysis revealed overall similarities between the two groups with early exposure to Hebrew (before age of 5). In both groups, the most common type of error was the use of the NOM form instead of the dedicated ACC inflection with feminine nouns ending in *-a* (i.e., *ja vizu gruš-a/ kukl-a/ golov-a/ lun-a/ zvezd-a/ zmej-a/ butylk-a* – I see a pear/ doll/ moon/ star/ snake/ bottle) and masculine animate nouns (i.e., *ja vizu snegovik/ krokodil/ petux* – I see a snow-man/ crocodile/ roaster) (see Table 4). Furthermore, there were also cases of the overgeneralization of the ACC inflection *-u* and its use with nouns which require the homophonous ACC and NOM forms (i.e., *ja vizu kryl-u/ žiraf-u/ sapog-u/ jablok-u/ derev-u* – I see a wing/ giraffe/ boot/ apple/ tree) and over-generalization of the animate masculine inflection *-a* to inanimate masculine nouns (e.g., *ja vizu šarik-a/ život-a/ jajc-a/ sapog-a* – I see a balloon/ stomach/ egg/ boot). Yet, the latter patterns were less frequent (i.e., the erroneous use of *-u* and *-a* inflection) as compared to the use of NOM default forms. The pattern labeled ‘other’ included no response patterns, and the use of other inflections (e.g., *ja vizu kryly*).

4. Discussion

The current study investigated the accuracy of the ACC case morphology in child and adult HL-Russian speakers who acquire Russian in contact with Hebrew. Studies directly comparing child and adult HL speakers are rare (but see Polinsky 2011, Polinsky 2018). The rationale for testing the accuracy of ACC case morphology among adult and child immigrant groups and in monolingual controls was determined by two factors. First, previous studies convincingly demonstrated almost error-free production of the ACC case inflections among monolingual children (e.g., Gagarina and Voeikova 2009). Second, when looking into HL bilingual acquisition, case morphology seems to be fragile under HL bilingual acquisition (Albirini et al. 2013, Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2018a). The evidence on HL-Russian in contact with English demonstrates that the rich case paradigm seems to be prone to divergences: HL-Russian speakers use unmarked NOM form in contexts which require the use of dedicated case inflections (Polinsky 2006, 2008), yet there are also findings showing that HL speakers might develop grammars in accordance with the baseline ones (Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008, Łyskawa & Nagy 2020, Sekerina & Laurinavichyute 2020). Previous studies on child HL-Russian speakers demonstrate that case morphology poses difficulties under

HL bilingual acquisition (Turian & Altenberg 1991, Gagarina 2011, Ringblom 2014, Schwartz & Minkov 2014, Meir & Armon-Lotem 2015, Janssen 2016, Meir et al. 2017, Janssen & Meir 2019). In the current study, we compared child and adult HL speakers of Russian who acquired HL-Russian in contact with Hebrew. Russian-Hebrew bilingualism offers an excellent test case for understanding the formation of HL grammars: the two languages use ACC case marking, albeit differently: Russian utilized inflections, while Hebrew marks it with the particle *et*.

Starting with the monolingual baseline, the results of the current study confirmed at-ceiling performance in the adult and child monolingual Russian controls. The results demonstrate that monolingual Russian-speaking children show adult-like performance on the ACC case inflections regardless of the fact whether the noun requires a dedicated ACC inflection, or the ACC form is homophonous to the NOM form.

Similarly, error-free performance was observed for Russian-dominant participants (the RUS-DOM group), which confirms the stability of grammatical knowledge even after 20 years of the contact situation with a language which has sparse case morphology (Hebrew). Previous sociolinguistic studies demonstrated extensive borrowings from Hebrew in the speech of the 1st-generation immigrants. However, it was shown that lexical borrowings are inflected for cases following the Russian system of case assignment based on the declension classes. Correct assignment of case (even on Hebrew borrowings) is indicative of intact grammatical structure among first-generation immigrant speakers dominant in Russian. Interestingly, the results for the adult HL-Russian speakers with the AoO to Hebrew between 5–13 indicated at-ceiling performance. Thus, the study shows that ACC case production is error-free in first-generation immigrants and in 1.5-generation, who immigrated to Israel after the age of 5. It should be kept in mind that ACC case morphology is an early acquired linguistic phenomenon in monolingual children (Gvozdev 1961, Babyonyshev 1993, Protassova 1997, Protassova and Voeikova 2007, Cejtin 2009, Gagarina & Voeikova 2009, Hržica et al. 2015), thus the results for the HL-speakers with later AoO (between 5–13) demonstrate the stability of early acquired phenomena. Future studies need to determine the effect of AoO on late acquired phenomena.

In contrast, the results of the current study indicated that two groups of participants showed a decreased accuracy of the ACC case production: child and adult HL-Russian speakers with the AoO to Hebrew before the age of 5. Both child and adult HL-Russian speakers with earlier AoO were significantly less accurate on nouns requiring the use of the dedicated ACC inflection, which is different from the NOM case. Child and adult HL-Russian speakers with AoO before 5 produced erroneous nominative default forms on nouns requiring the use of a dedicated accusative inflection on feminine nouns ending in -a (e.g., *ja vizu grušā* ‘I see a pear.NOM’ instead of *ja vizu grušu* ‘I see a pear.ACC’) and masculine animate nouns (i.e., *ja vizu snegovik* ‘I see a snow-man.NOM’ instead of *ja vizu snegovika* ‘I see a snow-man.ACC’).

The results of the current study re-iterate previous findings on HL-Russian acquisition in contact with a dominant language with sparse case morphology confirming that child HL-Russian speakers have difficulties with acquiring the ACC case and resort to NOM default forms, while their monolingual peers show at-ceiling performance (Turian & Altenberg 1991, Gagarina 2011, Ringblom 2014, Schwartz & Minkov 2014, Meir & Armon-Lotem 2015, Janssen 2016, Meir et al. 2017, Protassova et al. 2017). In addition to child HL-Russian speakers, the current study brought novel data on the adult HL-speakers, confirming that AoO is an important factor shaping adult HL grammars as well. The study adds to the previous research tapping into morphology of speakers of Israeli Russian. Meir and Polinsky (2021) proposed that HL-Russian speakers, who received exposure to Hebrew starting before the age of 5, might have problems with case forms more generally, under the influence of Hebrew which has sparse case morphology. Furthermore, case morphology has been reported to be challenging to adult HL-Russian speakers of American English, which also has sparse case morphology (Polinsky 2006, 2008). The current study brought additional evidence that case morphology is fragile under HL bilingual acquisition if the acquisition of the societal language with sparse case morphology starts before the age of 5.

The study aimed at contributing to the on-going debate on the exact mechanisms of HL grammar formations (see a keynote paper by Polinsky & Scontras (2020) and the commentaries to it). The results show that AoO is one of the important factors which shapes the HL grammar. The study showed that ACC case is vulnerable only in HL-speakers with earlier AoOs, before the age of 5, while ACC case morphology of immigrants of the first generation and the 1.5-generation, whose exposure to Hebrew started after the age of 5 shows no divergences from the monolingual speakers of Modern Standard Russian. Yet, based on the high heterogeneity with respect to ACC case acquisition observed in child and adult HL-Russian speakers with AoO before 5, future studies should address how internal and external factors modulate the acquisition of the complex case system in order to explain the conflicting evidence with respect to adult HL-Russian case system (Polinsky 2006, 2008, 2018a, Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan 2008, Łyskawa & Nagy 2020, Sekerina & Laurinavichyute 2020). HL-speakers reported in this study represent a high variability in their ACC case accuracy. A recent study on the acquisition of grammatical gender demonstrated an intricate interplay between various factors shaping the acquisition of gender morphology in child HL-Russian speakers (Rodina et al. 2020). Based on the large variability observed in the current study for the child and adult speakers of HL-Russian who started acquiring Hebrew before the age of 5, it is plausible to suggest that external factors might play an important role in consolidating the morphological knowledge in addition to the AoO factor. The role of the type of family should be investigated, comparing acquisition of ACC case morphology in speakers raised in families in which both parents are speakers of HL-Russian versus mixed families, in which only one parent speaks HL-Russian. The role of schooling and input in HL should be also addressed in order to understand which factors shape HL acquisition.

5. Conclusions

The current study sheds light onto grammar development and maintenance under heritage bilingualism of child and adult HL-speakers. The study provides evidence that HL-Russian speakers with earlier age of onset of the societal language, that has sparse case morphology, show difficulties with case forms more generally, under the influence of Hebrew which has sparse case morphology.

Both child and adult speakers acquiring Russian as their heritage language who start the acquisition of Hebrew before the age of 5 are more likely to use the erroneous NOM default form with feminine nouns ending in *-a* (e.g., *ja vizu grušā* ‘I see a pear.NOM’ instead of *ja vizu grušu* ‘I see a pear.ACC’) and masculine animate nouns (i.e., *ja vizu snegovik* ‘I see a snow-man.NOM’ instead of *ja vizu snegovika* ‘I see a snow-man.ACC’). The production of ACC case morphology in HL-Speakers with later Age of Onset of Hebrew (after the age of 5) and first-generation immigrants is error-free, i.e., similar to the one of the adult and child monolingual Russian-speaking controls.

On the basis of Russian in contact with Hebrew, the study demonstrates how heritage language grammars differ from the baseline grammar of monolingual speakers and which mechanisms are potentially associated with heritage language ultimate attainment. The study shows that divergences in heritage language grammars are related to the Age of Onset of the societal language, and possibly to the properties of the societal language.

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- Zaliznyak, Andrey A. 1977. *Grammatical Dictionary of the Russian Language. Inflection*. Moscow: Russian language.

Article history:

Received: 18 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionotes:

Natalia MEIR, PhD, Senior Lecturer/ Coordinator for Linguistics in Clinical Research Program at the Department of English Literature and Linguistics at the University of Bar-Ilan (Israel), member of “Bilingualism Matters Israel”. Her research interests embrace language contact and cross-linguistic influence, heritage language grammar, heritage language across the lifespan, Russian as a heritage language, morpho-syntax, working memory, and language development in atypical populations (Autism Spectrum Disorder, hearing impairment, Developmental Language Disorder).

Contact information:

Bar-Ilan University

Ramat-Gan, 5290002 Israel

e-mail: natalia.meir@biu.ac.il

ORCID: 0000-0001-9426-811X

Marina AVRAMENKO is a PhD student at the Department of English Literature and Linguistics at the University of Bar-Ilan, Israel. Her research interests include heritage language grammar, Russian as a heritage language, pragmatic knowledge of heritage speakers, requests in heritage speakers, and bilingualism.

Contact information:

Bar-Ilan University

Ramat-Gan, 5290002 Israel

e-mail: marinavram74@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0003-4554-8953

Tatiana VERKHOVTCEVA is a PhD student at the Department of English Literature and Linguistics at the University of Bar-Ilan, Israel. Her research interests include the Russian language, oral spontaneous speech, heritage language grammar, morpho-syntax, and Russian as a heritage language.

Contact information

Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan, 5290002 Israel
e-mail: tan.ver04@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-1225-8298

Сведения об авторах:

Наталья МЕИР – доктор, доцент кафедры английской литературы и лингвистики Университета Бар-Илан, координатор программы «Исследования в области клинической лингвистики». В сферу ее научных интересов входят: языковые контакты и межъязыковое взаимодействие, эритажные языки, русский язык как эритажный, морфосинтаксис, рабочая память, атипичное развитие языка (у детей с расстройствами аутистического спектра, нарушением слуха, нарушениями развития языка).

Контактная информация:

Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan, 5290002 Israel
e-mail: natalia.meir@biu.ac.il
ORCID: 0000-0001-9426-811X

Марина АВРАМЕНКО – докторант кафедры английской литературы и лингвистики Университета Бар-Илан. В сферу ее научных интересов входят эритажная грамматика, русский язык как эритажный, освоение прагматики эритажными говорящими, оформление просьбы в речи эритажных говорящих, билингвизм.

Контактная информация:

Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan, 5290002 Israel
e-mail: marinavram74@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-4554-8953

Татьяна ВЕРХОВЦЕВА – докторант кафедры английской литературы и лингвистики Университета Бар-Илан. Сфера ее научных интересов включает русский язык, устную спонтанную речь, эритажную грамматику, морфосинтаксис, русский язык как эритажный.

Контактная информация:

Bar-Ilan University
Ramat-Gan, 5290002 Israel
e-mail: tan.ver04@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0003-1225-8298



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-908-930>

Research article

Does language transfer explain it all? The case of first language change in Russian-English bilinguals

Ludmila ISURIN

The Ohio State University
Columbus, USA

Abstract

The present paper discusses findings from an empirical study looking into grammatical changes of Russian as the native language under the influence of English as a foreign language in a group of Russian-English bilinguals residing in the U.S. Twenty monolingual Russians and thirty Russian-English bilinguals participated in the study. All bilingual participants emigrated from Russia after their Russian language was fully acquired and had lived in the U.S. for 10–31 years prior to the time of the study. A semi-structured interview targeting autobiographical memories was employed as an elicitation technique. The analysis of narratives revealed distinctive changes in Russian in the two domains: word order and null subject use. The observed changes in the use of null pronominals suggested transfer from English. Bilinguals with more exposure to English used null pronominals less frequently. However, the directionality of effect in the use of the inverted word order by bilinguals was opposite to the predictions. Bilinguals with a very limited current exposure to Russian retained the inverted word order better than bilinguals with a broad exposure to Russian. Changes in the use of the inverted word order were partly attributed to the observed changes in the use of impersonal and existential sentences. The paper argues against cross-linguistic influence as the sole explanation of the first language changes.

Keywords: *L1 change, Russian-English bilinguals, transfer, null subjects, inverted word order*

For citation:

Isurin, Ludmila. 2021. Does language transfer explain it all? The case of first language change in Russian-English bilinguals. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 908–930. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-908-930>

Научная статья

Все ли объясняется интерференцией? Изменения в первом языке у русско-английских билингвов

Людмила ИСУРИН

Университет штата Огайо
Колумбус, США

Аннотация

В данной статье обсуждаются результаты эмпирического исследования, посвященного изучению грамматических изменений русского языка как родного под влиянием английского языка в группе русско-английских билингвов, проживающих в США. В исследовании

участвовало двадцать одноязычных русских и тридцать русско-английских билингвов. Все участники-билингвы эмигрировали из России после того, как их родной язык был полностью сформирован, и жили в США в течение 10–31 лет до времени проведения исследования. Для сбора материала использовалось полуструктурированное интервью, нацеленное на автобиографические воспоминания. Анализ нарративов выявил отличительные изменения в русском языке билингвов в двух областях: в порядке слов и использовании нулевого подлежащего. Наблюдаемые изменения, касающиеся использования нулевого подлежащего, предполагают влияние английского языка. Билингвы с хорошим знанием английского языка реже используют нулевые местоимения. Однако результаты использования обратного порядка слов билингвами были противоположны предположениям. Билингвы с очень ограниченным влиянием родного языка сохранили обратный порядок слов в большей степени, чем билингвы, которые много общаются на русском языке. Изменения в использовании обратного порядка слов частично объясняются наблюдаемыми изменениями в использовании безличных и экзистенциальных предложений. Результаты исследования показывают, что межъязыковое влияние не может служить единственным объяснением изменений в родном языке билингвов.

Ключевые слова: *изменение первого языка, русско-английские билингвы, интерференция, нулевые подлежащие, обратный порядок слов*

Для цитирования:

Isurin L. Does language transfer explain it all? The case of first language change in Russian-English bilinguals. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 908–930. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-908-930>

1. Introduction

Over the last few decades numerous studies of bilingualism and second language acquisition (SLA) have provided ample evidence of the instrumental and cognitive benefits of achieving fluency in a foreign language. Bilinguals are no longer viewed as imperfect hybrids of two monolinguals; rather, the high value and undeniable advantages of knowing more than one language overwrite the costs of being bilingual, such as unavoidable changes in the first language that often happen as a result of speaking a second language.

The bilingual's two languages do interact and influence each other. The study of such influences falls in the domain of language transfer or cross-linguistic influence (CLI), which has been a field of extensive research in the past few decades (e.g. Odlin 1989, 1990, Larsen-Freeman & Long 1991, Selinker 1992, Ellis 1994, Kellerman 1995, Gas & Selinker 1994, 2008, Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008). Cross-linguistic influence usually is studied from the perspective of foreign language acquisition and first language attrition. Odlin (1989) defines transfer as “the influence resulting from the similarities and differences between the target language and any other language that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired” (27). Furthermore, an earlier study comparing L2 acquisition and L1 forgetting in two groups of participants, Russian English attriters and English speakers learning Russian as L2, suggested that CLI can indeed be the cause of similar syntactic transfers both in L2 acquisition and L1 attrition (Isurin 2005).

The present paper discusses findings from an empirical study that looked into grammatical changes of Russian (L1) under the possible influence of English (L2)

in a group of Russian-English bilinguals residing in the U.S. and it mainly focused on two variables – length of immigration and the daily exposure to L1. It aims to contribute to the accumulated knowledge of how first languages changes under the influence of another language in bilingual speakers.

2. Cross-linguistic influence: the state of the art

As mentioned earlier, traditionally CLI is studied from the perspective of second language acquisition and first language attrition. The field of SLA puts great emphasis on studying possible negative influences that the native language can exert on the newly acquired language. Javadi-Safa (2018) presents an exhaustive overview of different hypotheses and models within the CLI framework and the historical overview of research on transfer, predominantly as it applies to a facilitative transfer in second language acquisition (for more information see the original publication). Here I will limit myself to a brief discussion of a few major theories that underlined the investigation of language transfer in the last few decades.

CLI can affect not only the L2 learner's performance in the target language but also can become a cause of changes (commonly known as L1 attrition/ loss) in the individual's native language. In the past, studies on transfer from L2 to L1 relied on once well-established, however lately abandoned, theories, such as Contrastive Analysis and Markedness (e.g. Seliger & Vago 1991, Seliger 1996). According to this notion, if two language grammars come into contact and the L2 category is less marked than the corresponding L1 category, then the latter is likely to be replaced by a rule transferred from L2. In other words, transfer will always move in the direction of the less marked category.

The last few decades of the 20th century also have seen much research conducted within the framework of universal grammar (UG). According to this approach, L1 changes often result from an attempt to simplify the grammatical sentence in order to avoid redundancies in the two languages (Levine 1996, Seliger 1996). According to Seliger (1996: 617), “forgetting within L1 is not random forgetting but guided by a principle of arriving at the most parsimonious grammar that can service both languages.”

The first decade of the 21st century has witnessed a few attempts to redefine the concept of transfer as it applies to L1 attrition. Cook (2003) was among the first to offer new terminology, such as L1 change (rather than L1 attrition) and L2 effect (rather than transfer). In light of this re-conceptualization of the whole notion of bilingualism, he promoted the idea of L2 users becoming the norm in the modern world and suggested that the bilingual's linguistic performance – as imperfect as it might be – exhibits distinctive characteristics and has its own rights. Around the same time, Pavlenko (2000, 2003) proposed a classificatory CLI framework describing different instances of transfer, such as lexical borrowings, semantic shift, restructuring transfer, et cetera.

Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008) take a fresh look at the field of transfer and add new perspectives, such as directionality of transfer. CLI is no longer bound by

forward (from L1 to L2) or reverse (from L2 to L1) direction but also can be lateral (from L2 to L3) and bidirectional. Bidirectional transfer is defined as the mutual influence of the two languages within the same individual. The authors call for a new approach to the study of transfer and show the need to have a more interdisciplinary approach in order to identify and measure CLI in its context. In addition, they delineate two general approaches to the study of transfer: intrasubjective and intersubjective. The former approach concerns single case studies, either experimental or longitudinal, whereas the latter involves a group of language speakers. The aim of the intersubjective approach is to identify common trends exhibited by a group of bilinguals whose L1 and L2 remain the same.

However, one of the unresolved issues in the field of CLI concerns the very terminology used in the literature. Scholars often use the terms *transfer*, *cross-linguistic influence* or *linguistic interference* interchangeably. Moreover, there is no consensus on defining transfer. A collection of works on code-switching (Isurin, Winford & de Bot 2009) raised the question of separating transfer from code-switching or borrowing. The contribution by Odlin (2009) continued the debate of the right terminology from the linguistic perspective, while Marian (2009) showed a way of looking at code-switching and transfer from a psycholinguistic perspective with the use of rigid experimental instruments. Also, Marian and Kaushanskaya (2007), in their study involving Russian-English bilinguals, demonstrated a clearly identified trend of code-switching on nouns (overt change) and linguistic transfer on verbs (covert change). To illustrate the latter, participants would produce in English (L2) the following utterances that suggest transfer from Russian (L1): *walking through a street* for ‘crossing the street,’ *I was going to the first grade* for ‘I was in first grade,’ or *we left from Kiev sometime in April* for ‘we left Kiev...’

To summarize, a flurry of research on CLI in the last few decades has identified a few contested territories, such as the attempt to find the right theoretical framework and reconcile conflicting terminology used throughout the field. The present article does not aim at solving these fundamental problems. Instead, it takes a functional approach to the linguistic analysis, adopts the *intersubjective* approach proposed by Jarvis and Pavlenko (2008), and works on the assumption that transfer is a *covert* change in the individual’s L1 as a result of the L2 influence. In this light, the next section will look at recent findings related to those registered in the present study.

3. Cross-linguistic influence: findings relevant to the present study

The present study concerns changes in L1 under the influence of L2 in two domains, namely, a change in word order and null subject.

3.1. Word order

One of the major concerns of early SLA studies on language transfer was how word order in L2 might be influenced by the structural differences of word order in L1 (Rutherford 1983, Sharwood Smith 1986, 1990, Zobl 1986a, 1986b, Fathman &

LoCoco 1989, Odlin 1990). The results of the studies looking into word order transfer were conflicting. Some indicated that L2 acquisition is affected by SVO (subject-verb-object) in L1 (Zobl 1982), while others disputed this notion (Rutherford 1983). Scholars working within the UG framework maintained that the initial word order acquisition is guided by universal principles rather than cross-linguistic influence (Klein & Perdue 1993, Zanoon 2016). However, Odlin (1990) argued that there is no universal constraint on transfer of the basic word order, a claim that was previously supported by findings in Trevisse's (1986) study. One of the recent ERP (event-related brain potential) studies looked into how L1-Spanish speakers acquiring Basque as L2 process non-canonical SVO and OVS (object-verb-subject) in Basque (canonical word order in Basque is SOV and in Spanish – SVO). The results indicated that bilinguals heavily relied on their L1 while processing non-canonical Basque word orders, which further supported the earlier finding about the role of the word order in L1 that might govern the acquisition of L2. The authors concluded that “it could be that non-native speakers never process the grammatical structure of L2 in a native-like manner, mostly if they already can do it transferring the cues of their L1 grammar” (Erdocia & Laka 2018: 8).

Besides SLA studies, the role of CLI in word order was studied in the bilingual context. A recent study on word order transfer in 117 Dutch-English bilingual children demonstrated a role of CLI in acceptability judgment task (Bosch & Unsworth 2020). While English is an SVO language, Dutch is a V2 (“verb second”) language, meaning that if an element other than the subjects appears in clause-initial position, subject-verb inversion takes place. Although none of their participants produced VS word orders in English, they were more likely than monolinguals to accept V2 word orders as correct in the grammaticality judgment task. In addition, bilinguals were more likely to accept ungrammatical V2 word orders in English if they were exposed to relatively more Dutch than English. Thus the authors concluded that in some cases CLI may be more persistent than previously thought.

However, transfer of word order cannot only affect acquisition of foreign languages but also can lead to changes in the native languages. The research in this area has not been as extensive as in SLA. Merino's (1983) study showed deterioration of the performance on word order in Spanish (L1) with an increase in performance of the corresponding category in English (L2). Liu, Bates, and Li's (1992) study found that late Chinese-English bilinguals transferred English-like word-order strategies to the interpretation of sentences in Chinese. Word order information in L1 comprehension was found to be particularly vulnerable when there was a phonological similarity between L1 and L2 verbs used in a grammaticality judgment task (Altenberg 1991). In Shaufelli's (1996) study on Turkish immigrants in the Netherlands, the analysis of the elicited spontaneous speech showed more variability in word order, whereas the sentence interpretation task showed that the participants relied more on word order. The author suggested that word order changes could result from L2 (Dutch) transfer as well as the

language's internal pressure. The latter concerns internal restructuring of the native language that leads to a more consistent pattern.

In her study, Isurin (2005) looked at two sets of bilinguals whose languages remained the same – Russian and English – but the order of acquisition was the reverse. In other words, Russian-English bilinguals undergoing changes in their L1 and English learners of Russian as L2 participated in the study. Typologically, English and Russian differ in terms of permissible word orders. While the former has a fixed SVO (subject-verb-object) order, the latter allows six mathematically possible combinations, with SVO being basic and pragmatically the most neutral (Comrie 1979). The study analyzed the data from two sources: a longitudinal study on a Russian child adopted by an American family and an experimental study where story elicitation was used as the main psycholinguistic tool. The results of the longitudinal study suggested that the fast process of L1 attrition in a child was accompanied by a restructuring of her word order, with the VS (verb-subject) pattern almost disappearing and SVO remaining a dominant word order by the end of the observation period (a year after Russian input abruptly ended). This finding encouraged the author to look further into this particular phenomenon. The experimental part of the study involved three groups of participants: monolingual Russian speakers, Russian-English bilinguals residing in the U.S., and English-speaking learners of Russian as L2. Picture-based story telling was used as an elicitation technique. Although there was no clear evidence for word order transfer in the group of Russian-English bilinguals, the results of the study indicated that a tendency to use VS order less frequently may be a function of longer residence in the L2 country and higher exposure to L2. Conversely, the use of the inverted (VS) word order in L2 learners of Russian increased with higher fluency in L2. What may be of particular relevance to the present study is that L2 learners of Russian demonstrated a tendency to more frequently use so-called existential sentences where VS use is required. Russian uses the inverted VS order for existential and presentational constructions (see Polinsky 2006, for further references). The author suggested that such a sentence is one of the earliest learned in L2 Russian classes and L2 learners may rely on it heavily during the early stages of L2 acquisition. The reduced use of a variety of word orders in speakers of 'American Russian' – first and second generation immigrants – also was reported by Polinsky (2006). Moreover, Harrison (2011) identified instances of word order transfer in Polish-English bilingual children.

3.2. Null subject or pro-drop

Another area of concern for the present study is so-called null subject, also known as pro-drop, which is a drop of an overt realization of subject from the grammatical surface of the sentence. Although Russian is not a language allowing pro-drop in all instances and shows constraints on where null pronominals can occur (Franks 1995, Lindseth 1998), it nevertheless allows for a null subject, which happens not only in colloquial Russian. For example, the sentence *prishli, poeli i*

legli spat' (came, ate, and went to sleep) would be correct grammatically and the corresponding referents (pronouns 'we' or 'they') easily could be recovered based on the inflected verb ending and the referent previously used in the context. English, on the other hand, does not allow for pro-drop, and using null subjects is ungrammatical in most instances other than the omission of a personal pronoun at the beginning of an English sentence in instances of colloquial usage (informal questions and answers), in imperatives, and lately in informal cell phone text messaging.

A few previous studies reported changes in this particular feature as a result of the individual's exposure to another language. Gürel (2004) studied a group of native speakers of Turkish who had been living in North America (U.S. and Canada) for a prolonged period of time and found clear evidence of changes in pro-drop, as it is used in Turkish. The author discussed her findings within the framework of the Activation Threshold Hypothesis and argued that such change in the use of null subjects happens as a result of a higher level of activation of a competing language system (L2) which does not allow for this particular syntactic property. Harrison (2011) registered decline in pro-drop in the speech of Polish-English bilingual children and attributed it to transfer from English. Isurin's (2011) study of Russian immigrants in the U.S. provided further evidence of change regarding null subject that happen with more exposure to L2. Her participants were Russian-English bilinguals, monolingual English speakers, and a control group of Russian monolinguals. Bilinguals differed in terms of their daily exposure to English and general level of integration. Significantly less frequent use of null subjects in Russian was attributed to the factor of L2 exposure. The author studied a phenomenon of null pronominal use by bilinguals from a perspective different from that commonly used in the field of CLI. Pro-drop was viewed as one of the characteristic features of languages associated with so-called collectivist cultures (contrasted with individualist cultures) – a line of thinking that emerged over the last few decades within a collectivism and individualism construct in cross-cultural psychology. Despite clear evidence of the diminished use of null subjects among well integrated bilinguals with low level of exposure to Russian the author concluded that changes regarding pro-drop probably should be better studied within the CLI framework.

In one of the most recent longitudinal case studies on pro-drop in a contact situation, a Bulgarian – German bilingual with 17 years of residence in Germany was tested at four points during the five yearlong investigation and showed a significantly higher rate of overt pronominal subjects in L1 (L1 is pro-drop language; L2 – non-pro-drop) than the rates of ten monolingual controls when tested in Germany. However, after three weeks of L1-reexposure in Bulgaria attrition effects disappeared and the overt subject rate fell within the monolinguals' range. The study adopted a psycholinguistic approach considering both language dominance shift and attrition as modifications of the availability of linguistic structures for ongoing language processing. The results did not support the

predictions and the authors concluded “that peculiarities of performance observed in L1 attrition are probably depending much more on language mode and activation states than on restructuring of linguistic representations” (Köpke & Genevskaya-Hanke 2018: 13).

If pro-drop disappears or becomes less frequent as a result of the bilingual’s exposure to another language which does not allow for it, how can we explain findings coming from studies where both languages allow for pro-drop, yet the occurrence of null subjects in L1 changes? Similar changes in the use of null subjects were registered in two studies involving Spanish (L1) in Italy and Italian (L1) in Spain (Sorace 2004, Sorace & Serratrice 2009). Both languages in question allow for the use of null subjects; however, changes occurred in the use of null subjects in respective L1s. Moreover, Russian speakers in the U.S. and Israel showed similar patterns of the disappearance of pro-drop, despite the fact that in Hebrew null subjects in the first and second person are preferable or even required (Dubinina & Polinsky 2013). Dubinina and Polinsky (2013) join Sorace and her colleagues in supporting the Interface Hypothesis that suggests that such an unexpected change actually may result from the fact that a language spoken outside of its native environment may undergo changes that pertain to the interface at which a particular linguistic feature is located. In the case of pro-drop, it is the interface between the syntactic rule (null pronominals can occur only in specific syntactic positions) and the information sentence (the pronoun’s referent and the referent of the nearest topic should be the same). In addition, the authors suggest that less processing effort is required in order to overtly state a lexical pronoun. Since the cognitive load placed on the bilingual speaker operating between the two languages is usually high, we may add that such processing economy indeed may be a mechanism behind those changes that cannot be explained within the CLI framework. The authors agree that we do not have much information as to why such changes occur in the first place, especially in cases where both languages allow for the same feature, such as null subject.

To summarize, prior studies on syntactic changes in L1 under the influence of L2 reported instances of word order and null subject changes. The study presented in this article aims at bringing additional evidence of L1 changes under the influence of L2 in the above two domains and it specifically looks into two factors, length of immigration and the amount of daily exposure to L1, that may account for the registered changes.

4. Study design and methodology

4.1. Participants

Fifty participants took part in the study: 20 monolingual Russians and 30 Russian-English bilinguals. The pool of Russian monolinguals was recruited in St. Petersburg, Russia. The age of the participants in this group ranged from 27 to 57. All bilingual participants emigrated from Russia after their L1 was fully acquired and had lived in the U.S. for 10–31 years by the time the study was

conducted. The age of this group ranged from 30 to 76. Most of the participants in the study were college educated or had some post-secondary degree. The study controlled for two variables: amount of daily exposure to L1 and length of residence in the U.S.

4.2. Materials and procedure

A semi-structured interview on autobiographical memories was used as an elicitation technique (such technique was previously used to study code-switching and transfer in a group of Russian-English bilinguals by Marian and Kaushanskaya 2007). The number of questions and the order of their presentation remained constant throughout the study. The interview questions concerned memories associated with birthday celebration, New Year/ Christmas celebration, and vacation time. Memories on recent events as well as those from the participant's childhood were elicited. All participants were interviewed individually by the researcher; the interviews were recorded and later transcribed for analysis. The elicited data were analyzed both quantitatively and qualitatively.

4.3. Predictions

Based on the evidence gathered by prior studies the following predictions were made. Bilinguals' narratives will show two trends. First, the use of null subjects will become less frequent. Second, the use of the inverted VS order will become less frequent. If observed, both changes can be attributed to CLI from English that generally does not allow for null subject or for the inverted word order. In line with prior findings from studies on L1 attrition, the amount of daily exposure to L1 rather than the length of residence in the L2 country is expected to have an effect on the above changes (see Schmid 2004 for the detailed overview of the above two factors in the literature on L1 attrition).

5. Results

Altogether, 300 narrative excerpts related to same topics were produced by the participants and later analyzed. The total length of narratives produced by monolinguals was 5,270 words ($M = 263.5$) and the total length of bilinguals' narratives was 14,179 words ($M = 472.6$). The difference in the length of the speech sample partially can relate to the elicitation method. All monolingual participants and the majority of bilingual participants ($N = 20$) were interviewed over the phone. However, much shorter narratives elicited from monolingual speakers can be attributed to a certain sense of alert that Russians residing in Russia may still have when being interviewed over the phone by an American-based researcher.

The analysis of null subjects as well as the analysis of word order was based on the number of clauses produced by each individual participant. In other words, the ratio of VS order and null subjects produced by each participant was calculated based on the number of clauses produced by this participant. In this analysis, a

clause was defined as a production unit containing maximally but not minimally one verb. The definition of clause was adopted from Broersma, Isurin, de Bot & Butlena (2009). The total number of clauses for monolinguals was 990 ($M = 49.5$), and for bilinguals 2,418 ($M = 80.6$).

5.1. Word order change

As mentioned earlier in this paper, the word order in Russian is not fixed, meaning that there are six different word order structures possible without any change in the meaning of the sentence; whereas English has a fixed word order, with the VS order violating the grammaticality of a sentence. One of the goals of the study was to look into word order change, especially the use of the inverted verb-subject pattern. The analysis of narratives revealed a remarkable difference in the use of this particular order between the two groups. Below are the excerpts from monolingual and bilingual narratives demonstrating an observed change.

Russian monolinguals:

- (1) *Все было как обычно, как это положено у русских: сначала баня, потом застолье, потом в 12 часов слушали президента, и вышли к елке на улицу, где уже собралось наше дачное сообщество (VS). Был салют (VS), были танцы (VS), ходили друг к другу, поздравляли.*

All was like always, as it is customary for Russians: first, a bathhouse, then a sit-down dinner, then (we) listened to the President at 12 o'clock, and (we) went outside where all our *dacha* community got together. There was a firework, there were dances, (we) went to see each other, congratulated.

- (2) *Нам накрывали такой большой стол родители (VS), я помню, что когда вот было время (VS), что было мало что в магазинах (VS), и мне мама купила ... принесла очень большой торт, и там вот был ежик такой печеный (VS)...*

Parents would set a big table for us. I remember, when there was a time that there was little in stores, my mom bought... brought me a very big cake, and there was a pastry hedgehog there...

Russian bilinguals:

- (3) *Последнее рождество ... мы замечательным образом проспали. Поскольку моя жена работала, а я был со своим маленьким сыном. Поэтому мы с ним вовремя легли спать.*

Last Christmas... We slept through it in a wonderful way. Since my wife worked I was with my little son. So he and I went to sleep on time.

- (4) *Я вообще не отмечаю свой день рождения, мы с моей женой идем куда-нибудь в ресторан, и я не отмечаю их вообще. Потому что я перевалил видимо ту черту, когда мои дни рождения приносили мне*

радость, поскольку мой каждый день рождения делает меня, грубо говоря, старше. И вообще, я думаю, что за последние 20 лет я свой день рождения не отмечал.

I do not celebrate my birthdays at all, my wife and I go to a restaurant, and I do not celebrate them at all. Because I am past that stage where my birthdays were fun to me, since every birthday makes me, so to speak, older. And I think that in the last 20 years I have not celebrated my birthdays.

As Figure 1 demonstrates, bilinguals produced fewer VS orders in their discourse than monolinguals ($M = 5.65$ vs. $M = 8.76$). A t -test analysis indicated that this difference was reliable $t(1.48) = 2.51, p < .01$.

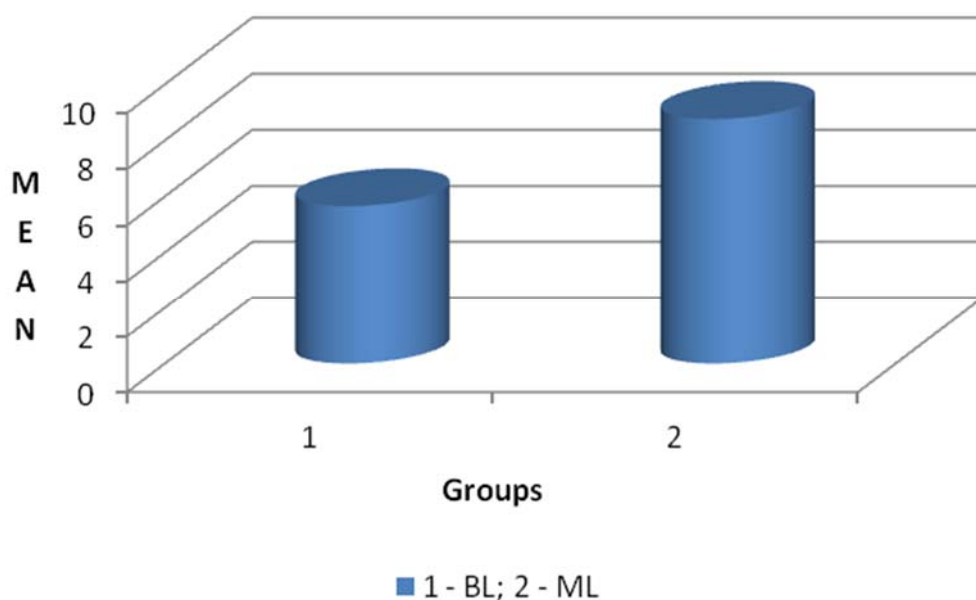


Figure 1. Inverted word order

Length of immigration can be viewed as a relatively arbitrary measure, as often it is the researcher's choice where to draw the line separating long-timers from recent immigrants. Thus in this study, it was decided to split groups in three different ways to see whether the results will change depending on a particular regrouping. If we find that no matter how we regroup the participants the measure does not show a change, we may suggest that the found effect indeed is reliable. First, the data were split into two groups, participants who spent 6–17 years in the US and those who spent 21–31 years. The mean VS% was higher for those in the 21–31 years condition (6.16) compared to the mean for those with 6–17 years (5.5). A Bonferroni t -test proved unreliable $t < 0.4$. Then the participants were split into two different groups, those who spent 6–15 and 16–31 years in the US. The mean VS% was nearly identical across the two groups (6–17 year condition, $M = 5.67$;

16–31 year condition, $M = 5.63$). A Bonferroni t -test proved unreliable $t < 0.21$. Finally, the data were split into three groups based on 6–12, 13–17, and 21–31 year condition split. The mean VS% was higher for those in the 21–31 year condition ($M = 6.16$) than it was for either of the other two groups (13–17 year condition, $M = 5.36$; 6–12 year condition, $M = 5.76$). A one-way Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) with year as the single factor and VS% as the dependent measure proved unreliable, suggesting that the means were highly similar across all three year-conditions, $F < 1.0$ (Table 1). The results suggest that the length of immigration does not play a role in the bilinguals' use of the inverted word order.

Table 1

Length of immigration versus the VS use

Years	N	Mean	SD	SE
6-12	8	5.7625	5.4691	1.9336
13-17	15	5.3600	2.5399	0.6558
21-31	7	6.1571	6.0701	2.2943

Next, the variable of daily exposure to Russian was considered. First the participants were split into two groups: those with 40% or more exposure to Russian ($M = 59$) and those with 30% and less ($M = 16$). The mean VS% for those with 40% or more exposure ($M = 4.52$) was smaller than the mean for those with 30% or less exposure ($M = 6.41$). This effect proved unreliable based on a t -test with an applied Bonferroni correction, $t(1, 28) = 1.21$, $p < .12$. Then the participants were evenly split into two group conditions (note: the closer in size the two groups are, the more statistical power the analysis contains): those who had less than 20% Russian input and those who had more than 30%. The mean VS% for those with 30% or more exposure to Russian (4.23) was smaller than the mean for those with 20% or less exposure (7.08). This effect proved reliable based on a t -test with an applied Bonferroni correction, $t(1, 28) = 1.92$, $p < .05$. Conversely, daily exposure to Russian produced an effect opposite to our predictions; that is, participants with limited exposure to Russian showed significantly more inverted word orders in their discourse than those who had a high exposure to Russian in the US.

5.2. Existential sentences

A closer look at the word order patterns across the two groups showed that monolinguals use existential sentences much more often than bilinguals. The example of existential sentences in Russian will be a sentence like:

- (5) Там было (V) много людей (S)
There were many people there.

An existential sentence always requires the word order inversion (VS) in Russian. A further analysis of existential sentences revealed that bilinguals' frequent use of a demonstrative pronoun “это” (this, it) at the beginning of the

sentence that otherwise might have been an existential sentence results in the direct word order and makes the sentence less grammatical:

- (6) *Там было (V) много людей (S)*
There were many people there.

Compare with:

- (*) *Это (S) было много людей (V)*¹
It was many people.

Below are excerpts from the bilinguals' narratives demonstrating the above trend:

- (7) *Но это была в подавляющем большинстве родительская компания, несмотря на то, что они были с детьми, это были – когда я была совсем маленькая – это были не мои подружки со школы, а это был круг друзей родителей со своими детьми. И только уже в старшей школе, я начала приглашать своих подружек. Да и это тоже было всегда много народу.*

But it was mostly my parents' company, despite that they were with their children. These were – when I was really little – these were not my girlfriends from school, but this was a circle of my parents' friends and their children. Only in high school I started inviting my friends. So this was also a lot of people.

- (8) *Это было деревня, (*) это было работал (*). Мы с ребятами ходили в колхоз, зарабатывали деньги. Это вот было школьное время. Иногда, в раннем таком пионерском возрасте, это были пионерские лагеря. В студенческие – это были стройотряды.*

This was a village, (*) this was worked (*). My friends and I went to collective farms, made some money. This was a school time. Sometimes, in early pioneer age, this was pioneer camps. In student years – this was student construction brigades.

Existential sentence in Russian involves the verb “*быть*” (to be) in its conjugated forms “*было, был, была,*” for three genders (neuter, masculine, feminine), and plural form “*были*” in the past tense. Since the speech samples analyzed in this study concerned autobiographical memories, most of the elicited narratives were in the past tense.

On average, bilinguals produced the demonstrative pronoun “*это*” at the beginning of a clause that had the potential of being an existential sentence twice as often as monolinguals (10.7% vs. 4.7%). Table 2 illustrates a number of instances where the demonstrative pronoun “*это*” used at the beginning of a clause as well as four forms of the verb “*быть*” were produced by each group.

(*) indicates ungrammatical sentences.

Table 2

Existential sentences		
Word/ group	Bilinguals (Mean)	Monolinguals (Mean)
ЭТО	6.9	1.7
БЫЛО	5.5	3.6
БЫЛИ	2.4	1.8
БЫЛА	2.9	1.5
БЫЛ	2.6	1.7

Bilinguals produced the demonstrative pronoun “это” at the beginning of a clause four times more often than monolinguals and used all four forms of the verb “быть” more often than monolinguals. However, it would be incorrect to claim that the use of the demonstrative pronoun was always associated with the existential sentence. Oftentimes, the pronoun was used in those cases where the impersonal sentence would be more grammatically correct. The following excerpts illustrate the two observed trends, namely, (9) the use of the pronoun in the existential sentence and (10) in the impersonal sentence:

(9) *Каникулы – да я все время занимался спортом с 11 лет, поэтому для меня все каникулы – это были горнолыжные сборы, то в горы, то в Калгово под Ленинградом, т.е. это была работа, это было веселое какое-то настроение, это были завтраки в столовых...*

Holidays – well, I always did some sports since I was 11 years old, so all my holidays – this was skiing camps, either in mountains or in Kavgolovo near Leningrad. In other words, this was work, this was high spirits, and these were breakfasts in cafeteria...

(* *это тоже было всегда много народу.*

There were many people too.

(10) *Это было очень замечательно.*

It was wonderful.

Это было очень приятно.

It was very nice.

Я только помню, что это всегда было очень весело.

I only remember that always it was much fun.

Это было существенно более событийно.

It was more eventful.

Это было очень скромненько.

It was very modest.

Although the above examples (9, 10) taken out of context cannot be considered grammatically incorrect and most native speakers of Russian would accept them as grammatical, the absence of a clear referent for the demonstrative pronoun *это* indicates that bilinguals consistently use it as a strategy. The observed trend of such frequent use of the demonstrative pronoun at the beginning of sentences that otherwise would have been impersonal and, as such, more correct in standard Russian, shows that bilinguals overwhelmingly adopt a new discourse strategy. This strategy can relate to transfer from English where impersonal sentences begin

with the expletive ‘it’ (*эмо*), whereas, in standard Russian, impersonal sentences in the past tense begin with the neuter form of the verb ‘to be’ (*было*).

5.3. Null subjects

The analysis of narratives revealed numerous instances of null subjects in monolinguals’ discourse and its less frequent use by bilinguals. The following excerpts show examples:

Russian monolinguals:

- (11) *Новый Год справляли в кругу семьи, прихо... пришли друзья... ну весело, выпили, закусили, посмотрели телевизор.*
[We] celebrated New Year in a family circle, friends came... well, it was fun, [we] had drinks, ate, and watched a TV.
- (12) *Новый Год? Ну замечательно традиционно, сначала поздравляем родителей... Поздравляем родителей, так сказать, провожаем с ними Новый Год, старый то есть, старый. Потом до боя курантов возвращаемся домой и уже там, скажем, в тесном семейном кругу у елки встречаем Новый Год.*
New Year? Wonderful, traditional, first [we] congratulate our parents. [We] congratulate our parents, so to speak, say goodbye to the New Year, that is, old year.... Then before the Kremlin clock strikes [we] return home and there, say, in a close family circle (we) celebrate New Year by the Christmas tree.
- (13) *Новый Год? Замечательно справляла. Сначала сидела дома с родителями, с ними встретила, потом пошла к друзьям, вот... у них там было весело, танцевали, ели-пили и общались, гуляли.*
New Year? [I] celebrated it great. First, [I] was at home with my parents, [I] celebrated with them, then [I] went to my friends’, well it was fun there, (we) danced, drank, ate, talked, went out for a walk.

Russian bilinguals:

- (14) *Мы справляли и Новый Год и Рождество в этом году в компании русских друзей. Рождество мы справляли в одной компании, а Новый Год в другой.*
We celebrated both New Year and Christmas. **We** celebrated Christmas in one company and New Year in another.
- (15) *Мы справляли Новый Год, но мы справляли его в России, потому что мы уезжали туда на 3 недели. Мы справляли его в кругу семьи, с моими родственниками, купили елку, приготовили стол, как обычно в России мы справляли Новый Год и раньше.*
We celebrated New Year but **we** celebrated it in Russia, because **we** left there for three weeks. **We** celebrated it in a circle of our family, with my relatives, bought a Christmas tree; put together a table, as always in Russia **we** celebrated New Year before.

- (16) *В этом году мы были на Гавайях, в отпуске. И мы справляли это естественно на Гавайях. Для начала мы пошли в японский ресторан, наша любимая кухня, а Новый Год встретили у нас в отеле, потому что это было на берегу океана, где были фейерверки.*
 This year we were in Hawaii, vacation time. Naturally, we celebrated it in Hawaii. First, we went to a Japanese restaurant, our favorite cuisine. And [we] celebrated New Year at our hotel, because it was by the ocean where there were lots of fireworks.

Clearly, the above monolinguals' excerpts demonstrate how Russians use null subject, especially when the agent is the first person pronoun, whereas bilinguals' excerpts almost always have an overt pronominal in the subject position. The difference in discourse patterns is particularly striking since both sets of excerpts relate to the same topic and have the same opening line. The results of the quantitative analysis showed the same trend.

The pro-drop mean was higher in the monolingual condition ($M = 13.01$) compared with the bilingual condition ($M = 9.91$). Findings from a t -test indicated that this difference was unreliable, $t(1.48) = 1.39, p < 1.0$. See Figure 2.

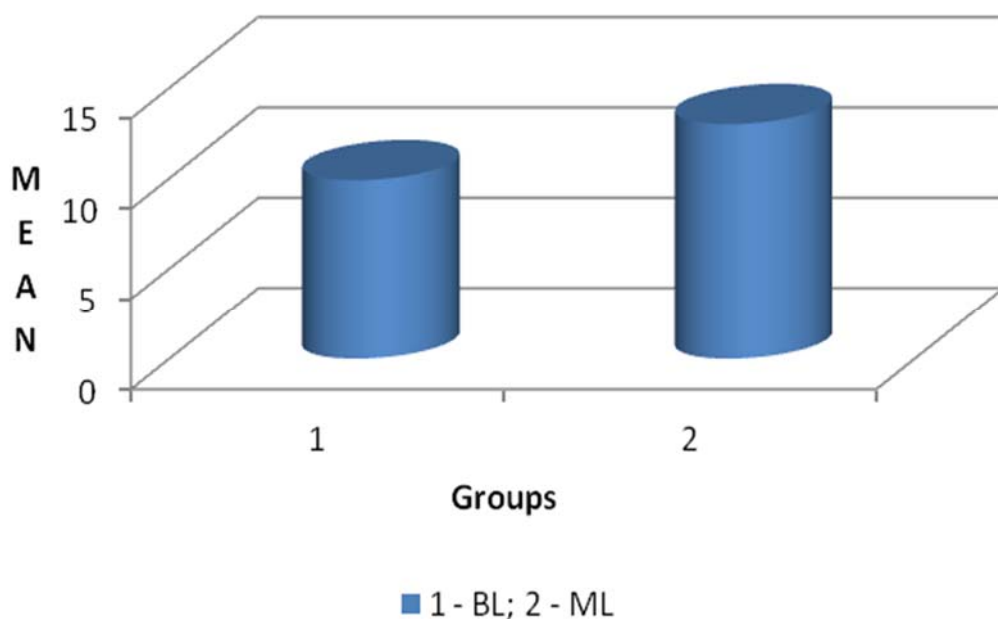


Figure 2. Pro-drop

Next, two independent variables, length of immigration and amount of daily exposure to Russian, were tested. As in the word order analysis, the bilingual data were analyzed against two variables, the length of immigration and the amount of daily exposure to Russian. Steps similar to those in the analysis of VS were made here. First, bilinguals were split into two groups, those who spent 6–17 and 21–31 years in the US. The mean pro-drop score was lower for those in the

21–31 years condition ($M = 7.88$) compared to the mean for those in the 6–17 years condition ($M = 10.52$). A Bonferroni t -test proved unreliable $t < 0.85$. In order to increase the statistical power owing to the increased number of participants in the higher number of years condition, the participants were split into two different groups, those who spent 6–15 and 16–31 years in the US. The mean pro-drop score was slightly higher in the 6–15 years condition ($M = 10.48$) than in the 16–31 years condition ($M = 9.04$). A Bonferroni t -test proved unreliable $t < 0.55$. A final split into 6–14 and 15–31 years conditions produced similar results. The mean pro-drop score was larger for those in the 15–31 years condition ($M = 10.35$) compared to the mean for those in the 6–14 years condition ($M = 9.24$). A Bonferroni t -test proved unreliable $t < 0.4$. In other words, the length of immigration does not seem to play a role in the observed syntactic change despite our attempt to see whether a different grouping will make a difference.

However, when the amount of daily exposure to Russian was used as an independent variable, the following results were obtained. Splitting the data into two conditions, those participants who spend 10–30% or less ($M = 16$) and 40–80% or more of their daily time speaking Russian ($M = 59$) (note: 92% of participants in that group had more than 50% Russian input), showed that the mean pro-drop score for those with 40% or higher exposure to Russian ($M = 14.47$) was more than twice the mean for those with 30% or less exposure ($M = 6.86$). This effect proved reliable based on a t -test with an applied Bonferroni correction, $t(1, 28) = 3.13, p < .005$. When the data were split slightly differently, that is participants with less than 20% of daily exposure to Russian and those who have more than 30% of exposure, the mean pro-drop score for those with 30% or higher exposure ($M = 13.25$) was larger than that of the mean for those with 20% or less exposure ($M = 6.56$). This effect also proved reliable based on a t -test with an applied Bonferroni correction, $t(1, 28) = 2.72, p < .01$. The results of these tests showed that the less frequent use of overt pronominals in Russian may indeed be a function of the amount of Russian input in the individual's daily life. In the immigrant setting, the diminished input in L1 directly translates into a higher input of L2, especially in the group of our bilinguals, i.e., those bilinguals who had limited Russian input were professionally employed and highly integrated individuals.

6. Discussion

The present study looked at first language changes in Russian-English bilinguals and those changes were considered within the CLI framework. A few particular instances of language change were under scrutiny.

The analysis of syntactic changes in the bilinguals' discourse identified a less frequent use of null pronominals by bilinguals. Although Russian is not a typical pro-drop language and has constraints on when and where the subject can be dropped from the grammatical surface of the sentence, null pronominals are commonly used by native speakers, as was illustrated by the group of monolinguals in the present study. The difference in the use of pro-drop by the two groups of

participants encouraged us to look more closely at those factors that may contribute to a change in the native language. Length of residence in the L2 country and daily exposure to L1 are traditionally considered as main factors in L1 attrition research. Predictably and in line with prior studies (Schmid 2004, Köpke & Genevska-Hanke 2018), the length of immigration did not produce a significant effect, whereas the amount of daily Russian input showed that the less frequent use of null pronominals indeed might be associated with limited exposure to Russian. The latter translates into a more frequent use of English, which, in turn, suggests that language transfer could account for the registered change in the bilinguals' discourse. The obtained finding adds to the evidence reported in prior studies where the two languages in contact differed in terms of this particular feature. However, due to the nature of the two languages involved in the present study, it does not provide an answer to why such change can occur in those contact situations where both languages allow for pro-drop. The explanation of that phenomenon by Sorace and colleagues (Sorace 2004, Sorace & Serratrice 2009, as cited in Dubinina & Polinsky 2006) remains the most plausible. Indeed, the cognitive load imposed by processing two languages could result in a bilingual's stating overtly a lexical pronoun, which would require less processing effort. In the immigrant setting – especially among immigrants who are professionally employed (this was the case of all participants with a low level of Russian input in our study) – limited exposure to Russian can translate directly into a higher input of English. In accordance with this line of thinking, the observed change could occur as a result of a cross-linguistic influence as well as bilinguals' effort to reduce the cognitive load by using an overt pronoun in those instances where null pronominal would be allowed.

Another observed change in the bilinguals' discourse concerned word order and, in particular, instances of the inverted verb-subject order. In line with our predictions, the two groups of participants – monolinguals and bilinguals – did differ in their use of this feature and the difference was statistically reliable. As is the case with the less frequent use of null pronominals, the VS use was not affected by the length of immigration. When the factor of Russian input was considered the effect was reliable but going in the direction opposite to our expectations. In other words, bilinguals use the VS order much less than monolinguals and participants with very limited exposure to Russian use it more often than those who have a higher Russian input. How can we explain this dichotomy? Clearly, this finding cannot easily be explained within the CLI framework. Limited exposure to Russian assumes higher exposure to English, a language that has very rigid constraints on the VS order use. Why did transfer from English not happen in this group of speakers? At the same time, high exposure to Russian in the U.S. provides ample chances for participants to hear and use this feature. Why did these speakers use the VS order less frequently? Starting with the second question, we may suggest that the Russian input in the U.S. is different from the Russian input in Russia. Frequent interaction in Russian with other Russian immigrants may not be a sufficient input of standard Russian. In the absence of continuous, firsthand daily contact with the

language spoken in the L1 country the language of the immigrant community may change, thereby providing ample linguistic input of what we consider L1 input but which, in reality, is different from the L1 input in the L1 country. Thus, participants with a high level of exposure to Russian may be exposed to the language that had changed in general. Taking this argument a step further we can suggest that either transfer from English affected that input or some internal language changes leading to simplification of certain linguistic features occurred. The L1 input containing covert linguistic changes may be viewed as a source of “transfer,” with the term “transfer” being re-conceptualized to extend it to within language influence. However, this suggestion remains rather speculative due to the insufficient data on the Russian language spoken in Russian immigrant communities in the U.S. In light of this argument, a well preserved use of the VS order by participants with very limited exposure to Russian – whether this exposure means standard Russian or “American Russian” – speaks against cross-linguistic influence from English.

The reduced use of the inverted word order led us to look closely at those particular instances where the observed change occurred. Numerous instances of existential sentences in the monolingual discourse and less frequent use of such sentences in the bilingual discourse revealed an interesting trend. Bilinguals seem to overuse the demonstrative pronoun ‘*это*’ at the beginning of a sentence that otherwise would have been an existential sentence requiring the inverted word order. The demonstrative takes the subject position and changes the word order into direct, albeit this is less grammatical in standard Russian. A further look into this particular change showed that bilinguals often use this pronoun at the beginning of a sentence that otherwise would have been an impersonal sentence. Based on the anecdotal evidence from teaching Russian to English-speaking students, a similar transfer/strategy has been observed among L2 learners who tend to overuse a Russian demonstrative pronoun which often results in odd sounding sentences, such as *Это было важно знать* (что-то) instead of a more grammatically correct sentence *Было важно знать* (что-то) (It was important to know). Moreover, in our study, bilinguals tended to use all four forms of the verb ‘*быть*’ more often than monolinguals. The above finding can suggest a few things. First, we can see a clear sign of transfer from English where impersonal sentences start with the expletive ‘it’ (*это*), such as ‘It was interesting.’ However, in the case of existential sentences, such transfer is not clearly identified (cf.: ‘There were many people’). The English adverbial ‘there’ does not translate directly into the Russian demonstrative pronoun *это*. Another suggestion that we can make here is that bilinguals’ discourse becomes less lexically diverse and this may lead to the overuse of certain basic verbal forms, such as the verb ‘to be,’ or even to the overuse of certain grammatical sentences, such as sentences beginning with the demonstrative *это* followed by the conjugated forms of the verb *быть*, whether it changes an existential sentence or an impersonal sentence. In order to substantiate such claim, we should have conducted an analysis involving lexical token ratio, which was outside the scope of the present study. Finally, we can suggest that bilinguals’

strategy of using the demonstrative pronoun at the beginning of a sentence could result from an attempt to reduce processing effort: by introducing a clearly defined subject at the beginning of the sentence the bilingual speaker reduces the processing load involving the choice of an inverted word order.

Going back to the predictions made at the onset of the study, CLI can account for the registered changes in the use of null pronominals but it fails to explain a less frequent use of the VS order. As expected, the amount of the L1 input plays a role in both changes, but the directionality of the effect was not as straightforward as predicted. This suggests that language transfer should be studied within a much broader framework where psycholinguistic techniques and methodologies are combined with a more traditional comparative analysis. Also, such changes should be studied from the perspective of a bi-directional transfer where both L1 attrition and L2 acquisition are scrutinized.

7. Conclusion

The present study has contributed additional evidence of L2 to L1 transfer to the existing knowledge of covert syntactic changes taking place in the individual's first language under the influence of the second language. However, the findings of this study provided only partial support for cross-linguistic influence as a sole source of the registered changes. As expected, Russian-English bilinguals have demonstrated a clear trend of using fewer null subjects than their monolingual counterparts and the less frequent use of null subject was related to the amount of Russian input. Predictably, the length of immigration did not play a role in the observed syntactic change. However, the less frequent use of the inverted word order by bilinguals revealed an unexpected finding that cannot be interpreted within the CLI framework. The amount of Russian input produced an effect opposite to our expectations, showing that very limited exposure to Russian actually preserves the use of the inverted word order.

To conclude, the present study conducted within the traditional CLI framework failed to provide sufficient support for transfer as the sole reason for L1 changes in bilinguals living outside the L1 environment. Instead, we suggested that a psycholinguistic perspective on language change and language transfer should be incorporated in the more traditional comparative CLI framework. Finally, the present study showed the undeniable benefit of combining two methods of analysis – quantitative and qualitative.

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Article history:

Received: 15 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionote:

Ludmila ISURIN is Professor in the Department of Slavic and East European Languages and Cultures at Ohio State University (USA). An interdisciplinary scholar whose research encompasses psycho- and sociolinguistics, social sciences and humanities, she is the author or co-editor of six books and numerous chapters and journal articles, including an award-winning article in *Language Learning* (2015).

Contact information:

363 Hagerty Hall (office) & 400 Hagerty Hall (mailing)

1775 College Road, Columbus, OH, 43210

e-mail: isurin.l@osu.edu

ORCID: 0000-0003-2808-3277

Сведения об авторе:

Людмила ИСУРИН – профессор кафедры славянских и восточноевропейских языков и культур Университета штата Огайо, США. Ее междисциплинарные исследования охватывают психо- и социолингвистику, социальные и гуманитарные науки. Она является автором и соредактором шести книг, а также многочисленных глав и журнальных статей, в том числе отмеченной наградой статьи в журнале *Language Learning* (2015).

Контактная информация:

363 Hagerty Hall (office) & 400 Hagerty Hall (mailing)

1775 College Road, Columbus, OH, 43210

e-mail: isurin.l@osu.edu

ORCID: 0000-0003-2808-3277



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-931-957>

Research article

Translanguaging space and translanguaging practices in multilingual Russian-speaking families

Sviatlana KARPAVA¹, Natalia RINGBLOM² and Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA³

¹University of Cyprus
Nicosia, Cyprus

²Stockholm University
Stockholm, Sweden
Dalarna University
Falun, Sweden

³Tallinn University
Tallinn, Estonia

Abstract

Translanguaging is seen both as a threat and as an opportunity for minority language development and transmission. While the theme of translanguaging has been explored especially in a context of migration, the novelty of this study lies in its investigation of the multiple contexts in which translanguaging is examined. In order to understand the nature of translanguaging, we adopt a novel interdisciplinary approach and view it in all its complexity, including liminal spaces of linguistic landscape. Family language policy affects the home linguistic environment. Our purpose is to investigate language choices by multilingual Russian-speakers in Cyprus, Sweden and Estonia, immigrant and minority settings, and try to understand how they are reflected in the multilingual interaction of the families. Using ethnographic participant observations and oral spontaneous multilingual production, our study attempts to describe how communication is managed through translanguaging practices among multilingual Russian-speaking families' members in the cultural and linguistic environments of the three countries. By looking closely at the complexities of translanguaging space, it is our ambition to gain new insights about how it is organised and how translanguaging becomes a valuable linguistic resource in multilingual families. Our results indicate that translanguaging practices can be used in family conversational contexts and contribute to the creation of a rich and positive family repertoire. A new norm of Russian has been developed in all the three settings. A language shift can happen more quickly than expected, and, thus, it is important for parents to provide many opportunities for practising Russian as the L1.

Keywords: *translanguaging, language transmission, multilingualism, minority language, Russian*

For citation:

Karpava, Sviatlana, Natalia Ringblom & Anastassia Zabrodskaia. 2021. Translanguaging space and translanguaging practices in multilingual Russian-speaking families. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 931–957. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-931-957>

Пространство транслингвизма и транслингвальные практики в многоязычных русских семьях

Светлана КАРПОВА¹, Наталия РИНГБЛОМ², Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ³

¹Университет Кипра
Никосия, Кипр

²Стокгольмский университет
Стокгольм, Швеция
Университет Даларны
Фалун, Швеция

³Таллинский университет
Таллин, Эстония

Аннотация

Транслингвизм можно рассматривать и как угрозу, и как возможность для развития и передачи языков меньшинств из поколения в поколение. Несмотря на то, что тема транслингвизма достаточно исследована, особенно в контексте миграции, новизна этой статьи заключается в том, что в ней рассматриваются множественные контексты, связанные с проблемой транслингвизма. Чтобы понять природу данного явления, мы применяем инновационный междисциплинарный подход и исследуем транслингвизм во всей его сложности, включая лиминальные пространства языкового ландшафта. Политика в области семейного языка влияет на домашнюю языковую среду. Наша цель – изучить выбор языков многоязычными русскоговорящими иммигрантами и представителями меньшинств на Кипре, в Швеции и в Эстонии и попытаться понять, как они отражаются в многоязычном семейном дискурсе. Используя этнографические наблюдения за участниками и устное спонтанное многоязычное речепроизводство, мы пытаемся описать, как коммуникация между членами многоязычных русскоязычных семей в культурной и языковой среде трех стран осуществляется посредством практики транслингвизма. Детально исследуя сложности транслингвального пространства, мы стремимся по-новому взглянуть на то, как оно организовано и как транслингвизм становится ценным лингвистическим ресурсом в многоязычных семьях. Полученные результаты показывают, что транслингвизм может использоваться в семейном контексте и способствовать насыщенному и позитивному семейному общению. В условиях всех трех стран происходит становление новой нормы русского языка. Смена языка может произойти быстрее, чем ожидалось, и поэтому для родителей важно предоставить детям возможности практиковать русский язык в качестве первого.

Ключевые слова: *транслингвизм, межпоколенческая передача языка, многоязычие, язык меньшинства, русский язык*

Для цитирования:

Karpava S., Ringblom N., Zabrodskaja A. Translanguaging space and translanguaging practices in multilingual Russian-speaking families. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 931–957. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-931-957>

1. Introduction

Applying the theories of family language policy (King et al. 2008) (hereafter FLP), we explored divergent language choices within the family context, minority and immigrant contexts of northern and southern Europe, in connection with

available linguistic resources. FLP reflects language ideology, language policies in the society (Lane 2010, Curdt-Christiansen 2014a), the immigrant experience of parents (Curdt-Christiansen 2009), their beliefs (King & Fogle 2006) and parental “impact beliefs” (Pérez Báez 2013). Previous research on state language policy (Lane 2010, Curdt-Christiansen 2014b) has shown that macro factors affect parental beliefs at the micro level, i. e. “impact beliefs” (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, Pérez Báez 2013). Weak impact beliefs can lead to the inability to prevent language shift and a lack of success regarding FLP, while high expectations of parents regarding their children's future education and career opportunities with relation to multilingualism lead to successful FLP and the raising of bilingual/multilingual children.

By translanguaging we mean that a bilingual person has one integrated linguistic system (García 2009) as a result of flexible bilingualism and multiple discursive practices. According to Li Wei (2011), translanguaging space is created by and for translanguaging. In our previous study, we explored the way parents and children in multilingual families communicate on a family level, demonstrating how family language policy and translanguaging can support and enhance dynamic multilingualism in the family and integrate Russian as a minority language in a societal and educational context (Karpava et al. 2019).

In this paper, we suggest that looking closely at the complexities of translanguaging space might enable FLP researchers to develop new ideas about how the inclusion of all available linguistic resources into the ongoing social practice of interacting works and, more generally, how translanguaging space is organised. Multilingual interaction and translanguaging promote the strategic use of language and the agency of speakers (Garcia & Li Wei 2014). Translanguaging becomes a valuable resource and an ideological practice, especially in immigrant and minority contexts (Garcia & Leiva 2014), which is relevant to our study.

Translanguaging is a complex phenomenon that cannot be viewed in simple terms and from one perspective only, and should be studied in all of its complexity. In this paper, one of the purposes is to explore this complexity. Translanguaging practices can support and expand dynamic multilingualism and integrate a minority or an immigrant language into a wider context. However, from the language transmission perspective translanguaging can be highly controversial since it can increase language change when used in more and more domains, especially when families do not make conscious choices regarding specific language management and have “laissez-faire” attitudes regarding language choice. We suggest that two scenarios are possible here: either language change or a new variety of Russian that is developed in the three countries studied (Cypriot Russian, Estonian Russian and Swedish Russian). In this article, we focus on new varieties, and in our examples we reveal the involvement of all family members in this process and, in general, the results were positive.

This study aims to investigate multilingual interaction and translanguaging practices, affected by translanguaging spaces and linguistic landscapes as well as sociolinguistic situations, among Russian-speaking parents and their children in

three different linguistic environments: Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden. Although these countries have different geographical location, these are closely related to Russia culturally, historically and/or economically: through past or recent intensive migration, membership in political and economic unions and strategic partnerships, and through stereotypes and the clichés of historical memory carrying both positive and negative traits. In all the three countries, there are substantial Russian-speaking communities which appeared there for different historical and political reasons: in Estonia this happened mainly through colonisation during the imperial period and Soviet era; post-revolutionary and post-Soviet emigration occurred in Sweden; and Cyprus has become both a Russian tourism Mecca and a magnet for (rich) migrants since the 1990s.

The data were collected using ethnographic participant observations. This helped to gain a deeper understanding of how translanguaging practices are managed in multilingual Russian-speaking families in three different environments and what differences and similarities could be observed between them.

2. Theoretical framework for the present study: Translanguaging

Uninhibited switching between languages, i. e. code-switching, is considered to be a norm. There are many different terms for code-switching: these include “loanword” (Haugen 1950) or “borrowing” (Poplack & Sankoff 1984), “code-mixing” (Appel & Muysken 1987), “transversion” (Clyne 2003) and “convergence” (Gardner-Chloros 2009). Code-switching may cause language change (Thomason 2001). Heine & Kuteva (2005) view code-switching as a synonym of borrowing. Matras (2009:114) distinguishes between situational switching and discourse-related switching. Gardner-Chloros (2010) refers to code-switching, language mixing and “fused lects” which can lead to language change.

García & Li Wei (2014) proposed a translanguaging framework, according to which bilingualism and multilingualism are not marked language practices, but norms. The traditional view of bilingualism, with separate linguistic systems, is rejected as bilingual/multilingual speakers translanguage and choose various linguistic features depending on the context in creative and critical ways (Li Wei 2011).

Translanguaging is a systematic pedagogic, scaffolding strategy of using two or more languages in alternation that boost competence and performance in all of the languages (Lewis et al. 2012). Translanguaging can be used spontaneously or for pedagogical purposes (García 2009). The former refers to the “ability of multilingual speakers to shuttle between languages, treating the diverse languages that form their repertoire as an integrated system” (Canagarajah 2011: 401); the latter involves the scaffolding of comprehension in an educational setting, and is also called pedagogical translanguaging, intentional translanguaging or classroom translanguaging (Cenoz & Gorter 2017).

Spontaneous translanguaging is an essential part of bilingual/multilingual social and language practice, it is not just code-switching or language mixing, and

it presupposes code fluidity (García & Li Wei 2014), depending on the situation (Canagarajah 2015). Previous research on spontaneous translanguaging focused on the use of English and an additional language, such as Spanish, Punjabi and Mandarin, in English-speaking countries (García 2009, Creese & Blackledge 2010, Martínez-Roldán 2015, Gort & Sembiante 2015), regional minority languages and educational contexts (Lewis et al. 2012, García & Li Wei 2014, García et al. 2016, García & Kleyn 2016).

Translanguaging allows bilinguals/multilinguals to create identities and to participate in multilingual discursive practice in meaningful ways (García 2009, Canagarajah 2011). Translanguaging is described as an effective strategic communication in which a speaker chooses necessary linguistic features from their linguistic repertoire (García & Li Wei 2014). According to Makalela (2015: 16), translanguaging is “a fluid communicative language practice where the languages of input and output were purposefully juxtaposed.” The focus of translanguaging is on the cognitive and linguistic skills of the interlocutors in bilingual/multilingual discourse. García & Kleyn (2016: 14) proposed that “translanguaging refers to the deployment of a speaker’s full linguistic repertoire, which does not in any way correspond to the socially and politically defined boundaries of named languages.”

2.1. Translanguaging space

Lefebvre (1991) suggested the idea of social or socially produced space. Jewitt (2016) views space as a semiotic resource. The term “spatial repertoires” was proposed by Pennycook and Otsuji (2014:161). Li Wei (2011) proposed the term “translanguaging space,” which includes translanguaging practices, multilingual, multimodal and multisensory communication, and meaning co-production: language, cognitive and semiotic systems, attitudes, identities and ideologies are involved (García & Li Wei 2014, Hua et al. 2017). Translanguaging space presupposes that signs and resources are interconnected for space production. As suggested by Li Wei (2011), translanguaging space, i. e. socially constructed contexts, allows individuals to use their linguistic resources for communication in a strategic way. Translanguaging “transgresses and destabilizes language hierarchies, and at the same time expands and extends practices that are typically valued in school and in the everyday world of communities and homes” (García & Li Wei 2014: 68).

Translanguaging space is a space created by and for translanguaging practices, a space where multilingual individuals integrate social spaces (and thus “language codes”) that were formerly practised separately in different spaces by “bringing together different dimensions of their personal history, experience and environment, their attitude, belief and ideology, their cognitive and physical capacity into one coordinated and meaningful performance” (Li Wei 2011: 1223). It presupposes “multimodalities – gestures, objects, visual cues, touch, tone, sounds and other modes of communication besides words – and online and digital media

afford new translanguaging spaces and resources for multilingual and multimodal communication” (Hua et al. 2015: 10).

Within the socio-cultural perspective, languaging is a social act in the process of meaning construction that has a fluid, dynamic nature (García 2009). Languages are seen as semiotic resources and not discrete systems (Hua et al. 2015); “there are no clear-cut boundaries between the languages of bilinguals...,” rather there is “a languaging continuum that is accessed” (García 2009: 47). Each language has its functions associated with certain power, prestige and identity.

2.2. Translanguaging, FLP and minority/immigrant languages

Minority and immigrant languages are vulnerable. Hélot & De Mejía (2008) have found that whether bilingualism is accepted or not depends on the status of the language, whether it is prestigious or not; minority languages are usually non-prestigious and are often associated with low socio-economic status, shame and backwardness (Cenoz & Gorter 2017). As we showed earlier, the same language (Russian in our case) can be more accepted in one setting/context and less accepted in another (Karpava et al. 2020).

Translanguaging can increase the comprehension of minority languages (see studies by Lowman et al. 2007: Māori vs. English, Lewis et al. 2012: Welsh vs. English, Llorca et al. 2013: Catalan vs. English). The development of languages is affected by socio-economic and socio-political factors. Translanguaging space allows the act of translanguaging and creates the opportunity for flexible and dynamic multilingual language use and the enhancement of cultural identities (Canagarajah 2011). According to Otheguy et al. (2015: 283), translanguaging can have a positive effect on minority languages. Sustainable translanguaging is associated with balance, language awareness and metalinguistic awareness (Cenoz & Gorter 2017). *Balancing* between different languages involves a *process of constant negotiation* and here the role of Russian-speaking parents is especially important. Translanguaging is jointly produced, and if co-conversationalists start producing phrases and sentences relying more and more on majority language resources, without using Russian words and structures, then a language shift occurs in the speech of younger family members.

García (2009), Cenoz & Gorter (2011, 2015) and García & Li (2014) have suggested the idea of an integrated linguistic repertoire. Otheguy et al. (2015) have emphasised the importance of the legitimisation of translanguaging practices in order to protect minority languages. Research on translanguaging and translingual practices has shown that new multilingual ideologies are being developed (May 2014, Cenoz & Gorter 2015). Li Wei (2018) states that translanguaging can empower speakers and can provide them with opportunities for the legitimate use of various languages (Cenoz & Gorter 2019).

Language ideologies, social functions, political power and economic values, as well as views and beliefs about languages and language practices (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2014b, 2016) affect language choice, use and maintenance.

There may be both agreement and disagreement regarding FLP among the parents in one family that can affect language practice and management (King et al. 2008). Kirsh (2012) conducted research on Luxembourgish-English families in the UK and how ideology in the mainstream society restricts the possibility of raising bilingual children. A similar situation was observed by ÓhIfearnáin (2013) with Irish Gaaeltacht, and by Simpson (2013) in Australia.

There is a hierarchical order in the use of languages and this can lead to language maintenance, language shift or language loss. There is negotiation, mediation and evaluation of identities and sociocultural values, which can be accepted or rejected in bilingual/multilingual interaction (Curdt-Christiansen 2013, 2016).

Language policy is guided top down by governments and authorities and bottom up by parents (Wiley & García 2016), so the agency of parents should be taken into consideration. A lot of families try to follow the “one person – one language” strategy, but sometimes some flexibility is needed. Their language practices can be quite complex and determine how they communicate: with parents, children, siblings, relatives and friends, on-line, off-line and through different types of input: TV, radio, internet, social media and newspapers, which can be associated with multilingual discourse, code-switching, code-mixing and a flexible translanguaging policy. Quite often, children can even act as translators for their parents. There are some community bilingual schools that are characterised by bilingual translanguaging practices (Creese & Blackledge 2010, García et al. 2013, Wiley 2014, Wiley & García 2016).

Discourse strategies (minimal grasp, expressed guess, repetition, move on and code-switch), parental effort, explicit/implicit language use, management and planning can be used to prevent language shift and to facilitate bilingual/multilingual development (Lanza 2007). FLP is affected by both internal and external social factors. Parents take into consideration social prestige, educational empowerment, and socioeconomic gains when they decide which language(s) to use at home with their children (Curdt-Christiansen 2009).

3. The sociolinguistic background to the study

Next, the sociolinguistic situations in the respective countries are considered. The language situation, top-down language policy and ideologies influence a particular set of values, symbols, narratives and emotions that enable Russian-speakers to structure their real-life linguistic experiences.

3.1. The sociolinguistic situation in Cyprus

The sociolinguistic situation in Cyprus can be characterised as post-colonial, as Cyprus is a former colony of Britain: English is widespread and is used for communication throughout the island. The local population use two varieties of Greek: Cypriot Greek and Standard Modern Greek. The Russian language is one of the most popular foreign languages in Cyprus, after English.

The Russian community in Cyprus is one of the largest foreign communities on the island. The first immigrants came there in the late 1990s. Nearly 50,000 people from Russia and the former Soviet republics live in Cyprus permanently; about 75% of these people are in Limassol. The Russian community in Cyprus is the largest foreign language group. One part of this group is formed by members of mixed marriage families, mainly between Russian women and Greek Cypriot men, with bi- or multilingual Russian–Cypriot Greek children. There are also immigrant families where mostly both partners are Russian and are seeking long-term residence in Cyprus, so they speak Russian at home and English or Greek outside the home.

Russian is a minority language in Cyprus, but it is becoming more and more prestigious nowadays and is widely used. The Cypriots themselves can choose to learn Russian in the lyceum (high school) and public schools or learn it in public or private tutoring centres. Recently, good knowledge of Russian has become a requirement for getting a job in Cyprus, especially in business and tourism. Cyprus has become an attractive destination for Russian people for economic, political, social, geo-political, personal and educational reasons.

There are several public and private Russian-speaking schools in Nicosia, Limassol and Paphos. Russian-speaking children attend either Greek-speaking public schools or English-speaking private schools, and some of them attend private Russian-speaking schools. The Russian language and culture, and bilateral cultural, humanitarian and scientific cooperation with the Republic of Cyprus are actively promoted via the Russian Centre for Science and Culture, which was established in 1978 and is situated in the capital Nicosia. There are various Russian cultural centres and Cyprus-Russian associations. The Cyprus Russian Festival and other cultural events are organised throughout the year and promote Russian language and culture in Cyprus. Both Cyprus and Russia are Orthodox Christian nations, which is a strong cultural bond between them. Russian Orthodox churches are located in Nicosia, Larnaca and Limassol.

The linguistic landscape in Cyprus is changing, becoming more and more multilingual. This is related to the political economy of language and space. Taking into consideration the increased valorisation and commodification of the Russian language (Muth 2017) and the fact that the Russian community in Cyprus is one of the largest on the island, as well as the post-colonial status of Cyprus and widespread usage of English throughout the country, bilingual and multilingual signs reflect the translanguaging practices of both the local population (English and Greek) and the Russian-speakers in Cyprus. The majority of bilingual and multilingual signs can be found in tourist areas, near the sea, in the main shopping areas (shops, hair salons, pharmacies, entertainment venues, banks, currency exchange offices, hotels and other accommodations, restaurants, real estate development offices/advertisements, and car sales and rental firms); **Figure 1** is an example of switching between languages for economic reasons. Written in all capitals, “FRESH CYPRUS FISH” is a full English translation of an original Cypriot Greek explanation and an equivalent provided in Russian.



Figure 1. English-Greek-Russian multilingual sign: fish tavern

3.2. The sociolinguistic situation in Estonia

The country's large Russian-speaking population was formed mainly through immigration during the Soviet period. The post-Soviet period in Estonia witnessed a language shift: Estonian regained its official status and Russian suddenly lost its strong position and became peripheral. This caused negative attitudes towards the Estonian language and its speakers among Russian-speaking communities.

A control-oriented language policy aimed to purify all language use of any external linguistic influence. According to the nation-building model, the main aim was the introduction of Estonian as the first language for Estonians and as the second language for non-Estonians. The goal was for the use of Estonian as the official language to be normalised, regulated and standardised. Foreign language speakers can gain citizenship only by demonstrating competence in the official language. Besides being requirements for citizenship, language tests were demanded of people in certain positions, e.g. employees in the service sector, teachers, doctors and police. Current Estonian laws and policies do not facilitate the maintenance of the Russian language. Language, citizenship and education laws regulate only the knowledge and use of the Estonian language.

Different educational models for non-Estonian children, the Estonian-language immersion programme in non-Estonian schools and the extending of teaching

Estonian to kindergartens have created diversity in the language-learning pattern across schools in Estonia. The demand for Estonian-language learning opportunities in schools is rising, and becoming multilingual is considered beneficial in the job market.

In north-eastern Estonia, some towns still have an overwhelming majority of Russian-speakers. Despite the fact that the number of Russian-speakers is quite high, economic weakness does not allow the community to be culturally and politically active.

Globalisation made English a very prominent language in Estonia. Currently the language environment is developing through the interplay of Estonian- and Russian-speech communities in the context of the European Union and the global usage of English as a common lingua franca. The order of the *kolm kohalikku keelt* “three local languages” in Estonia in the first fifteen years of the 21st century is definitely Estonian, Russian and English (or perhaps Estonian, English and Russian).

The situation in Estonia’s linguistic landscape is complex. On the one hand, Estonian receives clear official support and is used significantly in the public sphere. On the other hand, the shift in the perception of Russian from being a marginalised minority language to a commodity with inherent economic value is particularly salient with regard to the service-oriented industries: this is largely reflected in the accommodation of Russian-speaking tourists, potential clients of private businesses, which employ Russian as a marketing strategy. In addition, English as a means of international market-driven commodification and a globalising force is now widely used in the public space.

This situation involving three languages is clearly illustrated in Figure 2. If we start reading it from the left, we notice that to the right of the restaurant “Hutorok трактиръ” is located the liquor store “Lime beverage Alkoholipood.” On the restaurant sign, the Russian lexical item “hutorok” (small farm) is transliterated into Latin characters (*хуморок* > *hutorok*) according to the rules of Estonian spelling. This may signal an appreciation of Estonian or perhaps just obedience to the Place Name Act. Written entirely in capital letters, the Russian word “трактиръ” (tavern) is written with ЕРЬ (Ь) after the consonant at the end, as it used to be in tsarist Russia. In 1917–1918, the usage of this letter became connected with the “tsarist regime,” therefore the Bolsheviks issued a decree about new spelling, and as a result the letter Ъ remained only as the 28th letter of the alphabet. This re-appropriation of the “useless Ъ” contributes to nostalgic consumerism reminiscent of the Russian empire era. As for the liquor store, its name is written fully in English – “lime beverage” – and its services are in Estonian: “alkoholipood” (a liquor store). Besides all of this linguistic creativity and interesting orthographic choices, the restaurant provides Ukrainian folk cuisine.



Figure 2. Latinised Russian-Imperial Russian and English-Estonian multilingual signage: tavern and liquor store name signs

3.3. *The sociolinguistic situation in Sweden*

Sweden is nowadays a multilingual country with a large number of immigrants. Russian immigration to Sweden started as early as the 1570s, when some Russians fled to Sweden to avoid the Oprichnina. Since then, there have been several immigration waves. However, Russian immigrants have never been a large minority group in Sweden. In the early 1990s the Russian diaspora grew bigger because of post-Soviet migration. Since Sweden does not gather any official language statistics, it is very difficult to discover the exact number of people who speak a particular language, including Russian. What complicates the case with the Russian language even further is the fact that many Russian-speakers came from other parts of the former Soviet Union, i.e. from former republics with mother tongues other than Russian. According to Parkvall (2015: 276), there are about 30,000 Russian-speaking people in Sweden, which is 0.3% of the country's population of around 10 million people. The number of Russian-speaking immigrants is steadily increasing.

Since Russian immigrants do not form one of the main migrant groups, they do not live in distinct Russian communities as they do in several other European countries. Rather, they have settled throughout Sweden, often isolated from each other. Many of them have Swedish partners and live in their spouses' home-towns.

All immigrant Russian children are entitled to study Russian in elementary school (and in some cases even in pre-school), and mother tongue instruction is provided as part of the regular educational system. Depending on where they live, there are varying opportunities for Russian people to maintain their mother tongue

and for their children to participate in mother tongue instruction. Presently, children have the right to one hour of instruction per week if there are at least five children with the same mother tongue. Russian-language transmission is supported both by official minority language policies and by Russian communities. In addition, Russian-speaking children can learn Russian in different circles and Saturday schools organised by parents and teachers. Additional efforts must be made by Russian-speaking parents, especially since help for Swedish-Russian bilingual families is mostly available in large cities.

It is not surprising that in Sweden the functions of Russian in public signage are reduced to the language of graffiti for personalisation purposes (e.g. “I love you, Olechka”) or in museums, libraries and underground stations, as is shown in Figure 3. In the case of the underground station, the letter “И” in the word “ЛИТЕРАТУРА”, “literature”, is mirrored for stylistic reasons. Russian is also used in tourist attractions visited by many Russians.



Figure 3. Functions of Russian in Sweden public space: a language of graffiti and underground space

4. Methodological framework and research design

Ten families in each country were chosen for a closer look at family language policies and translanguaging strategies. The main criterion for a mixed family to be included in our dataset was that it consisted of an official language- (Cypriot Greek-, Estonian- or Swedish-) speaking partner (a father) and a Russian-speaking partner (a mother) who lived together with their child(ren) as one household, and that the family members were not only inclined towards merging with the mainstream society linguistically and culturally but also considered it important to preserve the Russian language and culture. Notably, often the father’s relatives welcomed such an approach.

As a non-manipulative methodology, our ethnographic participant observation aimed to observe language use in the widest possible range of situations: during family meals, at indoor and outdoor entertainment activities, and for completing homework assignments. Our aim was to search for spontaneous translanguaging and to understand its nature as an essential part of bilingual language practice, depending on a particular socio-linguistic and socio-cultural context as well as translanguaging space. In this paper, we purposely do not include examples of conversations in which a bilingual child spoke to a Russian-speaking family member who was monolingual (for example, a grandmother who arrived from Russia for a short visit or lived in another, mainly monolingual part of the country, in the case of Estonia) and during which the number of language switches was very low or even non-existent. On the one hand, this shows the child's ability to accommodate to the linguistic behaviour of his/her interlocutor and supports the idea that translanguaging might be self-regulated, depending on the context and the communication/interaction. On the other hand, the child might be mostly a listener in such situations (which was true at least in the dialogues we had available), might talk about familiar matters or respond to what was said, and ask for someone else's language help.

Using ethnographic participant observations and spontaneous oral bilingual/multilingual production, our study attempted to describe how communication was managed through translanguaging activities in multilingual Russian-speaking families in Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden. The researchers made regular home visits to the families. We tried to make sure that between 18 and 20 hours was spent with each family during the six months of the study (this fieldwork ended right before the lock-downs in March 2020). The focus was on FLP, the language repertoires of the family members, construction and negotiation of implicit/ explicit FLP, and translanguaging.

Discourse analysis was used as an analytical tool in order to analyse recurring issues, patterns regarding language ideologies and practices, attitudes, identities, FLP enactment, ideologies and practice, and translanguaging space. We tried to implement a qualitative discourse/conversation analytic approach (Walsh et al. 2011, Partington et al. 2013) for data analysis. We took into account that while divergent language choices we encountered on a typical observation day might seem inconsequential, they nevertheless constructed the translanguaging space in which families lived, communicated family language policy-making and conveyed family language ideologies.

The functions of translanguaging were categorised into types that would help to explain the multifunctional nature of translanguaging. We did not find counting statistical data on spontaneous language choices a useful tool here because relying on a set of numbers about multiple forces in constant simultaneous interplay, such as speakers' linguistic competences, communicative goals and functions, without understanding the social context of the interaction and the relationships between the interlocutors, does not really contribute to understanding the enduring

translanguaging spaces in which mixed families live. In addition, we implemented an in-depth ethnographic landscape analysis of visible semiotic signs at home and in public spaces (see Figures 1–3 as an example), trying to interpret their indexicality and deeper layers of meaning in relation to multilingual situations in the countries under investigation in line with the principles of the symbolic construction of public spaces (Blommaert 2013).

5. Translanguaging space and language management in observed data

Our results show that parents in minority and immigrant contexts realised quite soon the importance of early child literacy experiences at home. The parents tried to enhance these experiences both in Russian and in the dominant language of the country via (in)direct teaching through child-directed speech and meaning-focused shared activities. According to the families, the usage of flexible bilingual and bicultural materials aided in raising a bilingual and bicultural child with an integrated linguistic and cultural system.

We examined the choices of books and other printed reading materials at home: whether they were in Russian, the majority language of the country (Cypriot Greek, Estonian or Swedish) and/or English (and other languages). We found that not every family had strong reading habits. However, a multilingual translanguaging space on a bookshelf might have been created so that various Russian, English and majority language books indicated the coexistence of diverse languages and cultures in the home. The families often preferred Russian fairy tales because of their general caring, educative and benevolent nature. Some families mentioned that they needed to adjust the language in the fairy tales and the stories read to the children, for example by removing “old words” or replacing complex syntactic constructions with easy ones, to ensure that the children would understand the plots of the stories. Notably, the translanguaging space included not only reading materials, but also writing materials.

Multilingual space might also be created with the help of various symbols and cultural attributes: not only Russian cultural artefacts (e.g. Russian *Matryoshka* dolls; Khokhloma, a Russian wood-painting handicraft style and national ornament; Gzhel, a Russian style of blue and white ceramics; and a samovar or a kitchen tool used as a *batterie de cuisine*) as well as shawls, Russian *kosovorotki* (peasant shirts) and Russian forage caps. Russian-speaking participants tried to maintain strong links with their homeland and brought different symbolic cultural items from Russia. At home, these were put together with items of the majority and often Anglo-American cultures, which could be a reflection of a translanguaging space. This represented a new unified family culture policy formed on the basis of separate cultural spaces, where children were introduced to not only linguistic and cultural concepts but also historical elements shared by the two countries. By being included naturally in the everyday life of the child, the Russian artefacts became as natural a part of the child’s life as the Swedish/(Cypriot) Greek/Estonian ones.

As we mentioned in Section 4, we collected photographic data of the linguistic landscapes. Our aim was to examine whether multilingual translanguaging space in Russian-speaking families is a (possible) reflection of the multilingual translanguaging space of the society. The location, layout and index of signs in the real space of Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden provided information about social change, complexity and super-diversity on the individual family level. In Cyprus, we found that there are many bilingual and multilingual public signs (Figure 1), which provide evidence of the emergent multilingualism in the country that affects language policy, the status of minority/immigrant language, their use, maintenance and intergenerational transmission. The situation in Estonia's linguistic landscape is complicated (Figure 2). The before data show how Estonian and Russian are combined on multilingual signs. If to touch upon distinctive features of particular images and pay attention to the orthography and graphic representation of Estonian and Russian, then their linguistic forms on multilingual signs are sometimes combinations of the two languages or of the Latin and Cyrillic alphabets, or even compromise forms, new creations, playful spellings or mixed structures. Russian in today's Sweden is basically not present in the public space except for some very specific situations (Figure 3).

The approach to switching between the languages adopted by the research participants, or what we call translanguaging in this paper, is considered to be a norm in conversations between multilingual individuals in a family circle because the content is available to all the interlocutors. Our longitudinal observations show that both parents and children alternated languages because it allowed them to create a shared translanguaging space, which facilitated interaction among multilingual family members and allowed the full use of available linguistic repertoires, where they could smoothly make meaning comprehensible and establish inclusive family membership. In Example 1, a mother is sending her children to school. She urges one child, who is late all the time, to hurry; the child adapts her language choice to the preference of the mother but still uses both Russian and Cypriot Greek.

(1) Cypriot Greek data:

— *Быстрее собирайтесь в школу.*

The mother uses Russian, translated as “Get ready for school faster.”

— *Ένα λεπτό, δως μου ένα λεπτό.*

The child uses Greek in order to answer, translated as “**One minute, give me one minute!**”

— *Ты всё время опаздываешь!*

The mother continues to speak in Russian, translated as “You are late all the time!”

— *Нет, неправда μόνο σήμερα...*

The child uses both Russian and Greek, translanguaging in order to respond, translated as “No, it is not true, **only today.**”

Such switching happens mostly on an unmarked basis, according to our data from the three countries: in other words, speakers are conscious of what code is

expected. Mostly translanguaging happens when people relax and do not control their language use, as they have adjusted to one another and know well what is acceptable with particular multilingual conversation partners. This is where translanguaging becomes flexible multilingualism. We found that different factors contributed to translanguaging milieu creation at home; they mainly were the multilingual competence of family members; parents' positive and sometimes even encouraging attitude towards it, which makes children feel that it is a common conversational repertoire shared and accepted by the family; and frequent association of a majority- or English-language term with a particular phenomenon in everyday life, whereas the level of competence in these languages did not restrict or facilitate translanguaging. Our Russian-speaking family members had very different educational backgrounds, levels of proficiency in the mainstream language – Cypriot Greek, Estonian and Swedish – and in English, and various job experiences. But, with the help of translanguaging, these multilingual speakers created (new) identities and participated in multilingual discursive practice in a meaningful way. The families created shared interactions, expanded with the help of different linguistic resources, in which all family members were able to participate on an equal basis and make proper interpretations, as in Example 2, in which a dialogue involves speakers of younger and older generations using Greek, Russian and English:

(2) Cypriot Greek data:

Daughter 1: **Πάμε θάλασσα!**

Let's go to the sea!

Daughter 2: **θάλασσα, θάλασσα...** *море... мы пойдём на море...*

Sea, sea... *sea... we will go to the sea...*

Grandmother: *Надо говорить по-русски!*

You should speak Russian!

Daughter 1: (to Grandmother): *Да, бабушка! Пошли на море; надо взять полотенца.*

Yes, granny! Let's go to the sea; we need to take the towels.

Grandmother: *Да, и воду не забудьте!*

Yes, and do not forget water!

Daughter 2: "OK, let's go!"

We suggest that social networking is likely to reinforce the ability to translanguage, indexing divergent language choices about which word to use when talking about a particular sort of thing, because what we have noticed is that one feature common in the speech of those Russian-speaking family members who networked with majority-language speakers of different ages outside the home was a tendency to express in one word, several words or a short phrase a spontaneous feeling or reaction. Children also engaged in similar situations when they started negotiating their linguistic roles: it was hard to detect if it was a parent who started saying a particular word simply as a statement of fact and this shaped the behaviour of a child, or if a teenager had brought a phrase home from school or his/her social network and initiated its use among younger siblings and parents.

Occasional Swedish interjections appeared in otherwise Russian conversations (or situations), for instance: **men asså** “oh, ass” (when a sandwich fell off the table), **oops!** “oops” (when noticing that an SMS was sent to the wrong number), **oh nej!** “oh no” (when discovering that the shop closed five minutes ago and now it is too late to go), and **va?** “what?” (when surprised). In Estonia, Estonian exclamations and other expressive and emotional utterances are very attractive as a locally labelled style: **aitab küll!** “that is enough!” (referring to an activity that must stop), **mida?** “what?” (used in so many different types of situations that sometimes it is unclear what discourse role is actually being assigned to it: associated with difficulties, surprise, disagreement, referring to objects/situations/etc.), and **ni!** “so” (also used for many different purposes). In Cyprus, Russian-speaking family members use English expressive and emotional utterances (e.g. “please”, “relax”, “super” and “the best!”) if their relationships have stronger links with an international community. English is used as a lingua franca (sometimes interchangeably with Russian) and locally relevant social meanings occur regularly if Russian-speakers work or communicate closely with Cypriots in Cypriot Greek.

The analysis of natural conversational data produced by mixed families in Cyprus showed that very often the participants used English or Greek in the names of shops, and for labels and goods. In Cyprus, translanguaging is a common phenomenon, and sometimes it was easier for the participants to use a fixed phrase or chunks of language in English, which is widespread throughout the island, or Cypriot Greek to fill in lexical gaps, than it was to spend time searching for a suitable equivalent and/or a descriptive translation in Russian. A pragmatic function of translanguaging in these countries is to cover semantically specific terminology, as in Example (3), which is an excerpt from a Russian-speaking mother’s speech regarding a specific shop where she buys different types of health products (note that here English language elements are not integrated morphologically into a Russian matrix):

(3) Cypriot Greek data:

*В **organic shop** покупаю, без пальмового масла.*

I buy it in an **organic shop**, without palm oil.

Consider also the shop names specifically used in a dialogue between family members in Example 4. Translanguaging of this kind leads to full-fledged borrowing of such terms:

(4) Cypriot Greek data:

— *Какие магазины сегодня работают?*

Which shops are open today?”

— ***Папiς** работает, **Сiγма** всегда работает, без выходных, обедов и праздников!*

The **Papas shop** is open, and **Sigma** is always open, seven days a week, without lunch breaks, and on holidays!

In the case of translanguaging it is strange to talk about the grammar because we are not dealing with properly formed phrases or sentences. But what makes Estonian data different from Cypriot is the (full) morphosyntactic integration of Estonian items into the Russian matrix, as in Example 5, in which, as the endings of gender agreement in Russian adjectives indicate, the Estonian nouns **toit** “food” and **kohvik** “cafe” are treated as Russian masculine nouns of the second declension class. In addition, the Estonian noun **kohvik** follows the declension principles of the accusative case, as required by Russian monolingual grammar rules:

(5) Estonian data:

*Какой **toit** предлагается в новом **kohvik-e**?*

What **food** is offered in the new **café**.PREP?

In Sweden, Russian-speaking family members insert Swedish words or phrases when they either have no Russian equivalents (Example 6), or they do not remember the exact translation at a particular moment, as in Example 7, in which a child describes her school experiences.

(6) Swedish data:

*Нужно написать **inköpslista**.*

I need to write out a **shopping list**.

(7) Swedish data:

*Мы на **träslöjd** такое делали.*

We did this in **labour class**.

As particular circumstances and Swedish realities affect Russian-speakers, those Swedish words are mainly used, as they are difficult to translate into Russian. Similarly to Russian-Estonian data, a Swedish word might be morphologically integrated into Russian: as the endings of a Russian verb and a Russian adjective show, in Example 8, a Swedish noun is treated as having neutral gender. This might also be called intentional translanguaging, as sometimes it is not only easier to insert a Swedish word, as in Example 8 **närvaro** “attendance”, since the Russian equivalent is not as easily accessible, but it is also important to emphasise its official significance:

(8) Swedish data:

*Он всегда на уроки ходил. У него **närvaro** было стопроцентное.*

He always attended lessons. His **attendance** was one hundred percent.

In Example 9, Swedish elements are treated as majority-language school-related concepts that are used in preference to the Russian equivalents, whereas the Swedish insertion **prov** “test” behaves as a Russian masculine noun, cf. with *мечт* “test,” a Russian masculine noun with zero-ending:

(9) Swedish data:

*У нас был **svenska prov** по **särskrivning**.*

We had a **Swedish spelling test**.

In Estonia, in Example 10, when chatting about school matters, a child starts excitedly describing them:

(10) Estonian data:

Из-за õpetaja такой плохой tuju у меня сегодня.

Because of the **teacher** I am in such a bad **mood** today.

Even within one short sentence, two switches occurred that show the intensity of Estonian nouns. One of the insertions, **tuju** “mood,” has masculine gender agreement with the Russian adjective, as the ending of the latter shows: *плох-ой* “bad (MASC).”

Estonian nouns might also be adopted with the help of a demonstrative pronoun, as in Example 11, where a Russian word points to the masculine gender of an insertion:

(11) Estonian data:

А мне нравится этот luuletus.

But I like this **poem**.

Translanguaging is defined functionally and consists of languages relevant to the current situation. Our comparative data demonstrate that nouns and interjections are usually switched, and then other parts of speech that have their place in the “switchability hierarchy” (Appel & Muysken 1987: 170–171), but these are outside the scope of this paper. What we found is that when the mothers used translanguaging themselves and did not correct their children’s mixing of languages, the children seemed to have more relaxed attitudes to language mixing and did not seem to reflect on what language to choose but just chose the language that was most accessible at the moment. Thus, while most parents wanted to preserve the quality of the Russian language and transmit it to their children, they sometimes let the children use the language that was most convenient at particular moments. Some parents noted that over time more domains were replaced by the majority language, which led to a language shift. These parents went to a lot of trouble to provide their children with the benefits of not only becoming but also staying bilingual.

6. Discussion

The concept of translanguaging helped us to capture the dynamic nature of languaging in Russian-speaking families. We implemented a social process approach, with the focus on translanguaging and translanguaging space, potential language variation and change. We dealt with diverse geographical and linguistic contexts, various families and language combinations related to different attitudes, beliefs, self-efficacy, expectations and behaviours.

We carried out a linguistic landscape analysis, where translanguaging space and multi-faceted semiotic resources, multimodality and discursivity are ideological constructs and social events. We found some differences and

similarities between the study participants in the three countries under investigation regarding translanguaging practices. Sociolinguistic situations in the countries, the size of the Russian community, the status of Russian (minority, immigrant, lingua franca) – all these factors affected the translanguaging space at the levels of the society and home, family domain.

The sociolinguistic realities had a potential impact on translanguaging and intercultural communication of the participants. In Cyprus, translanguaging was a common phenomenon in linguistic landscape and written communication. Due to post-colonial situation, there are many bilingual, English-Greek signs, and the local population uses two languages, (Cypriot) Greek and English, interchangeably. If in Cyprus Russian can be characterised as a new lingua franca in public signage and discourse, then in Sweden, it meets more needs of a marginalised minority group. In Estonia, multilingual public spaces generate power struggles and the language ideological dimension in a de jure monolingual society. All the three linguistic landscapes clearly illustrated that Russian and dominant languages serve different needs at home of multilingual Russian-speaking families and in the society, covering these adequately. All this taken together definitely has had an impact on the language choice, use and attitudes of Russian families and their translanguaging space reflected the one of the mainstream society.

The translanguaging space created at home is based on pragmatically practical reasons of mutual understanding, getting the message across, functional and communicative purposes. More importantly, in Cyprus and Sweden, translanguaging allowed keeping linguistic links with homeland, broadening the horizons of children, and developing their intercultural competence, awareness and communication skills.

Translanguaging was implemented as a communicative function, not a variety or fixed code, a social practice based on a dynamic system, the pragmatic use of linguistic and other (multimodal) resources, a repertoire including accommodation and strategic skills. There was an interplay between children's and parents' multiple language use, family language policy, language choices, management, informed and useful decision, unique struggles and challenges that parents face.

In Estonia and Sweden, both parents and children were especially creative in the use of grammatical resources for efficient and successful translingual communication. In Cyprus, all the three available codes of the repertoires were commonly employed. In all the three countries, children played overt and covert roles in their own language use and many times affected parental language choices. Via practising translanguaging children become aware of the power dynamics of the languages involved, and they are able to develop personal and communal agency. Thus, the children developed translingual communicative capacity and mediation competence.

In Cyprus and Sweden, mothers in mixed-marriage families are the key agents for the heritage language use, maintenance and transmission. Their bilingual children are often the initiators of translanguaging as they speak two languages and

have to communicate with their Russian-speaking mothers and majority language-speaking fathers. They can also be mediators between their two parents. To conclude, both linguistic and non-linguistic factors affected translanguaging strategies and the construction of the translanguaging space in Russian-speaking families in Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden.

7. Conclusions

This study aimed to look into translanguaging space, societal changes, socio-political structures in Cyprus, Estonia and Sweden, family language policy, the interplay between language ideologies and language practices and management, language use, maintenance and transmission, linguistic and cultural values, and certain incongruities in language practices and ideologies, taking into consideration both linguistic and non-linguistic factors, and macro- and micro-factors. This linguistic ethnography project investigated translanguaging practices, the use of multimodal resources, and the analysis of linguistic landscape.

It is impossible to cover all that we know about the Russian language in the interplay with local majority languages and translanguaging but, based on our results, we argue that a new norm of the Russian language (for the Swedish case, see Ringblom 2012; for the Estonian case, see Zabrodskaja 2009) is being developed in all the three settings and this topic will definitely be studied further. It also seems to be likely that the socio-linguistic situation in each country affects language attitudes and multilingual interaction practices in majority language–Russian bilingual families.

Translanguaging takes place both at the word and intra-sentential levels. In some contexts, longer insertions are a marked practice and these contexts need to be investigated further in order to be able to draw any definite conclusions. Yet, it seems that in families that see translanguaging as a natural way of communication, such strategies are also more accepted and more widely used. Even though it may be argued whether it is beneficial from the language transmission point of view, language change has not happened in such families, probably because of the positive attitude to the Russian language and because of the use of it even outside the home domain.

We believe that while translanguaging practices can be used in family conversational contexts and can contribute to the creation of a rich and positive family repertoire, parents should also be aware of the fact that a language shift can happen more quickly than they expect, and thus it is important for parents to provide numerous opportunities for practising Russian as the L1 (see also Ivanova & Zabrodskaja 2021). Even though both the children and the adults were able to control which language they used and in what situations, sometimes this became problematic.

Instead of continuing to use terminology from the dominant, official language, it may be more appropriate to introduce the necessary terminology from the Russian language, to make the child familiar with it and able to use it in his/her own

communication; otherwise, children will not be able to function in Russian in school, and the number of such communicative contexts where Russian is not used will continue to grow. This requires a systematic approach in order to succeed and to have a clear understanding that while translanguaging practices can support and expand dynamic multilingualism and integrate Russian as a minority language into a wider societal context, from the Russian intergenerational transmission perspective, translanguaging can be highly controversial since it can enhance language change when used in more and more domains, especially when families do not make conscious choices regarding specific language management and have “laissez-faire” attitudes regarding language choices and expanding translanguaging within the family context.

Translanguaging can be seen both as a threat and an opportunity for minority language development, its protection and its promotion (Cenoz & Gorter 2017). As the norm becomes blurred, we suggest that, in early childhood, languages should be separated as much as possible, but more research needs to be done on this topic.

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Author contributions

Authors 1, 2 and 3 all contributed equally and should be considered co-first authors.

Acknowledgements

This article was supported by basic funding for research areas of national significance at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics of the University of Tartu. The theoretical results are part of the project IUT20-3 “Sustainability of Estonian in the era of globalisation” (EKKAM). Natalia Ringblom would like to acknowledge the support of the Åke Wiberg Foundation in conducting this research. Data collection and analysis in Cyprus were supported by the internal start-up funding programme of the University of Cyprus: *Heritage Language Maintenance, Variation and Change* (2020–2022).

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Article history:

Received: 12 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionotes:

Sviatlana KARPAVA (PhD) is a Lecturer in Applied Linguistics/TESOL and Linguistics Section Coordinator at the Department of English Studies, University of Cyprus. She is also the Coordinator of the Testing, Teaching and Translation Lab. Her area of expertise is applied linguistics, syntax, semantics and pragmatics, phonetics and phonology, speech perception and production, orthography, first and second language acquisition, bilingualism, multilingualism, sociolinguistics, teaching and education.

Contact information:

University of Cyprus, Department of English Studies
75 Kallipoleos, P.O. Box 20537, 1678 Nicosia, Cyprus
e-mail: karpava.sviatlana@ucy.ac.cy
ORCID: 0000-0001-8416-1431

Natalia RINGBLOM (PhD) is a Slavist affiliated with the Department of Slavic and Baltic studies, Finnish, Dutch and German at Stockholm University. She is also an educational developer at Dalarna University. Her main research interests include bilingualism, heritage language acquisition and maintenance, with a particular focus on Russian in Sweden. Natalia is a member of a COST Project: “Enhancing children’s oral skills across Europe and beyond”.

Contact information:

Universitetsvägen 10 E, Stockholm, 10691, Sweden

Dalarna University, Falun, 79188, Sweden

e-mail: natasha.ringblom@slav.su.se

ORCID: 0000-0002-1761-5971

Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA (PhD) is Professor of Intercultural Communication and Head of the Communication Management Master’s programme at Tallinn University. She is in charge of the management of the European Master’s in Intercultural Communication programme. Her primary research interests are identity, language contacts and linguistic landscape. She is a Regional Representative (Europe) on the Executive Committee of *International Association of Language and Social Psychology* and a Management Committee Member of the *European Family Support Network COST Action: A bottom-up, evidence-based and multidisciplinary approach*.

Contact information:

Tallinn University

Baltic Film, Media and Arts School

Narva mnt 27, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia

e-mail: anastassia.zabrodskaia@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8082-3549

Сведения об авторах:

Светлана КАРПОВА – преподаватель прикладной лингвистики и координатор секции лингвистики на факультете изучения английского языка Университета Кипра. Она также является координатором лаборатории тестирования, обучения и перевода. Специализируется в области прикладной лингвистики, синтаксиса, семантики и прагматики, фонетики и фонологии, восприятия и воспроизведения речи, орфографии, овладения первым и вторым языком, двуязычия, многоязычия, социолингвистики, преподавания и обучения.

Контактная информация:

University of Cyprus, Department of English Studies

75 Kallipoleos, P.O. Box 20537, 1678 Nicosia, Cyprus

e-mail: karpava.sviatlana@ucy.ac.cy

ORCID: 0000-0001-8416-1431

Наталья РИНГБЛОМ (PhD) — славист, преподает на кафедре славянских и балтийских языков, финского и немецкого языков Стокгольмского университета. Является разработчиком программ высшего образования в Университете Даларны. Сфера ее научных интересов включает билингвизм, изучение и сохранение эритажного языка, в особенности русского языка в Швеции. Она является членом Европейского COST проекта «Развитие устной речи детей в Европе и за ее пределами».

Контактная информация:

Universitetsvägen 10 E, Stockholm, 10691, Sweden

Dalarna University, Falun, 79188, Sweden

e-mail: natasha.ringblom@slav.su.se

ORCID: 0000-0002-1761-5971

Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ (PhD) – профессор межкультурной коммуникации Таллинского университета и руководитель магистерской программы «Управление коммуникацией». Она также руководит программой «Европейские магистры по межкультурной коммуникации». Сферу ее научных интересов составляют идентичность, языковые контакты и языковой ландшафт. Она является региональным представителем Европы в Исполнительном комитете Международной ассоциации языков и социальной психологии и членом Межправительственной структуры по координации национальных исследований на европейском уровне по вопросам многоязычной семьи.

Контактная информация:

Tallinn University

Baltic Film, Media and Arts School

Narva mnt 27, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia

e-mail: anastassia.zabrodskaia@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8082-3549



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-958-980>

Research article

Language choice and language contact in print advertisements for Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany

Anna RITTER

University of Regensburg
Regensburg, Germany

Abstract

This study aims to analyze linguistic contact in a written language on a sample of advertisements for Russian-speaking immigrants in the German city of Nuremberg, where there is a well-developed infrastructure for Russian-speaking immigrants, including the availability of periodicals. The study has the following research questions: What functions do Russian and German, as well as other languages, perform in advertisements in periodicals for Russian-speaking immigrants? Is there a correlation between the subject matter of the ads and the language or languages used? What phenomena of language contact found in the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants are characteristic of advertisements? A corpus consisting of 443 advertisements, obtained through continuous sampling from periodicals, was collected for the study. The analysis revealed that Russian, German, English, Ukrainian, and Latin fulfil specific functions in the advertisements. It was found that, depending on the subject matter, advertisers choose a particular language or language combination for their ads. At the lexical and morphosyntactic levels were identified borrowings from German and English, entirely or partially grammatically integrated into Russian, and cases of code-switching between Russian and German. Thereby, the study highlights one aspect of the linguistic situation of the Russian-speaking community in Germany and may implicitly serve to assess the vitality of the Russian language in Germany.

Keywords: *multilingualism, print advertising, Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany, code-switching, borrowings*

For citation:

Ritter, Anna. 2021. Language choice and language contact in print advertisements for Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 958–980. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-958-980>

Выбор языка и языковой контакт в печатных рекламных объявлениях для русскоязычных иммигрантов в Германии

Анна РИТТЕР

Регенсбургский университет
Регенсбург, Германия

Аннотация

Целью данного исследования является анализ выбора языка и языковых контактов в письменной речи на примере рекламных объявлений для русскоязычных иммигрантов. Данные были собраны в немецком городе Нюрнберг, где имеется хорошо развитая инфраструктура для русскоязычных иммигрантов, включающая в себя периодические печатные издания. В рамках исследования были поставлены следующие исследовательские вопросы: (1) какие функции выполняют русский и немецкий, а также другие языки в рекламных объявлениях в периодических печатных изданиях для русскоязычных иммигрантов; (2) существует ли связь между тематикой объявлений и используемым языком или языками; (3) какие феномены языкового контакта, встречающиеся в устной речи русскоязычных иммигрантов, характерны для рекламных объявлений. Материалом исследования послужил корпус, состоящий из 443 рекламных объявлений, извлеченных методом сплошной выборки из периодических печатных изданий. Анализ показал, что в объявлениях использовались русский, немецкий, английский, украинский языки и латынь, выполняющие определенные функции и, как правило, используемые для отдельных элементов текста. Также было установлено, что на выбор языка или языков объявления влияет их тематика. На лексическом и морфосинтаксическом уровнях были выявлены заимствования из немецкого и английского языков, которые полностью или частично грамматически интегрированы в русский язык, а также случаи переключения кодов между русским и немецким языками. Таким образом, исследование освещает один из аспектов языковой ситуации русскоязычного сообщества в Германии и может косвенно служить для оценки жизнеспособности русского языка в Германии.

Ключевые слова: *многоязычие, печатная реклама, русскоязычные иммигранты в Германии, переключение кодов, заимствования*

Для цитирования:

Ritter A. Language choice and language contact in print advertisements for Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 958–980. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-958-980>

1. Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany

The second half of the 1980s and the 1990s was marked by population outflows from the Soviet Union, and later its 15 successor states to different countries of the world, including Germany. This so-called 4th emigration wave (Kharitonova-Akhvlediani 2011: 17–19) at the end of the 20th century was triggered by the processes of political transformation and subsequent collapse of the Soviet Union (Dietz & Roll 2019: 101). Today, along with immigrants from Turkey, Poland, Romania, and the former Yugoslavia, Russian-speaking immigrants form one of the largest immigrant communities in Germany (Statistisches Bundesamt 2019).

According to the German Federal Statistical Office for 2019, there are about 3.5 million people from the former Soviet Union, 2.7 million of whom have personal immigration experience (Statistisches Bundesamt 2019). These are mainly immigrants from Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Ukraine. Most of them had either no or limited knowledge of German when they arrived in Germany, considering Russian as their first and often only language (Dietz & Roll 2019: 109–110).

Russian-speaking immigrants are divided into three groups (Kharitonova–Akhvlediani 2011: 20–25, Dietz & Roll 2019: 103–108). The first and the most numerous group form ethnic (Russian) Germans. They are the descendants of Germans who migrated from various German regions to the Russian Empire in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Before 1941, the German settlers lived in closed, religiously organized communities where they used only the German language, or rather German dialects, and were thus virtually isolated from the rest of society (Baur, Chlosta & Roll 2019: 82–83). In the summer of 1941, after the German invasion of the Soviet Union began, the communities were abolished, and Russian Germans were deported to Siberia, from where they were able to resettle independently in the Soviet republics of Central Asia after the war. However, they were never allowed to return to the European part of the USSR and rebuild their autonomous republic (Worbs et al. 2013). Most of them lost their German dialects due to heavy assimilation pressure and switched to Russian (Baur, Chlosta & Roll 2019: 88–91).

The second group of Russian-speaking immigrants consists of 235,000 people of Jewish origin who arrived in Germany between 1991 and 2015 from the former Soviet Union, including the Baltic States (Dietz & Roll 2019: 106). Almost none of them spoke German upon arrival (Dietz & Roll 2019: 106).

The third group of at least 417,000 people (Ritter 2018: 236) consists of Russian-speaking immigrants who moved to Germany for different reasons and with varying levels of the German language. This group is sometimes divided into the following subgroups: immigration due to studies, work, family reunification, or as refugees (Kharitonova-Akhvlediani 2011: 23–25, Dietz & Roll 2019: 107–108).

The peak of the Russian-speaking immigration wave was at the beginning of the 1990s when 150,000–200,000 people came to Germany every year. Since 1996, the number of arrivals has been decreasing (Haug & Sauer 2007: 20, Worbs et al. 2013: 32–33). Thus, the majority of immigrants have been living in Germany for some 25–30 years. This long period, the significant size of the community, and the relatively low level of German language skills (Kharitonova-Akhvlediani 2011: 41), at least in the first years after immigration, served as a precondition for the development of Russian-speaking infrastructure in Germany. The infrastructure includes, for example, grocery shops, travel agencies, transport companies, lawyers and doctors specializing in Russian-speaking clients and patients, beauty salons, cultural-educational centres, Russian nurseries, schools, as well as weekend schools offering a variety of Russian language courses, music lessons, and choreography classes.

The Russian-speaking infrastructure also includes such media as print and electronic periodicals, satellite TV, and one Russian-speaking radio station in Berlin. Major print media include newspapers such as, for example, “Диалог” (Dialogue), “Кругозор” (Horizons), “Карьера” (Career), “Русская Германия” (Russian Germany), “Районка” (Rayonka), “ТВ-бульвар” (TV Boulevard), “Еврейская панорама” (Jewish Panorama), and journals “У нас в Баварии” (Here in Bavaria), “Neue Zeiten” (New Times), “Партнёр” (Partner), and “Катюша” (Katyusha). Many of these are distributed free of charge and are used primarily as advertising space.

The developed Russian-speaking infrastructure, directly and indirectly, serves to increase the vitality of the Russian language, which is the most widely spoken Slavic language in Germany (Achterberg 2005). Furthermore, advertisements in print media form part of the network of communication within the community, which, however, does not live in isolation from the rest of German society. Most Russian-speaking immigrants speak German to some extent, communicate in this language at least at work or in public institutions, use German-language media, and are thus bilingual (Dietz & Roll 2019, Meng 2019). Earlier studies in contact linguistics show that the linguistic phenomena of borrowing, code-switching, and code-mixing, i. e. between German and Russian, are characteristic of the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants (Goldbach 2005, Pabst 2007, Pavlova 2019, Warditz 2019).

Based on this background information, the present study aims to answer the following questions: What functions do Russian, German, and other languages have in advertisements printed in the periodicals for Russian-speaking immigrants? Is there a connection between the subject matter of the advertisements and the language or languages used? What language contact phenomena, found in the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants, are characteristic of advertisements?

2. Theoretical background

2.1. Multilingualism, code-switching and borrowings

Linguistic contacts between people speaking different languages have existed since time immemorial. These contacts were the results of trade, war, colonization, migration, the spread of religions, or for other reasons (Stavans & Hoffmann 2015: 12–19). However, the phenomenon of bilingualism and/or multilingualism only gained attention in the twentieth century. Weinreich (1967: 1) and Haugen (1956: 9) used the term ‘bilingualism.’ Weinreich (1967: 1) defines bilingualism as “the practice of alternately using two languages”. Haugen (1956: 9) uses the term ‘bilingualism’ as a general term for all people who speak more than one language. Contemporary definitions of the terms ‘bilingualism’ and ‘multilingualism’ highlight different aspects of the phenomenon. On the one hand, they emphasize that multilingualism exists as a synonym for bilingualism. On the other, depending on the context, the term ‘bilingualism’ indeed means only two languages (Swann et al. 2004: 214–215).

In the present study, the term ‘multilingualism’ is a synonym for the term ‘bilingualism.’ Thus, people are described as multilingual if they have learned more than one language during their lifetime. It does not matter whether the languages were acquired naturally in the family or learned at school classes and in language courses. Besides, in the context of immigration, the term ‘life multilingualism’ is used (Gogolin 1998: 76–77), since for many immigrants, multilingualism is an everyday practice of linguistic border-crossing and linguistic border existence (Gogolin 1998: 92–93).

In this everyday practice, the linguistic border existence manifests itself in the use of two or more languages in immigrants’ speech and in the phenomena of code-switching and borrowing. In this case, code refers to both languages and their varieties, e. g. dialects (Riehl 2009: 20).

During recent decades, interest in the phenomenon of code-switching has grown considerably, which is confirmed by numerous studies with all kinds of language combinations (Gardner-Chloros 2011: 9). However, despite the diversity of studies, or perhaps just because of this diversity, there is no consensus among scholars on the definition for this term (Muysken 2000: 4, Riehl 2009: 20, Matras 2011: 101). In the present study, the term ‘code-switching’ refers to speakers using more than one language or language variety in the same utterance (Velupillai 2012: 404).

In recent decades, there have been studies looking at different aspects of the phenomenon of code-switching in spoken language (Gardner-Chloros 2011, Stavans & Hoffmann 2015 as examples). However, the phenomenon of code-switching does not only apply to oral but also to written forms of communication, such as advertisements and posters (Gardner-Chloros 2011: 6, Sebba 2012: 1).

Along with code-switching in colloquial speech, the phenomenon of borrowing is widespread in the context of the use of two or more languages. The integration of borrowings into the host language can occur at different levels: phonological, morphological, semantic, and graphic (Gardner-Chloros 2011). Borrowings may be integrated morphologically and syntactically by adding endings and syntactic functions from the host language, such as in the expression ‘du bikest’ where the English word receives a German verb ending (Riehl 2009: 21–22), or they may acquire an additional morphological feature, such as the word ‘le weekend’ borrowed from English into French and given an article (Swann et al. 2004: 30). In other cases, borrowings are not phonetically integrated, such as the words ‘Restaurant’ and ‘Pendant’ borrowed from French into German (Riehl 2009: 22). In addition, borrowings may be widespread within a certain linguistic community when not only bilinguals but also monolinguals can understand them (Swann et al. 2004).

It is not always possible to accurately distinguish the phenomenon of code-switching from the phenomenon of borrowing. Opinions on this issue differ in the scientific literature (Riehl 2009: 21). The present study supports the view that both phenomena – borrowing and code-switching – are on a so-called continuum (Matras 2011: 113).

2.2. Multilingualism in advertising texts

Advertising in contexts such as television, radio, film, print, internet, and outdoor advertising is an integral part of everyday life for modern people. As for any complex and multi-dimensional phenomenon, there are many definitions to describe advertising. These definitions consider both the process of creating advertising products and their relationship to the target audience from different angles. From the perspective of economic theory, advertising is a tool that is used as part of the overall marketing mix to achieve specific marketing goals (Rogge 2000: 28). Advertising is a form of communication between people which is initiated, shaped and paid for by a specific advertiser and directed to recipients whose specific composition is indefinite (cf. Armstrong 2010, Arslanagic-Kalajdzic & Zabkar 2016). Based on cultural theory, advertising, especially its linguistic component, is a mirror of the culture in which it emerges, e. g. American, German or Russian (cf. Roche 2001: 11-13). Finally, from the point of view of the cognitive process, advertising, or more precisely the creation of advertising products, is inextricably linked to creativity (McStay 2013).

Although the specific composition of the addressees of advertising is indefinite, we can say of the target audience that there are advertisements for political, economic, religious, or cultural purposes. Economical advertising consists of advertising for political-economic purposes of the state, advertising of enterprises, and advertising of individual enterprise functions, e. g. to increase the sales of goods or services provided by the enterprise (Schweiger & Schrattenecker 1995: 11). The last two of these cases constitute the focus of the present article.

Advertising reaches its recipients via the media through numerous channels, one of which is print advertisements. The main components of a classic print advertisement include a headline, informative text, slogan, product name, logo, and a graphic image (Janich 2001). The text in an advertisement may be short or long. Short texts have no more than five sentences and have an eye-catching optical character. They have a persuasive rather than informative function and serve to increase the credibility of the advertised product. Long texts in print advertisements, on the other hand, primarily have an informative function and therefore include a more detailed and substantive description of the product or service advertised (Janich 2001: 47).

Language (or languages) play/s a relevant role in advertising, including print advertisements (Sebba 2012). Multilingualism is gradually becoming a large-scale phenomenon in the language of advertising and will presumably continue to grow. In terms of linguistic analysis, multilingual advertisements display the phenomena of code-switching, code-mixing, and borrowing in written speech (Gardner-Chloros 2011: 5–6).

To achieve a greater effect, advertisers often use foreign words or expressions, which in the context of advertising are expected to have a particularly positive influence on the target audience (Kupper 2003: 23–24, Zhiganova 2016: 228). Since English is the most widely learned language in the modern world, as well as the

language of international communication in many spheres of life, anglicisms are frequently used in advertisements in countries such as Germany, France, or South Korea, even when the target audience of the advertisement is exclusively the local population (Kupper 2003, Zhiganova 2016, Ahn, La Ferle & Lee 2017). Advertisements that use two or more languages can also target tourists, as shown in a study on Russian-language advertisements in the Chinese border cities of Heihe and Hunchun (Oglezneva, Petrova & Ying 2016), or the immigrant community, as shown in studies on the use of English and Spanish, or English and Russian in immigrant communities in the US (Angermeyer 2012, Garcia Quintana & Nichols 2016).

3. Data and research method

The present study of advertisements was carried out on print media in the Bavarian city of Nuremberg, which is one of the centres of Russian-speaking immigration. According to Nuremberg city administration's statistics, Russian-speaking immigrants make up 6% of the city's total population and are one of the largest immigrant communities along with Turkish and Romanian (6% and 4.3% of the total population, respectively) (Stadt Nürnberg 2011). Consequently, a well-developed infrastructure is present in Nuremberg, including several grocery shops with typical post-Soviet food products and a Russian-German cultural centre where German, Bavarian, and local print periodicals for Russian-speaking immigrants are distributed.

The basis of the study is the corpus of 443 advertisements from print media targeted at Russian-speaking immigrants as of September 2019. The advertisements serve as primary sources of information, while the newspapers and magazines, which they are from, serve as metadata, as they provide additional information for the context. All collected advertisements are commercial advertisements. The advertisers in the advertisements are small and medium-sized businesses as well as individuals. The vast majority of the advertisements (437 advertisements, 98.4%), which are in colour shades, different fonts, and have the main elements of a classic print advertisement, include short texts with a persuasive function. Only six advertisements (1.6%) contain long texts with an informative function, as they describe offered products and services in detail.

The specific composition of the target audience for the advertisements studied is not defined. However, the analysis of the products and services offered shows that they target individuals living permanently in Germany but using Russian daily. The content of advertisements offering consular services and travel agency advertisements, e. g. tourist trips from Germany to other countries and airline tickets to various cities in Russia and Kazakhstan, confirm this assumption.

Earlier studies characterize this target group as a “symbolic community of Soviet immigrants” who are, among other things, “united by language” (Goldbach 2005: 24–25). The present study proposes to consider the target audience as a symbolic community of immigrants from the post-Soviet area, for whom Russian

is a native language, or one regularly used, and serves as a unifying factor for the community. In addition, advertisements show that the target audience is to some extent proficient in German, but perhaps not completely so, as advertisements for legal or medical services, for example, include such expressions as “русскоязычный адвокат” (Russian-speaking lawyer), “русскоязычный персонал” (Russian-speaking staff), or “говорим по-русски” ([we] speak Russian).

The analysis of the material was conducted at two levels: sociolinguistic and linguistic. The quantitative data analysis, followed by an interpretation of the results, aims to draw conclusions at a sociolinguistic level. For this purpose, all advertisements were sorted by subject and language, considering different combinations and the number of languages used. The qualitative data analysis aims to identify language contact phenomena, interpret their use, and compare the results with those from similar studies.

4. Results

4.1. Functions of languages in advertisements

The first research question deals with the functions that Russian, German, and other languages, if any, have in advertisements printed in the periodicals for Russian-speaking immigrants. Five languages were found in the advertisements: Russian, German, English, Ukrainian, and Latin (see Table 1). However, only three of them – Russian, German, and Ukrainian were used in the advertisements individually, i. e. without combinations with other languages.

Table 1

Distribution of languages in advertisements

	language or languages in an advertisement	in figures	as percentage
1	Russian and German	345	77.9
2	Russian	72	16.2
3	Russian, German, and English	10	2.3
4	German	9	2.0
5	Ukrainian	3	0.7
6	Russian and English	2	0.5
7	Ukrainian and German	1	0.2
8	Russian, German, and Latin	1	0.2
	total	443	100

Table 1 gathers all the language combinations found in the advertisements. The table shows that most advertisements are multilingual, primarily in two languages: Russian and German (345 advertisements, 77.9%). This language combination is understandable in terms of the perceived language knowledge of the target audience, for whom Russian is likely to be the first language and German the second. The second most common combination, using Russian, German, and English, was found in 10 advertisements (2.3%). In addition, two advertisements use Russian and English, and one each uses Ukrainian and German as well as

Russian, German, and Latin. The remaining 84 advertisements, representing about 19% of the total number, were written in one language, which is usually Russian (72 advertisements, 16.2%).

4.1.1. *Russian and German and their functions in advertisements*

As described in Section 2.2, a print advertisement can consist of several constituent elements, varying according to the advertiser's objectives. The study shows that the different constituent elements of multilingual advertisements (business or product name, slogans, informative text, service description, contact information, and personal names) include Russian and / or German. Thus, both languages can fulfil different functions.

The Russian language dominates in the elements of advertisements such as headlines, slogans, product, or service names, descriptions, and informative text. In headlines, slogans, and product, or service names, the Russian language performs the functions of attracting attention and introducing, for example, *Елена Бекманн¹ знает, как сделать ваши зубы здоровыми, а улыбку неотразимой!* (Elena Beckmann knows how to make your teeth healthy and your smile irresistible!), *Открывайте мир с нами!* (Discover the world with us!), *Мы с Вами в дни Вашей скорби.* (We are with you in your time of need.), *Каждый человек – это Вселенная.* (Every person is the universe.), *С нами надёжно!* (It is safe with us!). As a rule, these elements are highlighted in the advertisements in bright colour, large, or bold type and are immediately apparent. Since the advertisements target the Russian-speaking community, one may assume that advertisers want to attract potential customers or buyers by using a language that is easier to understand. Noteworthy, however, in some advertisements are the names of products, or services that first appear in larger or bolder type in Russian, and then in smaller type, or in brackets in German, e. g. *Рыболовный билет (Angelschein)* (Fishing ticket).

Such elements of advertisements as informative texts and descriptions (short listings) of products or services in most multilingual advertisements analyzed are also in Russian. Here, the Russian language performs an informative function, especially in the description of medical, cosmetic, or consular services. The use of Russian may be explained by the desire of advertisers to provide detailed information about their products or services in a way that is as accessible and comprehensible as possible. From this it follows that not all recipients are familiar with the relevant terms in German. The only exceptions are descriptions of legal services which use German terms. In several advertisements, there are services listed in German in bold type, and their explanations in Russian in brackets, e. g. *Strafrecht (воровство, наркотики, телесные повреждения и др.)* (Criminal law (theft, drugs, bodily injury, etc.)). In these advertisements, Russian and German

¹ All personal names have been changed for the sake of anonymity.

have reverse functions. The German language has an attention-grabbing function, while the Russian language has a clarifying function.

German includes predominantly such elements of advertisements as company names, logos, and contact details of the advertisers written in Latin characters. The use of German, in this case, is understandable because both advertisers and addressees in the advertisements studied are physically located in Germany. Only in one ad was the name of an elderly care service found, which was taken from the Russian language: *Ujut (уют)* (coziness). Thus, the German language performs the informative function here.

However, German has different options in the names of the companies, and the descriptions of the contact details. Along with names like *MultiMarkt* (literally: multi market), and *MixMarkt* (literally: mixed market) for shops, or *Mill Reisen* (Mill travel), *Blick Reisen* (Blick travel), and *Weber Reisedienst* (Weber travel service) for travel agencies, advertisements for medical clinics, and lawyers' offices also use both languages. For example, *Rechtsanwalt Viktor Schenk / адвокат Виктор Шенк* (lawyer Viktor Schenk) with duplicated information, or *межрегиональный урологический Praxis Dr. S. Bondar* (interregional urology surgery Dr. S. Bondar) when languages are mixed (see Section 4.3). When describing the contact information, especially in the case of physical addresses of the companies, there are examples where Russian has an explanatory function, e. g. *Автобус №57 от станции метро Langwasser Mitte (Franken Center) до ост. Moorenbrunn* (Bus number 57 from Langwasser Mitte (Franken Center) metro station to Moorenbrunn stop), *две минуты пешком от станции метро U3/U6 Münchner Freiheit, вход с улицы Siegfriedstraße, справа от ресторана Мосса* (two minutes' walk from U3/U6 Münchner Freiheit metro station, entrance from Siegfriedstraße, right side of Мосса restaurant). The fact that advertisers want to help their potential customers to find the right address quicker, explains the use of Russian here. In addition, several ads also have *часы приёма* (opening hours), or “*часы работы*” (business hours) in Russian.

Different options and the use of two languages characterize the spelling of personal names, although all of the advertisers live in Germany and could have written their names exclusively in Latin characters. The first option is the use of the Latin alphabet, for example, for the names of lawyers, doctors, or translators. The second is the use of the Cyrillic alphabet only. This variant was used primarily for personal names of people offering repair and renovation work, non-traditional healing, or spiritual practices, and less frequently for names of lawyers, doctors, and translators. The use of the Cyrillic variant of personal names can be partly explained by the nature of the services provided. In services such as spiritual practices, the use of Cyrillic can work as a positive factor indicating a less formal and more trusting atmosphere when working with clients.

The third option for personal names is the use of both languages. Noteworthy, in some of these cases, is that the names in German and Russian were different, for

example, *Юрий* (Yuri) and *Jürgen, Иван* (Ivan) and *Johann*, or *Лев* (Lev) and *Leon*. Therefore, the use of two languages may be explained by the desire of advertisers to duplicate information to make it easier to find, and, perhaps, by the desire to show that, despite their German names, they are natives of the former Soviet Union and speak Russian. The German first names were probably the result of replacing the Russian names with similar-sounding ones after moving to Germany.

4.1.2. Ukrainian

Ukrainian is the subject of four advertisements for immigrants from Ukraine. Three advertisements are entirely in Ukrainian and deal with passenger transport between Germany and Ukraine. The fourth advertisement is in Ukrainian and German and offers translation services. Therefore, the Ukrainian language is used to attract the relevant target audience, which may also speak Russian and use the Russian-speaking infrastructure.

4.1.3. English

English, or more precisely, borrowings from English (see Section 4.3) is part of twelve advertisements, in terms like, e. g. online shop, last minute, anti-aging, master of science in oral implantology. The first three examples refer to borrowings from English into German, which can also be found in German advertising texts (Zhiganova 2016: 226). The authors of the advertisements may not know the equivalents of these expressions in Russian, because in several other advertisements were found expressions like *горящие путёвки* instead of *last minute*, and *онлайн-магазин* instead of *online shop*. The fourth example refers to an academic degree, which was probably obtained in an English-speaking country and was, therefore, transferred to the German text without translation.

4.1.4. Latin

The use of Latin was recorded only once, in the form of the proverb *anima sana in corpore sano* (in a healthy body a healthy spirit) in the advertisement of a dentist. In this case, the use of Latin is probably a decoration of the text.

4.2. Subjects of advertisements and language use

The second research question asks whether there is a relationship between the subject matter of the advertisements and the language or languages used. Based on the analysis, all advertisements were sorted by subject into 20 groups (see Table 2). The subjects of advertisements cover different areas of life, ranging from legal, consular, medical, and financial services to cultural events, holidays for children, spiritual practices, and funeral services.

Table 2

Breakdown of advertisements by subject			
	subject	in figures	as percentage
1	tourism and transport	92	20.8
2	medicine	75	16.9
3	legal services	40	9
4	goods	35	7.9
5	translation services	24	5.4
6	beauty salons	23	5.2
7	funeral services	21	4.7
8	cars	16	3.6
9	grocery shops	15	3.4
10	consular services	14	3.2
11	spiritual practices	14	3.2
12	media	14	3.2
13	restaurants	12	2.7
14	finance and credit	10	2.2
15	cultural events	8	1.8
16	job advertisements	8	1.8
17	repair and finishing work	6	1.4
18	courses and events for children	4	0.9
19	marriage in Denmark	4	0.9
20	diverse	8	1.8
	total	443	100

The two most numerous groups of advertisements are tourism and transport, and medicine. Thus, these groups and their thematic relationship with language use will be treated separately.

The biggest number of advertisements (20.8%) belongs to the group *tourism and transport*, represented by travel agencies and companies providing diverse forms of passenger transport. It follows from the advertisements that these companies specialize in Russian-speaking customers because they offer airline tickets and tourist trips to the former Soviet Union countries, as well as visas and postal services. The presence of many advertisements in this group is, on the one hand, due to the size of the Russian-speaking community in Germany and, on the other, to the relative geographical distance of Russian-speaking immigrants from countries like Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, or parts of Russia from which they emigrated.

All advertisements in this group are multilingual with either German and Russian, or German and Ukrainian. However, Russian predominates, as headlines, slogans, short informative texts, and listings of services are mostly written in Russian. The predominance of Russian may be explained by the geographical specialization of the advertisers' products. German appears in all advertisements to convey the contact details of companies and, in some cases, in geographical names, e. g. *Meersburg*. Furthermore, in several advertisements, words or phrases in German were found in bold or in red, as in German travel advertisements, e. g.

Frühbucherrabatt (early bird rebate), *VIP-Klasse* (vip class), *Neu* (new), *Jetzt buchen* (book now).

The second-largest group of advertisements (16.9%) relates to medicine. This group consists of advertisements for private doctors' surgeries and clinics, mainly dental clinics, where either the doctors themselves are from the former Soviet Union, or some of the staff speak Russian. This group also includes care services for the sick and elderly. The large number of advertisements in the medical field are explained by the fact that medical vocabulary is too specific and unfamiliar to most immigrants. Therefore, doctors or nursing staff who speak the patients' native language and understand them better have a clear advantage over doctors who do not speak Russian.

The advertisements from the group *medicine* contain both languages. The list of services and slogans is usually written in Russian. Only a few advertisements include the same short, informative text in both languages. In addition to contact information, some advertisements also include qualifications of doctors in German, e. g. *Dr. med. dent.*, *Facharzt für Allgemeinmedizin* (general practitioner), *Professor* (professor), or the specialization of the doctor's office, e. g. *Kieferorthopädie* (orthodontics). As mentioned earlier, most Russian-speaking immigrants are not familiar with the medical vocabulary in German. However, there are no advertisements in Russian only in this group.

The advertisements on other subjects were divided into three groups depending on the languages or language combinations. In the first (and most numerous) group are ads where Russian is the predominant language. These include advertisements for *goods*, *consular services*, *spiritual practices*, *restaurants*, *cultural events*, *beauty salons*, *job advertisements*, and *courses and events for children*. However, within the group, there are significant differences between the advertisements for the particular subjects. For example, the group of advertisements labelled *spiritual practices* includes fortune-tellers, healers, psychics, and sorcerers, how they call themselves, and also advertisements for Christian churches. Half of the advertisements on this subject contain a telephone number, without an address, and use only Russian. The advertisements for *restaurants* and *beauty salons* use German only for contact information. This may be explained by the fact that advertisers want to emphasize the specifics of their services exclusively for Russian-speaking customers. The situation is different in the *goods* advertisements. Most of them use Russian to refer to certain products, and German only in the case of a specific model of a product.

The second group includes advertisements for *media*, *marriage in Denmark*, and *repair and finishing work*, where absolutely all advertisements are in Russian. These advertisements contain only telephone numbers (*repair and finishing work*, *marriage in Denmark*) or website addresses (*marriage in Denmark*, *media*). In this case, it is possible that the advertisers deliberately chose Russian, because they do not expect their potential customers to have sufficient knowledge of German.

The third group includes advertisements for *legal services, translation services, cars, finance and credit, and grocery shops* using both languages, but without the predominance of Russian. In this group, there are advertisements where the entire information is given in both Russian and German (*translation services*), where German is predominant (*legal services*), or where the advertisements are entirely in German (*finance and credit, translation services, cars, legal services*). The more frequent use of German, specifically in advertisements on these subjects, may be a result of the pragmatical thinking of advertisers. Despite specializing in Russian-speaking clients, they still want to attract non-Russian-speaking customers as well. For example, grocery shops offer Polish products and use German in their advertisements to reach Polish immigrants in Germany who visit these shops. The use of German may also result from the desire of advertisers to save advertising costs and print only one version of the ad in different print media, e. g. in the case of law offices or companies selling car parts. It is noteworthy, however, that no subject group consists entirely of advertisements written in German only.

4.3. Language contact phenomena in advertisements

The third research question focus on the language contact phenomena specific to advertisements. Earlier studies show that language contact phenomena in the immigrant speech primarily appear at the lexical and prosodic levels (Riehl 2009, Matras 2011, Warditz 2019). After a longer period of contact between two languages, these phenomena emerge at the levels of morphology and syntax. However, there are exceptions when language contact phenomena are present at different language levels after a brief contact between two languages (Weinreich 1967, Warditz 2019). The analysis carried out in this study found language contact phenomena at the lexical and morphosyntactic levels. Most of them are the result of the contact between German and Russian. A few cases of contact between German, Russian, and English are part of the present study.

4.3.1. Lexical level

a) Borrowings without an equivalent in Russian

As in the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants, print advertisements contain concepts and phenomena, which are either specific to Germany, or have no exact translation into Russian. One example is the German word *Praxis* (surgery) and its derivatives *Arztpraxis, Zahnarztpraxis* (doctor's surgery, dental surgery), which may be translated into Russian as 'частный врачебный кабинет' (private doctor's office), 'кабинет врача' (doctor's office), or even 'частная медицинская клиника' (private medical clinic) (cf. Goldbach 2005: 53).

Four options for this word were found in the advertisements studied. First option: German term written in Latin characters, e. g. *Zahnarztpraxis* (dental surgery). Second option: a mixture of languages and alphabets, e. g. *стоматологический Praxis* (dental surgery). In this option, the word 'Praxis,'

which in German is feminine gender, is borrowed into Russian, and according to the rules of determining the gender in Russian, becomes masculine. Hence, the adjective ‘стоматологический’ also becomes masculine. The third option differs from the second only in the sense that both words are written in Cyrillic characters, e. g. *физиотерапевтический праксис* (physiotherapeutic surgery).

Fourth option: the use of the word ‘праксис’ in the masculine gender as an independent member of a sentence in Russian, e. g. *Наш праксис переехал.* (Our surgery has moved.), or *Праксис расположен в 150 метрах от станции метро.* (The surgery is located 150 meters from the metro station.). Furthermore, several advertisements contain variants with vocabulary of similar meaning used instead of the word ‘Praxis.’ Some advertisers replaced it with a Russian word ‘практика’ (practice), e. g. *стоматологическая практика* (literally: dental practice). Other advertisements contain the following terms: *частный ортопедический институт* (literally: private orthopedic institute), and *урологическая клиника* (urological clinic). Some advertisements do not mention the name of the organization at all, but use the doctor's specialization, e. g. *врач ухо-горло-нос* (literally: ear, nose and throat doctor), or *врач-кардиолог* (cardiologist).

Another German word that is characteristic of everyday life in Germany and has no equivalent in Russian (cf. Pabst 2007: 69 and 75) is ‘Termin’ (appointment). Depending on the specific situation and context, this word may be translated into Russian as ‘приём’ (appointment), e. g. with a doctor, ‘консультация’ (consultation), e. g. with a lawyer or a doctor, ‘встреча, назначенная на определённое время’ (meeting set for a certain time), ‘назначенный срок’ (appointed time), or ‘назначенная дата’ (fixed date). In the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany, the word ‘Termin’ is used quite often (Goldbach 2005: 54, Pabst 2007: 69).

In the present study, the use of this word was recorded in written language, e. g. *Позаботьтесь о термине по телефону* (Arrange an appointment by phone), or *термины по договорённости* (appointments by arrangement). In both examples, the German word ‘Termin’ was integrated morphologically (case endings and plural endings), and graphically (written in Cyrillic characters with a lowercase initial letter). In addition, several medical advertisements contain such translations as *запись на консультацию* (making of an appointment), and *Запишитесь на приём* (Make an appointment).

Furthermore, the German word ‘Amt’ (department), found in two medical advertisements, is often used in the spoken language in a Russian-speaking immigrant environment (Goldbach 2005, Pabst 2007). This word was also integrated morphologically into Russian and received the masculine gender as well as the plural ending according to the rules of the Russian language: *сопровождение в амты* (escorting to departments), and *сопровождает в амты* ([we] escort to departments).

In travel advertisements, the most frequent case was the German term ‘Pauschalreise’ (package tour), which may be translated into Russian as ‘тур’

(tour), ‘пакетный тур’ (package tour), or ‘комплексная туристическая поездка’ (all-inclusive tourist trip). Some advertisements use the German term ‘Pauschalreise’ without integration into the Russian language. Other advertisements use Russian words with similar meaning like ‘поездки’ (trips), or ‘экскурсии’ (excursions). Finally, in some advertisements, the result of language mixing is a hybrid term ‘паушальные поездки’ (package tour (German) + trips (Russian)). This hybrid term may be seen as a kind of attempt at creative translation (McStay 2013).

b) Borrowings with equivalents in Russian

This group of borrowings from the German language includes words that have a semantically close equivalent in the Russian language, but nevertheless are used in advertisements in German and written in Latin or Cyrillic characters. Several advertisements use the word ‘Parkplatz’ (parking), written in Latin characters and added to Russian without any morphological change, e. g. *Parkplatz во дворе* (Parking in the yard), or *Parkplatz в любом аэропорту Германии* (Parking at any German airport). Other examples of German words written in Latin characters and partially integrated into Russian were found in job advertisements such as *вакансия на Vollzeit / Teilzeit* (vacancy for a full / part-time job), *ежегодный Weiterbildung* (annual advanced training), and in travel advertisements such as *поездки на Weihnachten* (trips at Christmas time), and *Черногория, Беларусь NEU* (Montenegro, Belarus NEW).

In addition to borrowings from German into Russian, this category includes examples of borrowings from English. Most likely English expressions were first borrowed from English into German, as they are present in advertisements of German travel agencies, and later appeared in advertisements for Russian-speaking immigrants. A typical example is the term ‘Last minute’ or ‘Lastminute’ taken from English and written in advertisements according to German spelling rules as a noun with a capital letter. Despite the Russian equivalent of ‘горящая путёвка’ (literally: burning ticket), the English version with the German spelling was found in five advertisements, while the Russian version was found only in one. The use of the English version may be partly explained by the lack of knowledge of the Russian version among immigrants. A similar example from travel-related advertisements is the word ‘online,’ e. g. ‘online бронирование,’ or ‘online-бронирование’ (online booking) used in many advertisements. The Russian version ‘бронирование в интернете’ (online booking) was found only once.

4.3.2. Morphosyntactic level

Because of the structure of print advertisements, they do not usually contain linguistic constructions that could be labelled as sentences according to the rules of the Russian or German language. This fact was one of the reasons why far fewer language contact phenomena were found on the morphosyntactic level than on the lexical level. The examples found were divided into two groups.

One group includes examples with several single borrowings, often written in Latin characters. A typical example is the following sentence taken from an advertisement of a curtain shop: *Заказы принимаются по Телефону, по E-Mail, а также на нашем Homepage.* (Orders can be placed by telephone, via e-mail, or on our homepage.). Here, there is obviously a significant influence of the German language on Russian. First, the words ‘E-Mail’ and ‘Homepage,’ although originally borrowed from English, are written in German, i. e. with a capital letter like all German nouns, and in Latin characters. Noteworthy is the word ‘Homepage,’ which in English has no gender and in German is feminine: in this sentence it appears with the pronoun ‘our’ and can be either masculine or neuter. Secondly, the word for telephone is written in Russian, but according to the rules of the German language, starts with a capital letter. A similar example was found in an ad of a travel company offering trips to health resorts with various treatment courses: *Помощь в заполнении ANTRAG на курорт и получении оплаты от Krankenkasse!* (Help in filling in the application for the spa and receiving payment from a health insurance company!). In another travel ad, borrowings from both German and English were found: *Незабываемый отдых на море; лучшие курорты мира; Frühbucherrabatt; Griechenland; оплата в кредит; отели доступные, VIP-Klasse; Last Minute скидка до 65%; все туроператоры; Spanien; Турция; компетентность, опыт, знания, уважение к клиентам.* (Unforgettable holiday at sea; best resorts of the world; early bird rebate; Greece; credit payment; hotels available, VIP-class; last-minute discount up to 65%; all tour operators; Spain; Turkey; competence, experience, knowledge, respect for clients.). Although in the first two examples the borrowings are only partially integrated morphologically, they fit into the sentence structure in terms of syntax. It is noteworthy, however, that all the three examples give a visual impression of language mixing, because of the use of several words written in Latin characters.

The second group contains cases not only with single German or English words, but with phrases and sentences. A typical example of this group is a short text from a travel advertisement: *Надёжно, качественно, быстро, недорого! Gut reisen mit GuT Reisen. Дешевле просто не бывает! (Reliable, high quality, fast, cheap! Good trip with GuT Reisen. You cannot get any cheaper than that!).* This text consists of three sentences written in one line, separated by punctuation marks. The first and third sentences are in Russian, the second in German. Thus, this text contains the phenomenon of code-switching from Russian to German and back.

Similar cases of code-switching were found in other advertisements in the subject groups *tourism and transport, job advertisements, and finance and credit.* Two of the examples are short texts: *Новая служба по уходу Vita Pflegedienst приглашает к сотрудничеству специалистов: Krankenschwester / Krankenpfleger, Gesundheits- und Krankenpfleger/in, Altenpfleger/in, Betreuungskräfte. Опыт работы в подобных службах приветствуется.* (New care service Vita Pflegedienst welcomes applications: female nurse / male nurse, nurse for the elderly, supporting personnel. Experience in similar services is

welcomed.), and *Требуются на постоянное трудоустройство (für den Standort in 21224 Rosengarten) LKW Fahrer, Kommissionierer. Bewerbung высылать на E-Mail: ...* (Truck driver and order picker are needed for permanent employment (for the location in 21224 Rosengarten). Letter of application on e-mail: ...).

In the two other examples, the switch from Russian to German occurs within the sentence: *Лето 2020, XXL Rabatt до 44%* (Summer 2020, XXL discount up to 44%), and *Передача % от третьих лиц; подтверждение % от всех страховых фирм; страхование груза Transportversicherung; Kurierdienst, Pflegedienst – с 30%; LKW Transporte, Taxi, Reisebus.* (Transfer of % from third parties; confirmation of % from all insurance companies; cargo insurance; transport insurance; courier service, nursing service – with 30%; truck transports, taxi, touring coach.). The results of the analysis cited are comparable to the results of research on the phenomenon of code-switching in oral speech, where in one utterance the speaker switches from one language to another, e. g. in the case of indirect speech, and then returns to the first language (Riehl 2009: 24, Gardner-Chloros 2011: 104-105).

4.3.3. Spelling

In addition to language contact phenomena, spelling errors were repeatedly found in the advertisements studied. For example, in a psychologist's advertisement the word 'дипрессия,' instead of 'депрессия' (depression) was written. An advertisement of a private medical surgery gives information on diseases of the 'опорнодвигательный аппарат', instead of 'опорно-двигательный аппарат' (musculoskeletal system). Finally, in one other advertisement: 'частное охранное агенство', and not 'частное охранное агентство' (private security agency) offers its services. These mistakes may be a result of inattention, or they could be printing errors. But an alternative explanation is also possible. Since neither the advertisers, nor the editors of the newspapers, where the advertisements were printed, paid attention to the spelling of these words, it is also possible that they had forgotten or did not know the correct spelling.

5. Conclusions

The results of the analysis show that the situation of language contact, as described in earlier studies on the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany, is partly reflected in the written language in advertisements. Despite the lengthy stay of most of the described target group in Germany, Russian nevertheless fulfils numerous functions in most multilingual advertisements and determines the grammatical and graphical structure of the advertisements. Besides, the majority of monolingual advertisements are in Russian. Thus, at least for the Russian-speaking community in Nuremberg, Russian continues to play an important role in communication, is one of the unifying factors, and a component of identity. Links between language choice in advertisements, target group behavior, and ethnic identity in immigrant communities were also found in other

similar studies (Sebba 2012, Angermeyer 2012: 261, Garcia Quintana & Nichols 2016: 236).

The results of this study coincide with the results of the studies on the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants, which also emphasize that Russian, although gradually losing its position, nevertheless continues to be one of the languages used at home and within the community. Furthermore, it has its value as a specific potential and resource for immigrants (Ritter 2018: 248, Meng 2019: 129–133, Soultanian 2019: 412, Warditz 2019: 283, Dietz & Roll 2019: 109).

German is the second most important language used for some elements of the advertisements, or even for the whole advertisements, competing with Russian. Therefore, it is possible that the role of German in advertisements will continue to grow in the future, as similar studies on spoken language show (Ritter 2018: 248, Meng 2019: 133). This is primarily due to the fact that the second generation of Russian-speaking immigrants, already born in Germany, cannot as a rule read and write in Russian, and do not learn this language at school, which leads to a progressive decline in language level (Dietz & Roll 2019: 110–111).

The subject variety of advertisements (from medicine and lawyers to spiritual practices, from job advertisements to invitations to Russian-speaking cultural events), using Nuremberg as an example, confirms the high level of development of the Russian-speaking infrastructure in Germany. On the one hand, this means that Russian-speaking immigrants are at least able to do without the German language in some spheres of life. On the other hand, Russian-speaking immigrants working, for example, in law offices, medical clinics, grocery shops, cultural centres, or in the editorial offices of Russian newspapers, are part of the Russian-speaking infrastructure and have the opportunity to use Russian in the workplace regularly. This fact also confirms the heterogeneity of the Russian-speaking community in terms of social status. The differences in the use of Russian, German, and, in some cases, Ukrainian in advertisements on certain subjects are closely related to the preferences and goals of advertisers, and to the subjects of the advertisements.

The study revealed phenomena of contact between Russian, German, and English at the lexical and morphosyntactic level in written language. These data are partly comparable to the results obtained from the analysis of the spoken language of Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany. German is the main source of borrowings in Russian, whether due to ignorance of Russian equivalents or due to lack of them. Therefore, several studies on the spoken language (Goldbach 2005, Pabst 2007, Pavlova 2019) and the present study on the written language have identified the fact that some words are borrowed from German into Russian more often than others. The results of the analysis of language contact on the morphosyntactic level are partly comparable to the results of Warditz (2019: 298), who derived general trends of the Russian language change on the morphosyntactic level among Russian-speaking immigrants in Germany.

However, by contrast with the spoken language, the language contact phenomena in advertisements are not considered in the context of a single sentence or an utterance, but in the context of a single advertisement. Furthermore, they depend on its graphical arrangement and its use in a certain element of the advertisement (cf. Zhiganova 2016: 228, Oglezneva, Petrova & Ying 2016: 196). The code-switching phenomena found in the studied advertisements also have their peculiarities in contrast to the spoken language. First, their frequency of use is directly related to the limited number of language constructions used in advertisements. Second, they fulfil specific functions in the structure of the advertisements, i. e. their use is not random. Finally, one more relevant feature of multilingualism in written advertisements is the purposeful use of two alphabets (Angermeyer 2012), e. g. to draw attention to a particular piece of information, or the intentional avoidance of Latin script, e. g. when German borrowings are integrated into Russian-language constructions or are absent.

In conclusion, it is noteworthy to add that the study of print advertisements for Russian-speaking immigrants highlights one aspect of the linguistic situation of this immigrant community in Germany as a whole. The results of the present study may serve to complement the findings of other studies in this field since the present study was conducted on a relatively numerous Russian-speaking community of the city of Nuremberg. Furthermore, the results of this study may implicitly serve to assess the vitality of the Russian language in Germany (cf. Achterberg 2005). As the linguistic situation of an immigrant community is dynamic, a follow-up study may be carried out in a few years to identify possible changes in the use and functions of languages.

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Article history:

Received: 15 May 2021

Accepted: 19 October 2021

Bionote:

Anna RITTER is a Research Associate at the University of Regensburg (Germany). Her research interests include sociolinguistics, code-switching, family language policy, and German as a second language. She has articles published in *Critical Multilingualism Studies* (an interdisciplinary journal) and *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht*.

Contact information:

Universität Regensburg
Universitätsstraße 31, VG 3.27
93053 Regensburg
e-mail: anna.ritter@ur.de
ORCID: 0000-0001-6790-5531

Сведения об авторе:

Анна РИТТЕР является научным сотрудником Регенбургского университета (Германия). Область ее научных интересов – социолингвистика, переключение кодов, семейная языковая политика и немецкий как второй язык. Ее публикации включают статьи в журналах *Critical Multilingualism Studies* и *Zeitschrift für Interkulturellen Fremdsprachenunterricht*.

Контактная информация:

Universität Regensburg
Universitätsstraße 31, VG 3.27
93053 Regensburg
e-mail: anna.ritter@ur.de
ORCID: 0000-0001-6790-5531



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-981-1003>

Research article

Russian in the multilingual environment of three Asian countries

Ekaterina PROTASSOVA¹, Neelakshi SURYANARAYAN²
and Maria YELENEVSKAYA³

¹University of Helsinki
Helsinki, Finland

²University of Delhi
Delhi, India

³Technion-Israel Institute of Technology
Haifa, Israel

Abstract

This article provides a comparative analysis of the sociolinguistic situation in three Asian countries, India, Japan, and South Korea, which are relatively less known as countries where the Russian language is used. The aim of the study is to assess the significance of the Russian language in these countries' Russian-speaking diasporas, business sphere, and education, as well as to define the characteristics of its teaching in the cultural contexts under discussion. In all these domains processes of language commodification are intensifying. The countries chosen for analysis differ in the history of language contacts, political relations with Russia, language policy, language attitudes, and as a result, residents' motivation for maintaining and learning the Russian language. We discuss similarities and differences in the development of Russian speech communities. We also reflect upon linguistic and cultural hybridity, and in particular, its effect on the evolution of multilingual identities on the basis of interviews, fieldnotes, internet resources, and published data. The results show that in Japan and South Korea, the number of immigrants, students, businesspeople and mixed families using Russian is growing, and Russian language schools are popular; in India, the established relationship of peace, friendship and cooperation through various treaties continues to have its effect on the popularity of the Russian language in various spheres of life. In all the three countries Russian serves as a lingua franca for immigrants from different post-Soviet countries, which increases its value for the diasporans. The study argues that realities of diasporic life contribute to the pluricentric trends in the development of Russian.

Keywords: *Russian language migrants, pluricentrism (pluricentricity), Russian-speaking diaspora, Russian language maintenance abroad, multilingualism*

For citation:

Protassova, Ekaterina, Neelakshi Suryanarayan and Maria Yelenevskaya. 2021. Russian in the multilingual environment of three Asian countries. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 981–1003. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-981-1003>

Русский язык в многоязычной среде трех стран Азии

Екатерина ПРОТАСОВА¹, Нилакши СУРЬЯНАРАЯН²,
Мария ЕЛЕНЕВСКАЯ³

¹Хельсинкский университет

Хельсинки, Финляндия

²Делийский университет

Дели, Индия

³Технион – Политехнический Институт

Хайфа, Израиль

Аннотация

В статье рассматривается социолингвистическая ситуация в трех странах Азии – Индии, Японии и Южной Корее, которые известны сравнительно меньше в качестве стран, где используется русский язык. Цель исследования – определить роль русского языка в русскоязычных диаспорах данных стран, в деловой сфере и образовании, а также выявить особенности его преподавания в рассматриваемых культурных контекстах. В странах, отобранных для анализа, по-разному складывались языковые контакты с русским языком, политические отношения с Россией, языковая политика, языковые установки, соответственно, и мотивация к сохранению и изучению русского языка у них разная. Мы рассматриваем сходства и различия в развитии русскоязычных сообществ в трех странах и обсуждаем явления языковой и культурной гибридности и, в частности, их влияние на идентичность многоязычной личности, основываясь на интервью, полевых записях, интернет-ресурсах и опубликованных данных. Результаты свидетельствуют о том, что в Японии и Корее растет количество иммигрантов, студентов, предпринимателей и членов смешанных семей, пользующихся русским в повседневной жизни, а русские школы и образовательные центры приобрели большую популярность. В Индии давние отношения дружбы и сотрудничества с Россией, поддерживаемые двусторонними соглашениями, способствуют популярности русского языка в различных сферах жизни. Во всех трех странах русский язык служит как лингва-франка для иммигрантов из разных постсоветских стран, что повышает его ценность для представителей диаспор. В исследовании утверждается, что реалии жизни в диаспоре способствуют плюрицентрическим тенденциям в развитии русского языка.

Ключевые слова: *русскоязычные мигранты, плюрицентризм (плюрицентричность), русскоязычная диаспора, сохранение русского языка за рубежом, многоязычие*

Для цитирования:

Protassova E., Suryanarayan N., Yelenevskaya M. Russian in the multilingual environment of three Asian countries. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 981–1003. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-981-1003>

1. Introduction

The discussion of the role and essence of pluricentric languages closely interacts with the concepts of *norm / standard / variant*, as well as the *(non-)native speaker, diaspora, and transnational community* (Kloss 1952, Clyne 1992). We claim that the role of Russian as a second language and as a lingua franca is to some extent similar to that of English in the expanding circle (cf. Proshina & Nelson

2020). At the same time, the necessity for a common language serving different speech communities is growing stronger, which does not exclude the need to speak and write languages used locally.

Russian today can also be considered a language with different circles of use, in other words, a pluricentric language. This article follows up on our previous work on pluricentric tendencies in the development of the Russian language (Mustajoki & Protassova 2004, Mustajoki et al. 2010, 2019, Nikunlassi & Protassova 2014, 2019, Yelenevskaya & Protassova 2015, Suryanarayan 2017a, 2017b). This approach to language studies combines analyses of linguistic phenomena with research into socio-political, ideological and economic conditions that make the use of a language beneficial for groups residing far from the center where the dominant variety rules. We started studying the modes of Russian language use in a number of countries (e.g., Protassova & Yelenevskaya 2021, Protassova et al. 2020) and we continue applying the pluricentric lens to its forms and functions in three Asian countries, India, Japan and South Korea, where the number of Russian speakers has increased thanks to recent immigration and enhanced tourism (Rosstat 2019, Emigrating 2020). In multilingual communities, languages adapt to the conditions of communication, to linguistic diversity and superdiversity, and hardly any speakers remain monolingual (Pavlenko 2008, Oglezneva 2009, Rovinskaya 2013, Gasparov & Kupina 2014, Ryazanova-Clarke 2014). This means that although multiple varieties can be called regional variants of Russian and cannot be mixed up under the same label, such as “diasporic Russian,” yet, they are used in similar communities of practice and shape each other through contact and mutual adaptation.

We will discuss in what domains Russian is used in the three countries in Asia and how it is evolving. Each section devoted to one of the three countries under study

- gives a brief overview of the history of Russian language use there;
- examines the reasons for Russian-language maintenance and speakers’ attitudes to the sociolinguistic situation in their community;
- looks at domains in which Russian is used;
- outlines the nature of deviations from the language norm as viewed in Russia.

Material for the article has been drawn from interviews with L1, L2 and L3 speakers of Russian in respective countries conducted at different times and at different places. All of them were audio-recorded, parts relevant for the research projects were transcribed and subjected to analysis. Our other sources are electronic media and 35 Internet discussion forums (for the sake of anonymity and space economy, we are not giving the names of the participants). Finally, we studied scholarly literature devoted to the history and functioning of the Russian language in the countries discussed, and conducted ethnographic diaries recording informal conversations with lay people and researchers from the countries we studied. In other words, we used both existing and researcher-generated data (Rapley

2007: 10). So, data collection and analysis continued as a cycle throughout the entire research process (Corbin & Strauss 2015: 3–17).

In order to give a sociolinguistic background of the use of Russian in India, Japan and South Korea and outline regional deviations from Russia's Russian, we applied a mixed methodology. Its main components are the sociolinguistic method of document analysis, text analysis and participant and non-participant observation (Bowen 2009: 27). We used text analysis paying special attention to the topics raised, instances of translanguaging, innovative forms, deviating from the norm as it is viewed in Russia, and to the contextual clues which help to interpret the overall sense of communication, be it an interview or a forum discussion. As interviewers, participants in forum discussions, and interlocutors in face-to-face informal conversations with colleagues and clients in various immigrants' establishments, we conducted participant observation. Sometimes we acted as lurkers in public discussion groups, doing non-participant observation, and both types were recorded in our ethnographic diaries. Thus, triangulation and multimethod approach allowed us to look at the topic of our research from different perspectives.

2. Russian in India

The relations between India and Russia are extremely multifaceted and versatile (cf. Rishi 1982, Shlapentokh 2012, Kuhrt & Kiseleva 2017, Burgess 2019). Barman (2015) mentions the Russian mission in Mumbai, formerly Bombay, which in the 19th century promoted the knowledge of Russian among Indian officials. According to Dey (2015) and Thakur (2017), the first encounters and mutual interests of Indians and Russians were on the Silk Road, yet the study of Russian started only in the 1940s, first in Calcutta (Kolkata), then in Delhi and Allahabad. Periods of interest in Russia and its culture alternated with times of indifference. The Soviet Union was one of the first countries to recognize the independent India and thereafter, Russian language teaching commenced in various universities and centers of multilingual and multicultural India. There was a need to equip Indian personnel with the language skills so that they could work in the big and small industrial projects undertaken in India with the help of the Soviet Union. Gradually, Indians of various professions realized the importance of learning the language – army and naval officers, engineers, businessmen and even shopkeepers and traders so that they could communicate effectively with the Russian speakers visiting India either to work or as tourists (Sahai 1990).

Today Russian is taught at various levels, from school to postgraduate programs, and at dozens of universities. Scholars doing research in the Russian language and culture publish internationally and also in the Indian journals “Russian Philology”, “Critic”, “Resonance” and “Assonance”, which appear regularly. There are also numerous centers of Russian Science and Culture which conduct language and cultural projects involving people studying Russian for professional purposes and those who learn Russian for personal enrichment. Some centers organize language lessons and various courses in Russian for the Russian-

speaking children of expats and those growing up in mixed families. Many of the Indian experts studied in the Soviet Union and post-Soviet Russia, and as the need to know Russian remains relatively high, their professional skills are in demand.

A large number of students from various parts of India who went to the Soviet Union / Russia from the 1960's onwards to obtain higher education in the fields as diverse as medicine, engineering, sciences, cinematography, philology, etc., constitute another group of people who speak Russian and continue to converse in the language as and when the opportunity arises (social gatherings of alumni associations, functions organized by the Russian Embassy and Russian Centers of Science and Culture, etc.).

Therefore, presently, Indian citizens who speak Russian to varying degrees are graduates of Russian universities, students of different part-time courses run by the Russian government-sponsored Russian Centers of Science and Culture in the cities of Chennai and Trivandrum (south India), Mumbai (west India), Kolkata (east India) and Delhi (central India), as well as students who study Russian at Indian universities and other educational institutions (including some secondary schools). The approximate number is estimated at several tens of thousands of people, though it is difficult to provide exact numbers (Arefyev 2012: 301–303). There is a large segment of people in service industries using Russian: shopkeepers, yoga instructors, tourist guides and others who have picked up Russian 'on the job.' Their proficiency is limited and is just enough to suit their commercial needs (Suryanarayan 2017a). Similarly, a considerable workforce with knowledge of Russian is engaged by hospitals to help with language needs of patients coming from Russia and the CIS countries for medical treatment (Suryanarayan 2017b, Muth & Suryanarayan 2020). For all of these, Russian is a foreign language and the level of knowledge is mixed, from very fluent and excellent to medium to limited.

Another and probably more interesting group of Russian-speaking people that should be studied is the Russian diaspora and the changing use of their native language in alien settings. Russian diasporans have made different parts of India their home. Many are members of mixed families, determined students seeking to perfect their skills in Indian classical dance, yoga and Ayurveda practices. Some are employees of local business firms and banks, freelancers, residents at ashrams and the Auroville community (Pondicherry) and other abodes in the Himalayan mountain range (McLeodganj – residence of the Dalai Lama). Diasporans continue to preserve their language and culture and are keen on passing on the Russian legacy to their children. The government-sponsored Russian Cultural Center in Delhi organizes various events for the expatriates. In addition, large groups have formed their own associations and try to preserve the Russian language, culture, and festive traditions in informal settings. Their children are taught Russian either at home or at the Russian Cultural Centers. As mentioned earlier, their Russian is influenced by Hindi and Hinglish, which can be observed at the phonetic and lexical levels, as well as in semantic usage and style.

A research project based on questionnaires and interviews with a few mixed families residing in Delhi and its nearby areas aimed to determine the influence of

the local language and culture on the way Russian is spoken by the diasporans. The project revealed frequent code mixing and translanguaging. One participant, a lady in her mid-forties, said that her Russian mother insisted on speaking to her only in Russian at home, so she grew up in a trilingual environment, speaking English, her father's language Hindi, and her mother's native Russian. We observed her continuously mixing these languages in conversations with her mother. Her mix of languages could be intriguing for an outsider: *Да, да, я делала дхаду утром (дхаду лагана* 'to sweep the floor'). In this construction the speaker is conveying the action of sweeping the floor which in the Hindi language is conveyed by the expression 'to apply the broom' without indicating the place, by using the Russian verb *делать* (to do) with the Hindi noun *дхаду* 'broom.'

In another expression *я гундую атта*, the speaker applies the Russian ending of the first person singular to the Hindi verb *гундна* 'to knead' and adds the object *атта* 'dough' without changing the ending. This is a comfortable use of the Russian verb ending, since the Hindi expression for kneading the dough (an exercise carried out daily in Indian households to make fresh chapattis) is far too long (*мейн атта гунд рахи хун*). A similar pattern is applied in the past tense, and the blending of Hindi and Russian also indicates the gender: *я уже гундала атта*. The speaker says she does not change the feminine ending according to the rules of Russian grammar because she follows the rules applicable to Hindi.

In other instances, many of the expatriates interviewed said that they inserted English expressions *ok, fine, good, great, super* and Hindi expressions *accha* 'good, ok', *bahut accha* 'very good', *theek hai* 'fine, ok' in their sentences when speaking Russian. For example: *Сегодня наш обед в ресторане был просто great!* or *Давай пойдём сегодня в кино? – Theek hai, пойдём!* Another Hindi expression *Jaldi jaldi* 'quickly' was found to be used rather frequently by Russian mothers when conversing with their children: *Давай, делай домашнее задание джалди, джалди; Надо выучить стихотворение джалди, джалди*. Mixing names of food items is a prominent area of code mixing, even where the names are not specifically local. For example: *Дай мне ложку чини!* (sugar). *Я хочу пани* 'water': *Я хочу нимбу пани* 'lemon water', *Ты хочешь чай with дудх* 'milk' *или without? Давай сегодня приготовим чавал* 'rice' *и chicken*. In these particular cases there is use of both English and Hindi.

Some of the mothers expressed their concern that their children were unable to pronounce the Russian sounds according to the phonetic norms, the most prominent problem being the Russian hard L. Other phonetic errors or mispronunciations observed by the mothers are related to the wrong word stress and unconventional prosody.

The above examples give us a glimpse of how Russian expatriate families living in and around Delhi manipulate their language repertoire to suit their pragmatic needs. This trend is more visible in the second generation of the expats, but our study was limited to a few families of the first generation, except in the first case, where the respondent is already a second-generation adult. As can be seen

from the examples cited, this phenomenon is most prominent in colloquial and day to day language spoken around the house or amongst friends. Further research expanding to other parts of India and amongst other social categories should reveal more interesting instances of the fascinating use of the Russian language in different settings and with different constellation of languages amongst Russian-speaking expatriates.

Indians studying Russian as a foreign language face their own challenges at the level of phonetics, morphology, semantics and expression of culture-specific values. Suryanarayan (2014) points out that the most typical errors of the Indian students in Russian are interference with English and local languages. In the Russian-language pedagogy the professional skills sought after by organizers of education are computer-based teaching, collaborative learning which boosts motivation at different levels, and modern Russian language and literature (Saini 2017). There is still a dearth of teaching materials using cutting-edge methods. Coursebooks for students learning Russian in India should be communicatively and practically oriented and brought closer to present-day realities and young people's interests (Sunita et al. 2012). Indian teachers of Russian are actively involved in writing textbooks and other teaching manuals taking into account specific needs of the Indian students and the requirements of the present-day labor markets. A lot is being done by Indian teachers independently and in collaboration with Russian colleagues to maintain a high level of teaching Russian. This is a topic of fruitful discussions amongst researchers and instructors.

3. Russian in Japan

The history of Russian-Japanese relations is full of ups and downs. Early Russian overtures towards Japan date back to the 1600—1850 period (Wells 2004, Lim 2013). This was the time when Japan was still maintaining its international isolation policy (JASRLL). The first phase saw various private initiatives, while governmental relations started only in the mid-19th century with the signing of the Shimoda Treaty in 1855 (Lensen 1954). Due to increasing contacts with the Russian Empire in the northern region and demand for Russian language professionals, a few Japanese-Dutch interpreters working for the Edo Shogunate were assigned to learn the language. Among the first teachers of Russian was a Japanese castaway, Kodayu Daikokuya, who returned to Japan after living in Russia for almost a decade, and a Russian navigator, vice-admiral, Vasily Golovnin who was seized and held captive in Japan for two years (JASRLL 2000). In the age of information technology, it is not easy to imagine how teachers and learners tackled their Russian language studies with neither dictionaries nor teaching materials available.

In the mid-1850s, after decades of negotiations, the two countries finally signed three treaties and officially established diplomatic and commercial relations (JSSRH 1993). In 1857, the first Russian Imperial consulate was established in the city of Hakodate and Russian government officials, merchants, and Russian Orthodox priests began to settle in major cities, including Nagasaki, Kobe, Kyoto,

Tokyo and Sapporo (Khisamutdinov 2013). They started their own businesses, built hotels, restaurants, and cathedrals. It was in Hakodate that the first Russian primer and journal were published. The Russian Orthodox Church became one of the symbols of the town. The rich tradition of publishing in Russian still continues today. The mutual cultural interest has always been high (Mikhailova & Steele 2008, Baxter 2009) despite serious political controversies (e.g., Kuhrt 2007, 2015, Kuroiwa 2011).

Transmission of the Russian language to children and teaching it to Japanese people has always been at the center of publishers' work (Pajchadze 2008). According to Khisamutdinov (2013), Nagasaki, Sapporo, Kobe, Kyoto and Tokyo were at the crossroads of Russian-American interests in Asia. Big cities have Russian Orthodox churches, and one finds a variety of artefacts witnessing the Russian presence in Japan. Hokkaido is a frequent destination for Russian tourists who come to thermal water resorts and support this region economically; many signs in public places are in Russian, and Russian-speaking guides offer their services. Different monuments mark places where Russian ships sank, and the local people still remember stories about seamen who met their death there. Fishermen in both countries cooperate and compete. Japanese citizens born on the Kuril Islands and Sakhalin come to their birthplaces to visit family graves.

Russian and Soviet relationships with Japan in the past were not devoid of aggression, yet awareness of mutual interests is still reflected in the attitudes of the Japanese to Russia (e.g., Sindzi 2005, Konishi 2013). Nagatsuka (2014, 2017) collected items and stories attesting to the great influence of Russian culture on Japan and vice versa. This influence was multilayered and versatile, ranging from food and clothes to science and politics. Russian literature and music are still popular in Japan, and many universities offer courses in Russian (Yamasita 2010, Kidera 2017). In the post-Soviet period Russians have launched many new businesses, the main trades being timber, seafood, cars, and tourism. The Japanese are interested in Russian art and nature and like to see documentaries about them, while Russians are fond of and mystified by the Japanese way of life and buy products that have no analogies in their own country (Musaev & Tojama 2014).

The previous waves of Russian immigration contributed to the cultural life of Japan (Podalko 2019). However, many Russian émigrés left Japan and re-immigrated to the U.S.A. or Australia (Savada 1999). Some Russian speakers are Koreans from Sakhalin who are descendants of those families that settled on the island when it belonged to Japan. Thanks to the loosening of emigration and immigration rules and the increased mobility of Russian citizens, the post-Soviet diaspora in Japan is rapidly growing (Nikiporec 2007, Nikiporec-Takigava 2007, 2011). Golovina (2018, 2019) studied the material and living culture of the Russian-speaking people in Japan and found that some objects in immigrants' homes trigger emotions such as nostalgia, sentimentality, and commonality with their preimmigration life while others are markers of their changing tastes and identities. In fact, materiality of the Russian immigrants' homes reveals transformative

experiences of migration and integration processes. Japanese–Russian relations are being promoted more than ever before in the domains of politics, economics and culture, both on the governmental and on the individual level (see, e.g., numerous *Ru.net* forums and blogs in which Russian speakers living in Japan share their knowledge and perception of the Japanese people and their way of life with their co-ethnics and reflect on the differences between the two countries: ENA, May 20, 2021)¹. Numerous discussions show that Russian internet users are also curious to know how the Japanese perceive Russia. Some “old-timers” summarize their own experiences of socializing in Japan, others give the floor to the Japanese people themselves (ENA, May 20, 2021)². Although some posts reproduce familiar ethnic stereotypes, others honestly try to understand their neighbors better.

Due to compact settlement (the majority live in big cities), the speech of newcomers from Russia shows signs of an evolving ethnolect: they employ Japanese borrowings and calques in their everyday communication. Kazakevich (2013) summarized typical cases of translanguaging of Russian speakers: they use Japanese insertions denoting culinary dishes, household objects, as well as names of institutions and documents, and work- and education-related terminology. Japanese words are used in talk about weather, flora and fauna, and various natural phenomena. Most of the Japanese insertions in the diasporans’ speech are names of objects and phenomena absent or semantically different in Russian, or just very frequent in Japanese. In addition, since many green horns have questions concerning their legal status and relations with various state agencies, there are numerous insertions from this domain. Here are some examples illustrating this: *срок действия май Намба кадо, она по сроку привязана к зайрю, вписаны в джуминхйо на какую то дату, Джюминхе это типо регистрация по месту жительства, сходите на бесплатный содан в кяякусе* etc. Most of the Japanese insertions are transliterated in Cyrillic and appear as exoticism without being integrated into the Russian morphosyntactic system; some users insert hieroglyphs. A noticeable feature of communication is abundance of English words and expressions (cf. Hino 2020).

Peculiarities of Russian in Japanese learners’ speech are similar to those of heritage speakers. The difference of the writing systems triggers a specific class of mistakes. Since there is no capitalization and since the borders between the words do not always correspond to the hieroglyphs, spacing between Russian words is violated. Moreover, since hieroglyphs are written vertically, handwritten text looks strange as the letters are vertical rather than cursive. The softness is marked by **Ь**, letters are confused because of the wrong identification of phonemes (labials, sonors and affricates). Russian language learners have difficulties with agreement,

¹ <https://vk.com/russian.japan>, facebook.com/groups/RSCII/members/ (accessed 18 November 2021).

² https://pikabu.ru/story/chem_russkie_udivlyayut_yapontsev_3525182, <https://republic.ru/posts/33096>, http://www.aikido-tatami.ru/about/art/art_35.html, <https://www.factroom.ru/obshchestvo/japan-russia> (accessed 18 November 2021).

declension, affixation, verbs of motion, and interpretation of polysemic words. In Japanese, there are no prepositions, and parts of speech are classified differently. Russian speakers living in Japan have to adjust their way of life to the local realities, and borrow Japanese words to render concepts reflecting life in Japan. Thus, mothers discuss their children's education using the words *eiken*, the English exam; *dzjuku*, maths+society+Japanese, a system of private schools for additional education; *jobiko*, additional education; *bukacu*, after-school activities; *ikudzi*, an educational system. Russian speakers borrow not only names of shops, brands, restaurants, places, but also concepts: *amaeru* 'mother love for the child' (cf. Kirichenko 2020).

Although more often a minor than a major discipline, Russian was and is taught at many Japanese universities, as it opens doors to the Russian Far East and Central Asia (Avakians 1995, Nakamura 2003). Teachers use materials written both in Japan and in Russia, and there is even a Japanese Society for Russian Language Education, which regularly issues a journal (ENA, May 20, 2021)³. The new direction in language pedagogy is the teaching of Russian to children in bilingual Japanese-Russian families (Sivakova 2009, Russistics in Japan 2016). Teachers focus on specific difficulties connected to the differences in writing systems of the two contact languages, text structure, conversation formulas, and other ethnicity-oriented features of literacy. One of the best known experts is Daria Kumatrenko who teaches in the *Rosinka* school in Tokyo and whose blog is read by thousands of Russian-speaking parents throughout the world. Shatkhina (2012) has enumerated institutions that organize teaching for Russian-speaking children and the results of her survey show that although most of the children attending these schools and centers possess two passports, only 86.3% have had an opportunity to visit Russia. Parents want their children to learn Russian in order to speak to their family members in Russia and other Russian-speaking persons. They also hope Russian proficiency will be a boon in their future careers because bi-national collaboration is developing very rapidly in all domains of science, sports and culture. Most parents prefer to teach children at home; some apply to the Russian school at the embassy, but there are also those who attend private schools or hire private tutors. Fourteen per cent of the children do not study Russian at all, but their parents tend to let them watch Russian cartoons, even though 36.0% of the Russian-speaking families surveyed do not have access to Russian TV at home. Numerous schools, parishes, clubs and language centers offer tailored courses of Russian. Some Japanese schools, private and state universities, language centers and Russian-Japanese societies organize Russian teaching. Most children have friendships with Russian-speaking peers but 9.0% demonstrate alienation from the things Russian and do not want to listen to songs, and radio programs or read literature in Russian. Assessing their children's Russian proficiency, most parents claim that their children can communicate in Russian without any problems (Shatkhina 2012, Pajchadze et al. 2021).

³ <https://rokyoken.web.fc2.com> (accessed 18 November 2021).

4. Russian in South Korea

For a long time, everything connected to the Russian language and culture was ignored or even forbidden, yet Russian could be studied at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies since 1954, and later, at three more universities. Russian émigrés were employed as teachers enjoying the privileges of native speakers. There were not many job opportunities for alumni, but the 1988 Olympic Games in Seoul changed the field. Prior to this, Russian was studied mostly as a key to understanding what was happening in North Korea, because the USSR had a historical influence on that country. It supported the North Korean army during the war of 1950—1953, and after the war a large number of construction projects were funded by the Soviet Union. North Korea sent students to study at Soviet universities in Russian. Life in North Korea was covered in the Soviet mass media. Thanks to the propaganda the Soviet public had a positive image of North Korea which was reinforced by brief and superficial exposure to the North Korean realities during tourist visits. At the same time South Korea had the image of a hostile and militarist regime (Bazhanov & Bazhanova 1991, Kim 2012, Min et al. 2018). In 1990, diplomatic relations between Russia and South Korea were established. Although hopes for quick economic benefits expressed at the beginning of the 1990s failed, some expectations were gradually fulfilled, e.g., Samsung, LG, Hyundai, and Kia's trade cooperation with Russia. South Korea is becoming increasingly important in the Russian plans to develop the Far East which can benefit from the Korean New Northern Policy (Hoon 1993, Rinna 2019). Today, teaching Russian in South Korea has already become a tradition; it is studied at about 40 universities and ranks among popular foreign languages. Guest teachers from Russia widely use authentic materials, and Korean students come to Russian universities to practice the language or take a semester in the Russian-language academic medium. Most of the teachers and lecturers speak of specific difficulties connected with differences in cultures and the educational traditions of the Korean and European students that make the process of learning very different from what Koreans are used to (Ballod 2009, Deponian 2015).

The growing popularity of the Russian language lets members of the returning diaspora use their proficiency in Russian to teach the language. We can find many of them advertising tutoring in Russian on the Internet. Some of the advertisements are in Russian only, others in Russian and Korean, still others use English. Not all those who are willing to teach Russian have appropriate qualifications, but everyone mentions the number of years spent in Russia as proof of their proficiency. It is also customary to mention the teacher's proficiency in the Korean language, an easy-going personality and a friendly and supportive attitude to students (ENA, May 20, 2021)⁴.

There are about 80,000 people speaking Russian on a daily basis, and nearly 50,000 of these are ethnic Koreans (many originally from Sakhalin). The number

⁴ bulgomedu.com/teacher/teacher.asp?CateCode1=3&CateCode2=1 (accessed 18 November 2021).

of mixed marriages is growing, and more than 100 children are born every year in such families. There are many pre-primary schools operating in Russian or bilingually. More than a dozen Russian schools were launched in the post-Soviet period and their graduation certificates entitle young people to enter Korean universities. Founded in 2002, the Russian Embassy school in Seoul combines three languages (Russian, Korean and English), and the Russian school in Pusan that belongs to the Ministry of Education of Kazakhstan teaches several subjects in Russian. Lyceum TriLC in Seoul, a private school founded in 2009, offers blended teaching, combining contact and distance learning with four languages taught – Korean, English, Russian, and German. In Seoul, Russian-speaking repatriates and immigrants created jobs and businesses serving the immigrant community and the hosts. The ethnic composition of the Russian speech community is diverse, including ethnic Koreans, people who emigrated from Central Asian states and Russian Far East, and from other CIS countries, as well as seamen. Joint festivities allow all those who know Russian, including Korean university students, to socialize together (Based on the information from the special issue *Russistics in South Korea* 2016.)

The Russian writer and traveler Nikolai Garin-Mikhailovsky (1852–1906) is a true *genius loci* of Korea. He collected Korean folklore and his work is still valuable for experts. The Russian Orthodox mission in Korea was founded at the end of the 19th century for the spiritual needs of 120 Russians and 30 Orthodox Koreans. The centrally located St. Nikolai Cathedral and other buildings around it rose at the beginning of the 20th century. Religious books were translated into Korean. The Russian influence diminished and grew again several times, and many other cathedrals opened their doors to believers. There is a historical cemetery for foreigners called *Yanhvadzhin* with several Russian graves, mostly of sailors, and in *Inchon* there is a monument to those who died on the cruiser *Varyag*, erected in 2004 by the Russian government.

The Koryo-saram, or ethnic Koreans from the former Soviet Union, number half a million people and were dispersed mostly in Russia, predominantly in the Far East, but also in the Volgograd region and the Caucasus, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Ukraine. The Sakhalin Koreans form a separate community because they escaped later than the others. The history of the Russian Koreans was meticulously studied by Park (2018). Until recently, it remained obscure and infrequently discussed in Russia as Koreans were among the peoples displaced under Stalin. Kazakhstan was among the destinations where Koreans were exiled. In the then capital city of Almaty, Koreans had a newspaper and a theater. In addition, they bonded with the so-called “European population” rather than with the Turkic-speaking people, feeling closer to them in rituals, clothing, educational values and work ethics. Such prominent persons of Korean origin as Yulij Kim, Viktor Coj and Kostja Czju belong to the Russian cultural elite. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was no return program for Soviet Koreans, but with the borders opened, the influx started, followed by cheap labor forces from the CIS countries.

Since Russian Koreans originate mostly from the Northern territories of Korea, they feel rather alien in the South. Besides the returning diaspora, other Russian-speaking migrants are qualified workers, businesspeople, and students allowed to study and later stay in Korea (Korgun 2014).

In the part of Seoul close to the *Dongdaemun* History and Culture Park metro station, there is a complex of blocks with numerous Russian-language inscriptions. This district founded in the 1990s by entrepreneurs from Khabarovsk and Vladivostok is abundant in shops and services operating in Russian (ENA, May 20, 2021)⁵. Like elsewhere in the world where the Russian language is exotic, these businesses serve those who would like to extract important information from advertisements, need to buy mobile phone cards and tickets, get internet connection, take credit, send remittances home, use a post office to send / receive documents and gifts, and so on. Businesspeople have small but comfortable hotels to stay in, and many texts on various signs are addressed to people from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan whose lingua franca is regionally colored Russian. There are local shops and restaurants for this clientele, too. Signboards like *Tovary narodnogo potreblenija* [Goods for people's consumption] are tribute to the owners' and clients' nostalgia for Soviet past. Like in other countries where Russian-speaking diasporans open businesses, many bear the names of their owners: Tamara, Valentina or Yura, to name just a few. South Korean medical care is very popular in Central Asia, and medical tourism is booming, providing jobs for language professionals and proficient bi- and multilinguals who can act as interpreters and intermediaries. Car spare parts sale and cargo transportation are among the popular businesses. A mix of global and local brands offered in the cheapest price range attracts buyers. Russian-speaking visitors can use immigration and translation services, learn Korean, and get help in property acquisition. The Cyrillic script is also used for the Korean language as a marker of the presence of Koryo-saram who are not used to Korean and Chinese alphabets but can speak Korean. Moreover, Kyrgyz and Uzbek are also often transliterated in Cyrillic. Some Mongolian immigrants stay close to this diverse community. Besides Seoul, Tegu and Tedjon, maritime tourist destinations attract many Russian-speaking groups.

Koreans who study Russian have to overcome specific phonetic and grammatical difficulties. They confound *O* and *V*, *Jl* and *P*, labials, sonors, sibilants, and often put stress on the wrong syllables. In Korean, there are no *pluralia* and *singilaria tantum*, all the words can be singular and plural, so learners have trouble using this category correctly in Russian. Elliptical sentences are not typical and hardly understandable. A lot of words denoting cultural phenomena and concepts are not translatable and require explanations (*Russistics in South Korea* 2016).

In everyday communication, Russian speakers borrow names of foods, dishes and spices, such as *mivonom*, *yangmi*, *chibi*, *kjatamuri*, drinks and other culinary terms and culture-specific words. They have to learn how to address people who are older or younger than them and distinguish between gendered forms (*oppa*,

⁵ <https://puerrtto.livejournal.com/919732.html> (accessed 18 November 2021).

onni, etc.), interjections (*aigu*, *kichadi*, *omo*). For young people recognizing and using slang appropriately is also important. The number of internet sites advertising online courses of the Korean language for beginners (see e.g., ENA, May 20, 2021⁶ and ENA, May 20, 2021⁷) as well as lists of “the most frequent” words and expressions, ranging from 7 to 400 words, suggest high popularity of the Korean language and Korean culture among Russian speakers. Most of them are supplied with Korean words in Cyrillic transliteration and translation into Russian (ENA, May 20, 2021⁸, ENA, May 20, 2021⁹). Some of these target tourists, but others are compiled for those who wish to come to Korea to study or work. The authors selected the “most useful words” relying on their own intuition and experience of living in Korea. Russian translations of these lists abound in spelling mistakes and use of non-standard grammar.

Internet sites maintained by Russian-speaking residents of South Korea and those who are planning to come to the country as guest-workers insert Korean words related to jobs and legal procedures in obtaining appropriate visas and work permits and dealing with employers: *чонсо* [cleaning], *сэджан* [employer], *гым* [gold]. The words most often used in this discourse acquire affixes and flexions: *требуется петенищик, я работал пулпопом, требуются альпомищики*, etc. Communicants distinguish themselves from the local population and perceive members of the host society as an outgroup, referring to them as *хангуки*, *хангучки*, often with pejorative connotations. Among forum participants there are many people from the countries of Central Asia and Ukraine. Although Russian is the lingua franca, it is not uncommon that participants insert phrases in their languages, e.g., in Uzbek, without other participants being offended. One can observe the same type of deviations from standard Russian as mentioned earlier. Some users resort to fake Ukrainisms as a sort of banter. Online chats abound in English insertions, although at least some of them are affected by Koreanized versions of the original words, e.g., *проживание в апатах, хороший ванрум*. Another frequent word is the German noun ‘work’: *требуются на постоянный арбайт, приглашаем на арбайт*. This is an indirect borrowing that came to Russian from the Korean advertising discourse.

At present, there is no traditional Russian-speaking society besides the Orthodox Church, which operates mostly in Korean. Yet, the influence of Korean on the Russian language is clear in the bilingual children and those ethnic Koreans who spoke Korean before returning to Korea. Despite some periods of confrontation, the general opinion about Russia and its policies among Koreans is quite positive (Lan’kov 2016).

⁶ <https://lingust.ru/korean> (accessed 18 November 2021).

⁷ <https://www.hangugo.ru/> (accessed 18 November 2021).

⁸ <https://kitsunestudy.ru/frazy-na-korejskom-jazyke-kotorye-prigodjatsja-v-puteshestvii/> (accessed 18 November 2021).

⁹ https://koreasimple.com/50_samyh_chasto_ispolzuemih_slov/ (accessed 18 November 2021).

5. Discussion

The three countries considered in this article have different histories of contacts with the Russian language and culture. Yet, there are many similarities between them regarding the motives for language maintenance. These are transnational families, friendly and business relations, and preservation of intergenerational ties. Importantly, in all the countries discussed, Russian still functions as the *lingua franca* for people born in different parts of the FSU. People using a *lingua franca* are commonly more tolerant of deviations from the dominant norm, yet there are always people in these communities who “police” participants, pointing to mistakes and sometimes ridiculing them. Clearly, common innovations occur in those aspects of the Russian language which often confuse native speakers and which exemplify irregularities, i.e. in “weak areas of the system” as Glovinskaya (2004) aptly called them. They also appear in those elements that are undergoing changes in Russia, too, e.g., replacement of declensions by prepositional phrases. Together they create synergy, cross-feeding the language and culture, and serving as adhesives in Russian-language networks.

In India, Japan and Korea Russian has no legal status but its functional status has become more solid thanks to the growing number of businesses, social and cultural institutions immigrants have created in which Russian is spoken. Language has been long regarded as an essential element of migrants’ social capital. When the prevailing model guiding immigrant integration policies was linguistic and cultural assimilation, what counted was immigrants’ acquisition of the language of the majority (Chiswick 2008). Native language maintenance was not viewed as important for socio-economic mobility. It was considered primarily in terms of symbolic functions of language manifested in the desire to pass on heritage culture to the young and preserve intergenerational ties. But due to a rapid expansion of service industries and emergence of vibrant Russian-speaking communities in many countries, Russian turned into an economic resource, helping migrants from the FSU to find jobs and open their own businesses. These businesses are diverse and are not limited to the traditional immigrant businesses of food stores, ethnic restaurants and craft shops but, as our research shows, include language centers, schools, travel agencies, law firms, agencies organizing trade with the FSU countries, and others.

As India and Russia continue their diplomatic relations in the 21st century with vigor and seek to open new avenues of cooperation, the role of Russian language is likely to increase. The signing of the “Declaration on the India-Russia Strategic Partnership” in October 2000, later elevated to the level of “Special and Privileged Strategic Partnership,” has given a new impetus to India-Russia ties with enhanced levels of cooperation in almost all areas of the bilateral relationship, including political, security, defense, trade and economy, science and technology, and culture (ENA, May 20m 2021)¹⁰. Many exchange programs and memoranda of

¹⁰ <https://indianembassy-moscow.gov.in/index.php> (accessed 18 November 2021).

understanding between universities are already underway, leading to an increasing interest amongst Indians in the Russian language, literature and culture. More and more young Russian entrepreneurs and other professionals are working in India. A study of changing patterns in their use of the mother tongue can be a source of further research on language diversity and multilingualism.

In the past, Russian and Soviet relations with Japan and South Korea alternated between periods of political and military hostility, and mutual cultural or commercial interest; this is still reflected in the language and social attitudes of the Japanese and Koreans towards Russia. Old waves of Russian immigration contributed to the cultural life of Japan and introduced the Orthodox Church in Korea. For some migrants, Japan was a stepping-stone on the way to the U.S.A. or Australia. South Korea is attractive for repatriates (Russian Koreans), students, entrepreneurs and workers from the Central Asian States and the Russian Far East. The influence of Russian culture on Japan and vice versa is multilayered and versatile, ranging from food and clothes to science and politics. Russian literature and music are popular in Japan and South Korea, and many universities offer courses of Russian. The recent post-Soviet diaspora is rapidly growing. The intensification of Russian tourism and the emergence of new Russian-owned businesses contribute to the economic value of the Russian language.

Russia positions itself as one of the key players in Asia, and there are traditional and newly restructured ties that allow alliance-building based on mutual interests in this part of the world. Universities and schools are trying to establish networks that would lead to joint projects and exchanges. There is no direct evidence that would allow us to suggest that there is ample linguistic data distinguishing the use of the Russian language by the diasporans residing in India, Japan and Korea and by learners of Russian as a foreign language in these countries.

The *Russkiy Mir* Foundation aims to promote different cultural projects, especially musical ones, in South Korea, Japan, and other Asian countries. It invites leading university scholars to visit Russia and sends artists to these countries (*Russkiy Mir* 2017, 2018). The Russian authorities are interested in the export of educational services, but they underestimate the necessity to adapt language teaching methodologies to local contexts. Teaching materials they offer do not take into account regional varieties of language or different linguistic biographies of heritage language learners inevitable in multilingual contexts (Ferreira 2012). Russian schools at the embassies offer courses and examinations. Students are invited to study in Russia because the quality of teaching is high and costs are low. Energy, aviation, exploration of new technologies, space research, the Silk Road Economic Belt, and the Eurasian Economic Community need collaboration in this part of the world (Bobylo 2016). Russian citizens are turning to Asia more often than before, and with modern technologies people can make online connections from any part of the world. One can anticipate that after the COVID-19 pandemic online teaching will keep developing.

6. Conclusions

Evidently, globalization, diversification and increasing role of niche markets, as well as growing mobility of people belonging to different social classes and age groups is changing the role of language in economies. A special role in the increasing value of languages is played by the ubiquity of digital technologies. Besides occupational skills, people seeking employment in service industries and as white collars are required to have communicative skills, quite often in two or more languages. These new opportunities and new needs increase motivation for learning and maintaining the Russian language in the diaspora. Different social layers and ethno-cultural groups within the diaspora, sociolinguistic constraints on the use of the language, adaptation of the immigrants' language and culture to the surrounding society influence the diversity of the local discourse and contribute to the flexibility of the global discourse.

In all countries discussed, the Russian language is undergoing changes under the influence of contact with other languages. Most noticeable these deviations are on the lexical level. Regional varieties of Russian integrate lexis related to the local toponymy, flora, fauna and climate, foods, elements of traditional culture and festive traditions. In the contact situations of India, Japan and Korea, we see many words from local languages which are still exoticisms, that is why, after using them, speakers or writers often add translation or explanations. Equally strong in these countries is borrowing from the domains of government and administration. Notably, in all samples of the material we collected, we see integration of English lexis. The spread and universalization of education, the struggle for resources, frequent migrations with different goals and at different stages of life influence language contacts as never before. Scientific and technological progress as well as politics cause changes in all languages as part of a response to the spread of multilingualism on a global scale.

From the Russo-centric perspective, we can claim that Russian is a world language experiencing pluricentric development, having different variants in every country where it is used, but so are other languages in diasporas. We are convinced that a pluricentric approach to the study of Russian outside the nation is fruitful because it enables researchers to observe development of the language in new contexts and have a better understanding of its interaction with other languages and cultures. Russian pluricentricity needs to be thoroughly documented before a handbook of World Russians can be compiled. When communities of practice start using the language for their own purposes, it develops into a variant that will serve the specific needs of specific societies with distinctive cultures.

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Acknowledgements

We would like to express our gratitude to the anonymous reviewers of this article. Their constructive criticism pointed to some weaknesses of the original text and facilitated its revision.

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Article history:

Received: 20 May 2021

Accepted: 19 October 2021

Bionotes:

Ekaterina PROTASSOVA holds PhD in Philology and Hab. in Pedagogy. She is Adjunct Professor at the Department of Languages at the University of Helsinki. She has over 300 scholarly publications. Dr Protassova headed and participated in various international and national projects investigating language pedagogies, child and adult bilingualism, and the role of language and culture in immigrant integration. Her service to the profession includes editorial work for various journals and publishers and organization of seminars and conference panels.

Contact information:

Department of Languages, PL 24, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

e-mail: ekaterina.protassova@helsinki.fi

ORCID: 0000-0002-8271-4909

Neelakshi SURYANARAYAN is Dr, Professor, affiliated with the Department of Slavonic and Finno-Ugrian Studies, University of Delhi, India. She has been teaching the Russian language, literature, and culture. Her research interests include commodification of the Russian language in the 21st century and comparative study of speech etiquette. She regularly participates in conferences and publishes nationally as well as internationally in well-known journals. Neelakshi Suryanarayan has received several awards and certificates of merit for her active contribution in promotion of Russian Studies in India.

Contact information:

A 26, Sector 44, Noida, 201301, India

e-mail: neelakshi55@yahoo.co.in

ORCID: 0000-0002-6657-2533

Maria YELENEVSKAYA (PhD) is affiliated with the Department of Humanities and Arts at the Technion-Israel Institute of Technology. Throughout her pedagogical career she has developed teaching and testing materials for EAP courses, including multimedia modules for computer-assisted language learning. Her research is devoted to language in multilingual and multicultural settings, lingua-cultural aspects of immigration, computer-assisted language learning and lingua-cultural aspects of humour. She has over 70 scholarly publications. She serves on the editorial board of three international scholarly journals and is a board member of Israel Association for the Study of Language and Society.

Contact information:

Technion-Israel Institute of Technology

Technion City, 3200003 Haifa, Israel

e-mail: ymaria@technion.ac.il

ORCID: 0000-0001-7155-8755

Сведения об авторах:

Екатерина ПРОТАСОВА – кандидат филологических и доктор педагогических наук, адъюнкт-профессор Отделения языков Хельсинкского университета. Она опубликовала более 300 научных трудов, возглавляла и принимала участие в многочисленных национальных и международных научных проектах, посвященных преподаванию языков, детскому и взрослому билингвизму, а также роли языка и культуры в интеграции иммигрантов. Ее профессиональная деятельность включает редактирование и рецензирование для различных научных журналов и издательств, а также организацию научных семинаров и секций на международных конференциях.

Контактная информация:

Department of Languages, PL 24, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland

e-mail: ekaterina.protassova@helsinki.fi

ORCID: 0000-0002-8271-4909

Нилакши СУРЬЯНАРАЯН – доктор, профессор кафедры славянских и финно-угорских исследований Делийского университета. Преподавала русский язык, литературу и культуру. Ее исследовательские интересы включают коммодификацию русского языка в XXI веке и сопоставительное исследование речевого этикета. Профессор Сурьянараян регулярно участвует в конференциях и публикует статьи на национальном и международном уровне в высокорейтинговых журналах. За активный вклад в развитие русистики в Индии она получила несколько наград и грамот.

Контактная информация:

A 26, Sector 44, Noida, 201301, India

e-mail: neelakshi55@yahoo.co.in

ORCID: 0000-0002-6657-2533

Мария ЕЛЕНЕВСКАЯ – кандидат филологических наук, работает на кафедре гуманитарных наук Техниона – Политехнического института Израиля. На протяжении всей педагогической карьеры она разрабатывает учебные пособия, тесты и мультимедийные модули для компьютеризированного обучения языкам. Ее исследования посвящены функционированию языка в многоязычном и многокультурном пространстве, лингвокультурным аспектам иммиграции, использованию компьютерных технологий в обучении языкам и лингвокультурным аспектам юмора. Она является членом редколлегий трех международных журналов и членом правления Израильской ассоциации исследования языка и общества.

Контактная информация:

Technion-Israel Institute of Technology

Technion City, 3200003 Haifa, Israel

e-mail: ymaria@technion.ac.il

ORCID: 0000-0001-7155-8755



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1004-1023>

Research article

Normalizing a new language hierarchy: Event names in post-Soviet urban space

Juldyz SMAGULOVA¹ and Dinara MADIYEVA²

¹KIMEP University

²Al-Farabi Kazakh National University

Almaty, Kazakhstan

Abstract

Naming practices not only reveal ideological contestation in a particular community, but also contribute to the discursive construction of a new social reality. However, the transformative role of naming practices as a semiotic resource for reimagining language hierarchy has been overlooked. This socio-onomastics study aims to explore shifting ideological premises and semiotic mechanisms of normalizing a new language hierarchy in post-Soviet urban space. In doing so, the study diachronically examines naming practices of choosing and using event names, which are more fluid and often short-lived in comparison to other names such as toponyms, anthroponyms or brand names. The study analyses 1246 unique event names mentioned in a local Russian-language newspaper “Вечерний Алматы” (“Vechernii Almaty”) over the period of time from 1989 to 2019. The results show a decrease in the use of Russian for name production. Further examination reveals a steady increase in non-integrated event names in Kazakh and English in Russian-language newspaper texts; there are few examples of translation and transliteration, no examples of transcription or loanwords in more recent texts. Our comparison shows that in the context of the multilingual Almaty transgressing the purist norms of standard Russian has become a new norm. We argue that these new local strategies of naming and using names are a semiotic mechanism of domination; they work to normalize a new language hierarchy where the Russian language is no longer the only dominant code of the public and official domain. Our account adds to the discussion of the discursive power of naming in challenging dominant language practices.

Keywords: *Naming practices, language ideology, language hierarchy, semiotic strategy, Russian, Kazakhstan*

For citation:

Smagulova, Juldyz & Dinara Madiyeva. 2021. Normalizing a new language hierarchy: Event names in post-Soviet urban space. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1004–1023. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1004-1023>

Нормализация новой языковой иерархии: Эвентонимы в постсоветском городском пространстве

Жулдыз СМАГУЛОВА¹, Динара МАДИЕВА²

¹Университет КИМЭП

² Казахский национальный университет имени аль-Фараби
Алматы, Казахстан

Аннотация

Практики именованья не только раскрывают идеологическое противостояние в конкретном сообществе, но и способствуют дискурсивному построению новой социальной реальности. Однако преобразующая роль практики именованья как семиотического ресурса для переосмысления языковой иерархии была малоизучена. Целью данного социономастического исследования является анализ меняющихся идеологических предпосылок и семиотических механизмов нормализации новой языковой иерархии в постсоветском городском пространстве. Для этого описываются изменения в названиях различных общественных мероприятий, которые являются более гибкими и часто недолговечными по сравнению с такими названиями, как топонимы, антропонимы или торговые марки. В исследовании анализируется 1246 уникальных эвентонимов, упомянутых в местной русскоязычной газете «Вечерний Алматы» за период с 1989 по 2019 гг. Результаты показывают снижение использования русского языка для создания названий. Дальнейшее изучение выявило устойчивый рост неинтегрированных эвентонимов на казахском и английском языках в русскоязычных газетных текстах; в более поздних текстах мало примеров перевода и транслитерации, нет примеров транскрипции или заимствований. Данный сравнительный анализ показывает, что в контексте многоязычного Алматы нарушение пуристских норм стандартного русского языка стало новой нормой. Мы утверждаем, что эти новые локальные стратегии именованья и использования имен представляют собой семиотический механизм символического доминирования; они работают на нормализацию новой языковой иерархии, в которой русский язык больше не является единственным доминирующим кодом общественного и официального домена. Наше исследование вносит вклад в понимание дискурсивной силы именованья в процессе изменения языковых практиках.

Ключевые слова: *практики именованья, языковая идеология, языковая иерархия, семиотическая стратегия, русский язык, Казахстан*

Для цитирования:

Smagulova J., Madiyeva D. Normalizing a new language hierarchy: Event names in post-Soviet urban space. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 1004–1023. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1004-1023>

1. Introduction

This study investigates the transformative role of naming practices as a semiotic resource for the discursive construction of a new language hierarchy. “It is the essential strategy of language dominance to establish the hierarchy of languages as if it were the natural order of things” (Kasuya 2001: 235). During the Soviet time the taken-for-granted representation of Russian as the supreme language of the Soviet Union was naturalized through various kinds of metalinguistic discourses (Smagulova & Suleimenova, forthcoming). This

qualitative study proposes a historical perspective on naming practices in the linguistic landscape with the purpose of identifying semiotic strategies challenging the previously established hierarchy of languages in urban Kazakhstan, where Russian used to be the single dominant language of public and official spheres. This study aims to analyze changing naming practices as a semiotic strategy of normalizing a new language hierarchy in post-Soviet space. Specifically, the paper examines: a) the transformation of naming of various public events – political, sports and cultural events, e.g., fora, concerts, exhibitions, etc., in Kazakhstan’s largest city Almaty over a period of 30 years, from 1989 to 2019, and b) changes in uses of event names in a Russian-language newspaper. Diachronic analysis of both removal and introduction of languages and scripts (Pavlenko & Mullen 2015) in event names contributes to the discussion of language ideologies in the context of sociolinguistic change.

Our decision to focus on naming practices stems from the conviction that names and their meanings “structure and nuance the way we see, understand and imagine the world” (Peteet 2005: 154) and that “shifts over time in the naming patterns may provide a very powerful indicator of profound societal shifts” (Lieberson 1984: 85). The paper draws from critically-oriented literature on the linguistic landscape (LL), critical and socio-onomastics, and language ideology which share an understanding of language as a symbolic form of power. While differentiating people, places, events, brands, and actions, names are foremost symbolic systems of identification that provide ways of knowing and being; “construct and reify human bonds and social divisions” (Charmaz 2006: 396). Because of the symbolic salience of names, there is a continuous rivalry for monopoly in production of names. Bourdieu (1991: 239) observes that this struggle for the monopoly of legitimate naming is actually a struggle to impose the legitimate vision of the social world and positions in that world¹. This symbolic struggle for the production of names is most visible in linguistic landscape and toponymy. Public signs and place names, as it was established by various studies, reflect the relative power and status of the different speakers and languages in a specific sociolinguistic context (cf. Landry & Bourhis 1997, Ben-Rafael et al. 2006, Gorter 2006, Shohamy et al. 2010, Blommaert 2013, Giraut & Houssay-Holzschach 2016). It is well known that the majority language or higher prestige language is more likely to be used in place, event and corporate names and other public signage while some languages are silenced and made invisible.

Naming practices not only reveal ideological contestation in particular communities, but they also contribute to the discursive construction of new social

¹ Some of the authors’ older relatives who lived through the events of 1917 stubbornly refused to use *Октябрьская революция* ‘The October Revolution’ (when the Soviets came to power) and referred to the event as *переворот* ‘the coup’, saying that there was only one revolution – *Февральская революция* ‘The February Revolution’ when the monarchy was overthrown (personal communication). For them this contestation of the official event name was about questioning the legitimacy of the Soviet regime.

realities and transformation of language practices. Moscovici and Duveen (2000: 45) argue that by naming something we “endow it with a genealogy ...[and] locate it in the identity matrix of our culture.” Because proper names are important cultural signs indexing social and cultural roots, naming practices are a continuous process of actualization, reaffirming and transforming identities. Thus, renaming places, people, events, actions and things as a way to discursively construct a new social reality has become a standard practice (Peteet 2005: 153). Official public signs, such as street and place names, are sanctioned by local authorities precisely because public space is an important political arena for the enforcement of language policies and new identities. Peteet (2005) shows, for example, the way Israeli colonial power crafts imaginaries about occupied places by controlling the naming of events, actions, places and people in occupied Palestinian territories. Manipulating the linguistic landscape is widely used in post-colonial, post-imperial, and newly independent states for nation-building purposes (cf. Akzhigitova & Zharkymbekova 2014, Backhaus 2009, Cenoz & Gorter 2006, Hult 2018, Manan et al. 2014, McDermott 2019, Moore 2014, Saparov 2017, Zabrodskaia 2014). In newly independent Kazakhstan, one of the first language policy documents was the decree “On order of naming and renaming of entities, organizations, institutions, railroad stations, airports, and geographical objects in the Republic of Kazakhstan and the change in their spelling” (1996) enforcing the use of Kazakh in linguistic landscape while concurrently affording removal of the Soviet names (Smagulova & Fleming 2020).

Because names carry such a symbolic weight as major instruments for imagining the past and future, the act of naming becomes significant on its own. Naming is an assertion of power; by naming something “the person demonstrates his/her legitimate right to do so” (Vigouroux 2001: 610). In many contexts naming of places, events and actions reinforces past socio-political hierarchies (Puzey 2016); and thus, in situations where socio-cultural tensions are high, counter hegemonic acts of naming become highly symbolic. An attempt to reclaim the original name of Victoria Falls (Nyambi & Mangena 2016) or restoring the old name Almaty instead of the Soviet Alma-Ata are very symbolic acts signaling a new social order.

Numerous onomastics and linguistic landscape studies demonstrate that (re)naming is one of the most favoured strategies for reimagining the world, probably because the characteristics of proper names make them easy to manipulate. Proper names “appear to fall partly inside and partly outside the lexicon and grammar of the average speaker” (Allerton 1987: 61). New names are easily added to the existing name inventory since they can be invented in an ad hoc way or borrowed. Of course, some naming systems are more productive and less conservative than others. While the system of personal names is relatively stable, other naming systems could be extremely fluid. Rivlina (2015), for instance, describes how language and scripts are used in creative and playful ways for

generating new domain names (e.g., ENA, May 15, 2021)² continuously. Brand and corporate names is another example of very fluid proper name systems which heavily relies on borrowing or foreignization as a way of creating new names, e.g., Russian brand ‘Vitek’ or Kazakh company ‘Nomad Insurance.’

On the one hand, we see that “[o]ften the connotation of proper names seems to be more important than their denotation” (Edelman 2009: 150). On the other hand, there is some degree of pressure to normalize the appearance and grammar of foreign names, especially when they appear in a text like a newspaper article or advertisement. Some proper names become well integrated into a language (e.g., month names, *в январе* ‘in January’), standing closest of all to common nouns in a language. But not all names are domesticated in accordance to orthographic, semantic, morphological, syntactic and phonological rules; there are proper names which are highly idiosyncratic and language-independent, non-integrated and spelled as they are, for example, *велогонку Tour de France из-за пандемии коронавируса перенесли на конец августа* ‘because of the coronavirus pandemic the Tour de France cycling race was postponed until the end of August.’ In general, the choice of adoption strategy – transcription, transliteration, calque, or direct graphic transfer – is conditioned by language ideology (cf. discussion of linguistic purism in the modern Russian language by Vysotskaya 2010, Špacova 2015), sociolinguistic hierarchy between dominant and marginal culture, and the purpose and activity of translation (Venuti 2003: 18):

<...> the reconstitution of the foreign text in accordance with values, beliefs and representations that pre-exist it in the target language, always configured in hierarchies of dominance and marginality, always determining the production, circulation, and reception of texts.

All in all, numerous studies demonstrate that naming is a political act, and “there is no social agent who does not aspire, as far as his circumstances permit, to have the power to name and create the world through naming” (Bourdieu 1991: 105). However, it is still not very clear how discursive construction of a new language hierarchy is achieved through naming. How does discursive change take place? To address these questions, this paper aims to describe some of the semiotic mechanisms of creating the new hierarchies through naming. In doing so, we diachronically examine naming practices of choosing and using event names, which are more fluid and often short-lived in comparison to more durable names, which are well described in the literature, such as toponyms, anthroponyms or brand names. Our analysis focuses on changes in the language of newspapers which used to be highly prescribed during the Soviet period.

The paper continues with a brief overview of the sociolinguistic context of Russian language use in Kazakhstan and description of the data. The following diachronic socio-onomastics analysis focuses on the changing uses of Russian in naming events in a Russian-language local newspaper over the period of 30 years.

² <http://gepatitu.net/> (accessed 13 November 2021).

2. Russian in Kazakhstan: A sociolinguistic context

Almaty is an excellent site for studying historical discontinuity and semiotic strategies of normalizing a new language hierarchy. The history of the city reflects the fact that Kazakhstan did not have much of a history of independence until 1991. Fort Verny ('faithful' in Russian) was founded as an Imperial military stronghold by the Tsarist colonial regime in 1854 on the lands of an early local settlement. The city was renamed Almaty (an ancient form of adjective from 'apple' in Turkic languages) in 1921 after it became a Soviet city and the new government began the policy of nativization. Almaty was the capital of the Kazakh Autonomous Socialist Republic (as a part of the Russian Federation) from 1927 to 1936 and then the capital of the newly established Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic from 1936 to 1997 when the capital was relocated to Tselinograd (first renamed Akmola, then Astana, and lastly Nur Sultan). While Almaty remains one of the most russified cities in Kazakhstan, the country's largest megapolis has experienced a dramatic shift in its demographics. In 1991, the year of the dissolution of the Soviet Union, its population was 1,086,000, of which less than a quarter were ethnic Kazakhs. The population increased to 1,896,000 residents in 2019 (a 75% increase in comparison to 1991) and Kazakhs made up two thirds of the population.

Throughout modern history the city existed in a state of structural inequality and asymmetrical bilingualism (cf. Olcott 1995, Laitin 1998m Smagulova 2008m Bissenova 2017). While Kazakh was used in education, media and cultural domains, it was rarely used in everyday interaction in the field of government, science, health care, technology and entertainment. Russian became the dominant language and grew to be perceived as an intrinsically superior language as result of a myriad of factors (discussed in more detail in Smagulova 2008) such as the Soviet policy of language unification, the totalitarian political regime and hierarchical structure of the Soviet Union, mass immigration of Russian-speaking population, the demographic prevalence of Russian speakers in urban centers, limited institutional support for Kazakh, the prestige associated with Russian and Russian speakers, and the impossibility of social advancement without Russian proficiency.

After the 1991 independence, the political legitimacy of the state and the privileged status of ethnic Kazakhs has been discursively constructed through the ideology of a monolingual nation-state. This implied challenging the role of Russian by reclaiming political, linguistic, cultural ground that had been yielded to Russian during the Soviet period. According to the Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan, Kazakh is the sole state language of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Russian, which was given the status of the language of interethnic communication in 1989 (Law on Languages in the Kazakh SSR), in 1995 was upgraded to a language that can be used along with Kazakh for official purposes (The Constitution 1995, Law on Languages in the Republic of Kazakhstan 1997). In addition to reinstating Kazakh as a fully-fledged state language (Order On principles of language policy in the RK 1996, Order On the principles of formation of state identity of the RK 1996, Decree on State program of developing languages 1996,

Decree on implementation of the state program 2001, Ministry of Culture of the PK 2001, Ministry of Culture of the RK 2011, etc.), the nation-building agenda included establishing Kazakh as a language of education (Ministry of Education and Science of the RK 2010), developing a “pure” Kazakh standard language free of Russian elements, reshaping the linguistic landscape by replacing Russian names with Kazakh, rewriting the history of Kazakhstan to demonstrate the continuous presence of Kazakh on the Kazakh land, etc. (Decree On naming and renaming 1996, Decree on terminological committee 1998, Decree on onomastics 1998, Decree on expanding the use of Kazakh in government offices 1998, Decree on placing product information 1998, etc.).

At the same time, there is a growing importance of English which is highly visible in linguistic landscape and branding (Smagulova and Fleming 2020). Kazakhstani authorities activity promote trilingual policy in education which is aimed at developing proficiency in three languages – Kazakh, Russian and English for all students defined by the cultural project “Trinity of Languages” (Ministry of Education and Science of the RK 2007), the roadmap of trilingual education (Ministry of Education and Science of the RK 2015), new education standards (Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2018), salary increase for teachers teaching in English (Ministry of Education and Science of the RK 2020). There are several schools and universities where English is the only medium of instruction. Researchers are encouraged to publish internationally, which implies publishing in English. All in all, English now is an important language in the national linguistic repertoire.

Amid this physically palpable transformation of the broader political and public discourse and linguistic landscape in favour of the national Kazakh language and the global English, Russian persists as a regional lingua franca and a major choice in urban public domains, academia, media and publishing. Despite the apparent perpetuation in the use of Russian, there are signs that the dominance of Russian is being challenged and a new linguistic hierarchy is emerging. This context offers an excellent opportunity to examine the process and semiotic mechanisms of reimagining a language hierarchy.

3. Data and methodology

The paper presents a socio-onomastics analysis of 1246 unique names of events extracted from the city Russian-language daily newspaper “Вечерний Алматы” (“Evening Almaty”). For understanding the process of change, it is important to know not only what is displayed now, but also what has been removed and what has been added to the landscape, as Pavlenko & Mullen (2015: 114) poignantly explain: “while signs do operate in aggregate, the common focus on all signs at *a single point in time* (italic by the authors) on one street is problematic because the interpretation of signs is diachronic in nature, intrinsically linked to the preceding signs in the same environment and to related signs elsewhere.” Therefore,

we argue that the use of event names in a local daily newspaper over a period of time provides an excellent dataset to illustrate changes of naming practices. Because of time limitations, the data was collected from the issues published in four three-year periods: 1989–1991, 1999–2001, 2009–2011, and 2016–2019. In total we collected data covering a period of 30 years – from pre-independence 1989 to 2019.

The selection of “Вечерний Алматы” (“Evening Almaty”) as a source of our data is not arbitrary. It is an official city news outlet. It has been published daily since January 1968. The newspaper prints news about Almaty and its citizens, reports about the work of city municipality and its structures, as well as provides information about culture, sports and public life. Because of its nature, it is in this newspaper that one can find announcements, mentions, descriptions and reports about most of the city events, at least about the major city functions. The decision to collect mentions of event names in a newspaper also stems from the assumption that “media texts constitute a sensitive barometer of socio-cultural change, and they should be seen as valuable material for researching change” (Fairclough 1995: 52). Indeed, even at first glance it is hard not to notice the change in the nature of events over time. In the last years of the Soviet era, dominant events were numerous nameless Communist Party functions; today the reports of events are dominated by various concerts, shows, exhibitions, sports competitions, etc., most with unique names.

We collected word types, not tokens; more specifically we collected only one mention of a unique event name per year. For example, the name of a crafts bazaar “Краски Азии” (“The Colours of Asia”) was counted once, even though the name of the event was mentioned in the article a couple of times (or two tokens in one text). We understand the limitation of this approach as it does not provide a full quantitative picture, yet under the circumstances it was the only feasible way to collect data. The earlier issues of the newspaper were not available electronically, no photographing was permitted; there was limitation on the number of pages scanned, and a long wait time was required. Therefore, we chose to count only word types to make the process more efficient and less time consuming.

Since the main concern in socio-onomastics is name variation (Ainiala 2016), our analysis looked for variations of language and scripts in event names over times. The data was sorted into the following categories – Russian, Kazakh, English, Bilingual, Mixed and Bivalent. While in general there were no problem categorizing event names by languages because Kazakh, Russian and English are linguistically distinct, we, however, created a separated category for bivalent personal names to account for ambiguous names.

In the following sections we present the quantitative results, describe changing strategies of incorporating foreign words in the Russian-language text and analyze how these strategies hint at the emergence of a new language hierarchy.

4. Use of event names in a Russian-medium newspaper

The study results unmistakably point at changing naming practices after Kazakhstan became an independent state. There has been a sharp decrease in the use of Russian, a steady increase in the use of Kazakh, and an upsurge in the use of English. Table 1 summarizes changes in the choice of languages for naming events. As we can see, before the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Russian was the dominant choice for naming events: in 1989–1991 about two thirds of all event names were in Russian. Many of the events were ideological in nature and had standard, Soviet government approved names such as *Праздник дружбы “Пою мое Отечество”* (Friendship festival “Lauding my Motherland”) or *массовое гулянье, посвященное Дню железнодорожника “Стальными маршрутами пятилетки”* (mass/folk festivities dedicated to the Railroad worker day “By steel routes of a five-year plan”). The share of the event names in Russian declined rapidly during the first decade of independence and has stayed steady since the early 2000s. One would expect that with the backdrop of nation-building, Kazakh would become the dominant choice in naming of events. However, as we can see it is English that is fast overtaking Russian and to an even larger extent Kazakh when it comes to creating names for various events. As the data show, the share of event names in English went from zero in 1991 to 34% in 2016–2019.

Table 1

Change in event names by languages (1989–2019)

Languages	Examples	1989–1991		1999–2001		2009–2011		2016–2019	
Russian	<i>выставка “Цветы Алма-Аты”</i> (exhibition “The Flowers of Almaty”)	113	73%	49	41%	63	35%	279	35%
Kazakh	<i>фестиваль “Шығыс сәні”</i> (festival “The Eastern Beauty”)	33	21%	38	32%	57	32%	137	17%
English	<i>благотворительный концерт “Art 4 Peace”</i> (charity concert “Art 4 Peace”)	0	0%	19	16%	35	20%	273	34%
Bilingual	<i>акция “Жасыл жапырақ – Зеленый лист”</i> (campaign “Green Leaf”)	6	4%	4	3%	8	5%	10	1,5%
Mixed (Kaz+Eng)	<i>форум “Media Құрылтай”</i> (Forum “Media Council”)	1	0,7%	0	0%	2	1%	66	8%
Mixed (Rus+Eng)	<i>показ мод “Baby Fashion: мои наряды от семейного кутюр”</i> (Fashion show “Baby fashion: My Outfits from Family Coutures”)	0	0%	2	2%	4	2%	21	3%
Mixed (Kaz+Rus)	<i>спортивная акция “Здоровый Наурыз”</i> (Sport campaign “Healthy Novruz”)	0	0%	0	0%	0	0%	3	0,5%
Bivalent personal names	<i>ежегодная альпиниада “Нурсултан-2016”</i> (annual mass ascend “Nursulatan 2016”)	2	1,3%	7	6%	9	5%	5	1%
Total		155	100%	119	100%	178	100%	794	100%

While event names in Kazakh are not quantitatively dominant, the changing strategies of incorporating event names in Kazakh in Russian-language newspaper

texts is revealing. Over the years we have observed a transition in the use of names in Kazakh, from transliteration of Kazakh words in accordance with the Russian pronunciation norms to transplanting of non-integrated Kazakh words in Russian texts. Kazakh and Russian use the same Cyrillic alphabet, but Kazakh has several additional letters to signify language-specific sounds. If the word has no Kazakh-specific sounds it is difficult to determine whether the word is spelled in its original form or transliterated. However, phonological differences and grammar marking allowed us to categorize names as transliterated or transplanted. As Table 2 shows, the share of transliterated names has decreased dramatically over time.

Table 2

Change in transliteration of names in Kazakh

	1989–1991	1999–2001	2009–2011	2016–2019
All event names in Kazakh	33	37	57	131
Transliterated	13	21	14	10
Share of transliterated names	39%	57%	25%	8%

Figure 1 is an example to illustrate the trend. In 1990 Almaty launched an international music competition “The Voice of Asia.” The event was first mentioned in the newspaper in 1989 and it was in Russian, “Голос Азии.” In 1990, the name was translated into Kazakh and its use in the text became bilingual: *Голос Азии – Азия даусы*. (Here and after Kazakh is in boldface). Please note that initially the Kazakh version was transcribed ‘*даусы*’ [daUsy] in accordance with its Russian pronunciation. In the bilingual version mentioned in 1991, the Kazakh variant was already spelled in accordance with the Kazakh orthography ‘*дауысы*’ [dauYsy]. From 1994 until its termination in 2005 the international festival was mentioned in the newspaper only as an undomesticated direct graphic transfer of the Kazakh name.



Figure 1. Office of the ‘Asia Dauysy’ festival³

³ Source: https://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Азия_Дауысы#/media/Файл:VoiceofAsiaDoor.JPG (accessed 13 November 2021).

The trend continues as the more recent samples demonstrate. Examples below show variation in the use of transliterated and transplanted form of the same event name. An annual stair climbing competition has been held in Almaty for 30 years. The full distance is 841 stairs from the level of the skating rink Medeu to the dam at the top. The name of the event is *Баспалдақ* ‘stairs’. Initially the name was transliterated (replacing Kazakh uvular [q] with velar [k]) and explained, glossed, e.g., *ежегодный бег по лестнице “Баспалдак”* (annual run up the stairs “Baspladak”). We encountered the first direct graphic transfer of the name “*Баспалдақ*” in 2009; it was accompanied by the Russian equivalent “*Бег по лестнице.*” Since then, we have observed variation of domesticated or undomesticated forms as the following examples 1–3 illustrate. In Example 1, the name is well integrated; it is transliterated and shows grammatical marking of the Russian prepositional case. In Example 2 we see two event names, one of which is transliterated (“*Баспалдак*”) while the other name in the same sentence is transplanted (“*Спорттық Алматы*”). Finally, in Example 3, we see the use of the unintegrated event name in the Kazakh script with specific uvular stop [q].

- (1) *Их можно встретить в легкоатлетических забегах, на “Баспалдаке”, лыжных гонках, футбольных турнирах и других соревнованиях.* (22 September 2017)

One could meet them at races, at “**Baspaldak**+ Prep. Case ending”, ski races, football tournaments and other competitions.

- (2) *В урочище Медеу в рамках программы “Спорттық Алматы” состоялся 30-й забег по лестнице “Баспалдак-2018”* (25 September 2018)

Under the umbrella of “**Sporttyq Almaty**” (Sporty Almaty) campaign the 30th stair climbing competition “**Baspaldak**” took place in the Medeu gorge.

- (3) *В субботу, 14 сентября, на селезащитной плотине в урочище Медеу состоится массовый забег “Баспалдақ – 2019”.* (12 September 2019)

“**Baspaldaq**” mass race will be held on Saturday, September 14, at the mudflow central dam in the Medeu gorge.

As we can see, the names of long-running events are transformed gradually from integrated (translated, transliterated, domesticated) to non-integrated forms. Recently we noticed a tendency for the transplantation of not only unintegrated words but also whole phrases in the Russian text, as the next example demonstrates:

- (4) *Назову здесь лишь некоторые из запланированных и успешно осуществляемых в связи с поставленными целями мероприятий: айтыс молодых акынов “Менің пірім – Сүйінбай”, конкурс патриотической песни “Мой Казахстан”, поэтический онлайн-конкурс молодых поэтов “Мен елімді жырлаймын!”, историко-познавательная лекция-путешествие “Ұлы жібек жолымен”, дебатный турнир “Молодежь Великой степи: общество,*

образование, будущее”, международный молодежный фестиваль “**Абай руханияты**”. (ENA, February 19, 2019)⁴.

I will name just some of the planned events successfully taking place to fulfill the stated aims: aitys (song competition) of young akyns (singer + Plural ending) “**Mening pirim – Suinbai**” (My friend Suinbai), patriotic song contest “My Kazakhstan”, online competition of young poets “**Men elimdi jyrlaimyn**” (I sing my country), history educational lecture “**Uly jibek joly**men” (On the Great Silk Road), debate tournament “The youth of the Great Steppe: Society, education, future”, international youth festival “**Abai rukhaniaty**” (Abai’s spirituality).

Our data also shows that in addition to the expected frequent use of well assimilated and integrated loanwords from Kazakh to refer to local realia such as *akyn* and *aitys*, newspaper texts are peppered with other unintegrated foreign names. This practice is very different from the prescribed norms of the standard Russian (cf. Gorham 2000a, Ermolovich 2001, Vysotskaya 2010, Basovskaya 2011, Špackova 2015). The difference between regional variety and the standard mainstream Russian is more visible in the use of event names in English. They are almost always unintegrated, as the following illustration shows, with very few exceptions such as *праздник алматинских мамочек Мама Пати* (celebration of Almaty mommies “*Мама Party*”).

(5) *В рамках событийного туризма ежегодно проводится не менее 50 мероприятий международного масштаба, таких как Международный джазовый фестиваль, **Spirit of Tengri, Star of Asia, Парад оркестров, Алматы Коктобе Опера, Apple Fest, Tour of Almaty, Almaty Marathon, Almaty Mount Fest.***

(In the framework of event tourism not less than 50 events of international calibre are organized annually, such as International Jazz Festival, **Spirit of Tengri, Star of Asia**, Parade of Orchestras, Almaty Koktobe Opera, **Apple Fest, Tour of Almaty, Almaty Marathon, Almaty Mount Fest.**)

Example 5 evidently demonstrates that the local variety of Russian is also conditioned for use of the Latin script. As readers may know, Kazakhstan had decided to switch to the Latin-based alphabet by 2025. Indeed, in our data we have numerous examples of use of the Latin script for event names in Kazakh such as *день скачек Qazaqstan Tulpary* (horse race day **Kazakh Tulpar**) or *благотворительная акция Ashyq Jurek* (charity campaign **Open Heart**). The share of event names in the Latin-based Kazakh alphabet has increased from 1% in 2009–2011 to 9% in 2016–2019. There are also many event names created through the play and mixing of languages and scripts when even Russian words are written in the Latin script. For example, the bicycle race “*Home Credit Kosmos Uphill*” (*космос* ‘space’) or the children’s festival “*Happy Belka Nice Fest*” (*белка* ‘squirrel’).

⁴ <https://www.kaznpu.kz/ru/6713/press/> (accessed 13 November 2021).

To sum up, while the data provides evidence of continuous maintenance of Russian in Almaty, it also shows that the use of Russian for creating event names has decreased since the Soviet era. When it comes to domesticating foreign proper names and script choice, our data point at the emergence of practices of transgressing norms of standard Russian. The majority of event names used in the Russian-language newspaper texts are unchanged foreign words in their original alphabets; they are often not translated, nor explicitly glossed (explained). This usage presupposes readers' familiarity with the Kazakh and English languages and alphabets. The naming practice of inserting unintegrated foreign names in the Russian text is taken for granted. Most significant is the lack of public commentary about non-standard lexical borrowings which seems to indicate that frequent use of unassimilated lexical items from Kazakh and English is perceived as a norm. Overall, the data seems to indicate that the multilingualism is increasingly visible and normative and 'otherness' in the Russian text is now taken for granted.

5. Discussion

Promotion of language purism and highly prescriptive grammar became an important tool for both the homogenization of the Soviet-Russian literary language, the symbolic legitimization of the Soviet party regime (Gorham 2000b, 2006), and homogenisation of the population across the Soviet Union. This is not a unique strategy, and as Vigouroux (2001) reminds us, language policy is often used to control population. Not surprisingly, during the Soviet period newspapers and other mass-media became a key tool of instilling language culture (in Russian 'культура речи') and developing the population's oral and written skills (Basovskaya 2011).

Language purism defined the practices of borrowing new words in Russian. The long-standing tradition of domesticating foreign proper names in the standard Russian has been guided by the principle expressed by Reformatskij (1972: 56, cited from Yavari 2017: 220): "Translation seeks to make 'other' maximally 'own'; transcription strives to save 'other' though the means of 'own.'" Typically, foreign proper names would be translated, calqued, transliterated or transcribed (Ermolovich 2001). However, since the break-up of the Soviet Union the situation has changed. Gorham (2000a: 629) notes that with the disappearance of the tight centralized control of mass media by the Communist Party, the polyphony of voices present "a direct challenge to the purifying and nationalizing efforts of language specialists." This trend is more prominent at the new periphery of the Russian-speaking world. In contrast to public discussion in Russia of rapid language change and even proposals to prohibit borrowings from English in the 'mainland' Russian (cf. Poplavski 2014, Kozlova 2019), in Kazakhstan we find that the use of unadapted names is common and there is a lack of such public commentary about the practice.

In order for symbolic power to be exercised, it has to be taken for granted, internalized. The naming practice of inserting unintegrated foreign names in the Russian text is taken for granted. The lack of public commentary allows us to claim

that it became a well-accepted norm. This ‘tacitly accepted norm’ (Pavlenko 2012) is transformative – it creates a social space for generating new values and new language hierarchies because using undomesticated foreign names has powerful symbolic connotations. For one, not all readers are fluent in all the three languages, so these names, in fact, may impede text comprehension. Using unintegrated Kazakh and English event names immediately shifts a ‘text’s cultural identity’ (Sato 2017: 16) and sensitizes readers to multilingual and multiscript practices.

The new use of unintegrated names in Kazakhstan Russian-language newspapers is not just a lexical act of inserting untranslatable and untamed proper names; it is a socially meaningful act. Not only does it serve as a contextual expression of social and cultural identity, it indicates that Russian no longer has a monopoly in name production. This act signals a shift in power:

<...> the words that circulate most profusely and effectively are usually those of the dominant forces as well. Their categories and terms of discourse render domination natural, and part of the taken-for-granted, if you will, as if there were no other possible alternatives. Words are extraordinarily important for the way they embody ideological significance and circulate moral attributes. In other words, in a conflict setting the words chosen from a vast lexicon to describe events, actions, peoples, places and social phenomena reverberate with, uphold or contest power (Peteet 2005: 254).

The naming practice also accentuates that Russian, previously the main donor language in the Soviet hierarchy of ‘mutually enriching’ languages, has become a receptor language. This trend has been already documented by Alisharieva, Ibraeva & Protassova (2017: 258) who even claim that the local Russian has “acquired autonomy from the global Russian.” We would argue that we are observing the process of domestication of Russian, the process of gaining ownership over local Russian, the process of establishing new local norms of usage and a new language hierarchy.

6. Conclusion

This study aimed to analyze some of the semiotic mechanisms of constructing a new language hierarchy and challenging dominant language ideologies. Our comparison of the present and past naming practices allows us to conclude that in the context of a multilingual Almaty, transgressing the norms of the Russian standard has become a new norm and this new norm is transformative. The usage of foreign proper names, Kazakh and English, in newspaper texts in modern Kazakhstan radically diverges from the purist tradition; we have encountered very few examples of translation, no examples of transcription or calques/loanwords, and transliteration is decreasing. We also see that Russian is no longer dominant in event naming production. We argue that the local strategies of naming and using names are a semiotic mechanism of domination. They work to normalize a new language hierarchy where Russian is no longer a principal language. We believe

that more similar studies are needed if we want to understand how change takes place and what are the other semiotic strategies for challenging dominant ideologies.

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Article history:

Received: 18 May 2021

Accepted: 19 October 2021

Bionotes:

Juldyz SMAGULOVA is Associate Professor and Dean of College of Humanities and Education, KIMEP University (Almaty, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include language ideology, language education, and language policy. She co-edited the *Language Change in Central Asia* (2016) and co-authored the bilingual Kazakh-Russian *Dictionary of Sociolinguistics* (2020). She has articles published in *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *World Englishes* and *International Journal of Bilingualism*.

Contact information:

KIMEP University

2 Abai Avenue, Almaty 050010, Kazakhstan

e-mail: juldyz@kimep.kz

ORCID: 0000-0002-2179-9152

Dinara MADIYEVA is a PhD student at al-Farabi Kazakh National University (Almaty, Kazakhstan). Her research interests include linguistic landscape and social onomastics. She is a senior lecturer at the Department of Diplomatic Translation and teaches professional and academic English.

Contact information:

al-Farabi Kazakh National University

95 Karasay batyr street, office 205

Almaty A05E3B3, Kazakhstan

e-mail: dinara.madiyeva@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8217-5047

Сведения об авторах:

Жулдыз СМАГУЛОВА – доцент и декан факультета образования и гуманитарных наук Университета КИМЭП (Алматы, Казахстан). Ее исследовательские интересы включают языковую идеологию, языковую политику и обучение языкам. Она является редактором коллективной монографии *Language Change in Central Asia* (2016) и соавтором двуязычного казахско-русского *Словаря социолингвистических терминов* (2020). Среди ее публикаций – статьи в журналах *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *International Journal of Bilingualism*.

Контактная информация:

Университет КИМЭП
Проспект Абая 2, Алматы 050010, Казахстан
e-mail: juldyz@kimep.kz
ORCID: 0000-0002-2179-9152

Динара МАДИЕВА является докторантом Казахского национального университета им. аль-Фараби (Алматы, Казахстан). Ее исследовательские интересы включают языковой ландшафт и социальную ономастику. Она работает старшим преподавателем на кафедре дипломатического перевода, где преподает профессиональный и академический английский язык.

Контактная информация:

Казахский национальный университет им. аль-Фараби
Улица Карасай батыра 95, Алматы А05Е3В3, Казахстан
e-mail: dinara.madiyeva@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-8217-5047



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1024-1046>

Research article

Language attitudes, practices and identity in the new Lithuanian diaspora

Meilutė RAMONIENĖ¹ and Jogilė Teresa RAMONAITĖ²

¹Vilnius University
Vilnius, Lithuania

²Institute of the Lithuanian language
Vilnius, Lithuania

Abstract

After the changes in the socio-political situation in many countries of Eastern and Central Europe in the last decade of the 20th century, these countries experienced a major growth of emigration. In the context of the European Union, Lithuania is one of the countries that has faced the highest rates of emigration. The quick and somewhat sporadic emigration mainly for economic reasons is of interest both to linguists and language policy makers in order to support and give guidelines for the maintenance of the heritage language and identity. This paper deals with the data of the new post-Soviet wave of Lithuanian emigrants analysing the language behaviour and language attitudes. The aim is to look into the issues of language attitudes, practices and identity through the tripartite theoretical model – beliefs, emotions and declared language practices – of this wave and to compare it to the overall context of Lithuanian diaspora. The data analysed in this paper has been collected using quantitative (online surveys) and qualitative methods (in-depth interviews) in two research projects in the Lithuanian diaspora in 2011–2017. The main focus is on the use of the heritage Lithuanian language in various domains (home, community, friendship, church), comparing the use of Lithuanian by the post-Soviet emigrants with the language behaviour of the emigrants of earlier emigration waves. The results show equally positive beliefs and affective attitudes of the post-Soviet emigrants compared to previous waves, but a different language behaviour especially when comparing to the emigrants of the end of World War II.

Keywords: *Lithuanian diaspora, language maintenance, language attitudes*

For citation:

Ramonienė, Meilutė & Jogilė Teresa Ramonaitė. 2021. Language attitudes, practices and identity in the new Lithuanian diaspora. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1024–1046. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1024-1046>

Языковые установки, практики и идентичность в новой литовской диаспоре

Мейлуте РАМОНИЕНЕ¹, Йогиле Тереса РАМОНАЙТЕ²

¹Вильнюсский университет
Вильнюс, Литва

²Институт литовского языка
Вильнюс, Литва

Аннотация

Перемены в социополитической ситуации, произошедшие в последнее десятилетие XX в. во многих странах Восточной и Центральной Европы, привели к росту эмиграции из этих стран. Литва входит в число стран Евросоюза с наиболее значительными эмиграционными потоками. Быстрая и в некоторой степени спорадическая эмиграция, главным образом по экономическим причинам, представляет интерес как для лингвистов, так и для лиц, определяющих языковую политику, поскольку она поддерживает и дает рекомендации по сохранению унаследованного литовского языка и этнической идентичности. В статье рассматриваются данные новой постсоветской волны литовских эмигрантов, анализируется их языковое поведение и языковые установки. Цель данного исследования состоит в том, чтобы изучить проблемы языковых установок, практик и идентичности через трехстороннюю теоретическую модель – убеждений, эмоций и декларируемых языковых практик – этой волны и сравнить это с общим контекстом литовской диаспоры. Данные, проанализированные в этой статье, были собраны с использованием количественных (онлайн-опросы) и качественных (глубинные интервью) методов в рамках двух исследовательских проектов в литовской диаспоре в 2011–2017 гг. Авторы уделяют основное внимание использованию литовского языка в различных сферах (дома, общины, дружеские отношения, церкви), сравнивая его применение постсоветскими эмигрантами с языковым поведением эмигрантов из более ранних волн эмиграции. Результаты показывают одинаково позитивные убеждения и эмоциональное отношение постсоветских эмигрантов по сравнению с предыдущими волнами, но иное языковое поведение, особенно по сравнению с эмигрантами конца Второй мировой войны.

Ключевые слова: *литовская диаспора, сохранение языка, языковые установки*

Для цитирования:

Ramonienė M., Ramonaitė J.T. Language attitudes, practices and identity in the new Lithuanian diaspora. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 1024–1046. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1024-1046>

1. Introduction

After the changes in the socio-political situation in many countries of Eastern and Central Europe in the last decade of the 20th century, these countries experienced a major growth of emigration. In the context of the European Union, Lithuania is one of the countries that have experienced the highest rates of emigration. This immense emigration causes various problems and challenges for the demographic development, economic growth and maintenance of cultural identity of Lithuania (Martinaitis & Žvalionytė 2007), it causes concern to the society and the state institutions and also evokes the attention of various scholars (Kuzmickaitė 2003, Čiubrinskas 2004, 2005, 2011, Kuznecovienė 2008, Liubinienė

2009, Barcevičius 2012, Aleksandravičius 2013). Researchers study Lithuanian communities in various countries of the world, some of them founded at the end of the 19th century, and analyse different aspects of emigration. However, according to the historian Egidijus Aleksandravičius (2013) who studies the Lithuanian diaspora, research on the current emigration wave and the changes in the Lithuanian diaspora is only beginning and there are still many unknown aspects about it.

The new post-Soviet emigration wave differs from others waves in various aspects. The reasons for emigration are different and the destinations of emigration have greatly changed. Countries like Ireland, Norway, Spain have never been the destination of Lithuanian emigration before and the most recent wave of emigration to these countries is quite numerous. The emigration towards the United Kingdom has become a lot more intense. The numbers of those leaving to Germany and the USA have increased and also, many Lithuanians are going to Sweden, Denmark, the Netherlands, Iceland and other countries where previously there was no Lithuanian diaspora. As Aleksandravičius indicates (2013: 567), the settling of post-Soviet emigrants in these new places was rather different not only in comparison to the earlier waves but also among different countries. Inevitably, also the structure and the problems of the renewed diaspora were different. Some of the communities of new emigrants have already been studied to a certain extent by sociologists and anthropologists, however the linguistic behaviour of these new emigrants has not been extensively studied.

The conceptual framework of this paper is based on the tripartite model of language attitudes, the components of which are cognitive, affective and behavioural (Edwards 1982, Breckler 1984, Garret et al. 2003, Garret 2010 among others). The cognitive component contains beliefs about the attitude object, about the relationship between what is considered as socially significant. Even though theoretically presented as the second component – affective, it is “usually argued that, even if beliefs do not have any affective content, they may trigger and indeed be triggered by strong affective reactions” (Garret 2003: 10). “This affective aspect of attitudes is a barometer of favourability and unfavourability, or the extent to which we approve or disapprove of the attitude object” (Garret 2010: 23). Also, the cognitive and the affective components are often considered in combination.

The third component of the tripartite model is behaviour. This means there is a link between attitudes and behaviour as attitudes can predispose certain behaviour. Even though most theorists agree that behaviour is a constitutive part of attitudes, the manner and the extent is debated. Some studies show that attitudes do not necessarily determine the behaviour (Hanson 1980), that the correlation between cognition, affect and behaviour can be only a moderate one (Breckler 1984). Therefore, in research on attitudes the relation between attitudes and behaviour is a highly important issue (Garret 2010).

The complex structure of the Lithuanian diaspora permits the comparison of language attitudes of different emigration waves and gives the possibility to get insight into the way attitudes are related to the declared language behaviour. The

research questions of the paper are: what are the language attitudes of numerous post-Soviet emigration waves; how they are related to the language behaviour; and what are the differences or similarities of this wave of emigration in comparison with the earlier ones. Within the tripartite model of language attitudes, the paper analyses the overt language attitudes through the lens of the cognitive and affective dimensions combined and studies the language behaviour in different domains.

2. Method and data

The data analysed in this paper have been collected with the help of quantitative and qualitative methods in two large scale national research projects: “The Language of Emigrants” (2011–2013) and “Lithuanian language in diaspora: knowledge, usage, attrition” (2015–2017)¹. During the first project, a large-scale online survey was conducted in 2012. It consisted of a questionnaire of 66 questions dealing with proficiency and use of languages, issues of language and identity, language attitudes and other aspects. The intention was to survey 2000 emigrants: 1000 Lithuanians who emigrated to European countries and 1000 emigrants who settled on the other continents. The respondent sample was constituted using a specifically calculated matrix based on the structure of Lithuanian diaspora on different continents and in different countries. The respondents were engaged by means of a complex network organized by a public opinion research agency² (for more information about how the survey was conducted and the selection of respondents see Ramonienė 2015). This aim was reached with a slight surplus, and the data of 2020 individuals who participated in the survey is analysed in this paper.

During the second project a small-scale online survey was also conducted in 2017³, however, due to incomplete compatibility of the questionnaires and a much smaller sample, it will not be used for the analysis in this paper. The paper, however, uses qualitative data (see further) of the second project. As a certain limitation of the studies, it should be mentioned that despite their efforts (repetitive invitations and encouragement), the researchers had little success to engage in the study those emigrants who possibly have negative attitudes towards the Lithuanian language and Lithuania.

The number of respondents by waves and generations is presented in Table 1. The most recent emigration wave – the post-Soviet one – has the largest number of respondents and is divided by G1 and G1+ generations, i.e. those who left Lithuania themselves (1454 respondents) and those who left during childhood together with their parents, by the decision of the parents (118 respondents). The respondents from earlier emigration waves are divided by generation: G1 (comprising some old respondents from the WWII wave and a few of those who left during the Soviet

¹ The first author of this paper is the principal investigator and coordinator of both projects. Both studies were funded by the State Commission of the Lithuanian language.

² The survey was carried out by UAB “SIC” in 2012, the SPSS software was used to process the data.

³ The second survey was conducted by researchers of Vilnius University.

period, 38 respondents), G1+ (who are mostly children of the WWII wave, 49 respondents), G2 (those born in the emigration country, 226 respondents) and G3 (those, whose parents were already born in emigration, 135 respondents). The largest part (78 percent) of the whole sample of respondents are emigrants of the most recent wave. The majority of them (81%) live in European countries towards which the emigration was most intense in the last three decades. Emigrants of the earlier waves are mostly resident in North America (62%).

Table 1

Number of respondents of Lithuanian diaspora

Post-soviet		Earlier waves				Total
G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3	
1454	118	38	49	226	135	2020

During both projects, the combination of quantitative and qualitative methods was applied. Besides a quantitative survey, in-depth interviews were conducted with the respondents face-to-face or via Skype. During the first project, 177 interviews were carried out and during the second project 179 interviews were recorded with the emigrants living on various continents (Ramonienė 2015, 2019b). The interviews were conducted and transcribed by the team members of both projects. The average duration of an in-depth interview is 45 min. Most interviews have been conducted in Lithuanian, in some there has been a switch from Lithuanian to English and some were conducted in English due to the participants' very low proficiency in Lithuanian. The in-depth interviews we collected are life story narratives that, together with the story of emigration, reveal linguistic biographies and language experiences of emigrants and their language behaviour in relation with identity construction. This paper, in addition to the analysis of the survey data, uses the interview data with regard to the in-depth processes of heritage language maintenance and loss, nuances of language attitudes, and subtle aspects of identity construction.

3. Language attitudes towards the Lithuanian heritage language

The multidimensional, complex phenomenon of language attitudes can play very different roles in peoples' lives; it can have an effect on their decisions and practices, the well-being of their life, career, education, luck and many other things. As presented in the Introduction, three components constituting the structure of attitudes are distinguished in language attitude studies: cognition, affect and behaviour. Even though many studies show that attitudes can determine the language behaviour of individuals and groups of people (Garrett 2010, Garrett et al. 2003), this is still debated as there are some contrasting studies indicating it is not always the case. Researchers studying the phenomena of language maintenance and shift and looking for an answer to the question why some minority groups assimilate and abandon their language while others maintain their identity and language, affirm that language attitudes are to be considered the most important factor (Bradley 2002, Wurm 2002, Pauwels 2016). It is probable that positive attitudes

towards one's language or language variety can encourage people to use it, to maintain it and to pass it on to the next generation. And vice versa, negative language attitudes can determine a faster shift to another language. Therefore, one of the aims of investigating the language behaviour of the Lithuanian diaspora was to analyse the language attitudes towards the heritage language and to assess the importance of the Lithuanian language for those who have left Lithuania. The further investigation will concern the declared language behaviour.

The cognitive dimension is expressed in very broad beliefs and stereotypes and is reflected by an overt claim about the importance of knowing the language. The large-scale survey questionnaire had an explicit question about the importance of the Lithuanian language.

Table 2

Declared importance of knowing the Lithuanian language⁴

	Post-soviet		Earlier waves			
	G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3
Very important	84%	80%	84%	88%	74%	56%
More important than unimportant	12%	18%	13%	12%	17%	24%
More unimportant than important	2%	3%	3%	-	7%	14%
Not important at all	1%	-	-	-	1%	6%

As can be seen in Table 2, the declared importance of knowing the Lithuanian language is very high in all the waves. Most of the G1 and G1+ respondents affirm that the Lithuanian heritage language is indeed important for them. As much as 84 percent of G1 respondents of all waves stated that it is very important for them. Another 12–13 percent stated that it is more important than unimportant for them. While those who consider Lithuanian of little importance were only few: 2–3 percent more unimportant than important and only less than 1 percent from the most recent wave responded it was not important to them at all, however, none of the G1 from the earlier waves chose this answer. The situation is quite similar for the G1+, but with the G2 one can note the shift starting to take place. Less G2 and G3 respondents consider it of high importance. and there are notably more those who do not consider knowing Lithuanian to be important.

There is proof that some language attitudes, as well as the language itself, are acquired very early (Garrett et al. 2003) and that attitudes acquired early tend to remain rather stable and endure in the lifespan (Sears 1983). At the start of the formation of language attitudes, parents and the family can have a big influence (Garrett 2010). Many scholars recognize that the role of the family is the most important for the maintenance or loss of the heritage language (Fishman 1991, Pauwels 2016, Haque 2019). Family is seen as the critical domain where the language is either maintained or lost. As Spolsky (2012: 4) puts it: “The loss of natural intergenerational transmission was recognised as the key marker of

⁴ Chi-squared tests have been conducted and the light grey cells indicate statistically significant differences ($p < 0.05$) here and in the following tables.

language loss, and occurred within the family.” The importance of knowing Lithuanian is well described by a G1+ woman of the WWII emigration wave, who emphasizes the beliefs as one of the most important reasons for the maintenance of Lithuanian (example 1).

- (1) *There are those who think what sense does it make, we will never return to that Lithuania, but anyway, even if you never return to Lithuania, the language is the oldest language alive in the world, it's a kind of honour to know it, not necessarily very well. We could never tell our children it was practical because we were really deeply convinced that Lithuania will never be free, but we would always say that it's an honour. You have to maintain the language because we don't know what is going on there, the russification is very strong there, so it was mainly for reasons like this that we maintained the language in our home. (USA, W68, G1+)*⁵

Table 3

		Most precious and most useful languages					
		Post-Soviet		Earlier waves			
		G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3
Which language seems to be the most precious	Lithuanian	86%	89%	95%	94%	80%	65%
	English	3%	5%	3%	2%	4%	9%
	Other	12%	6%	3%	4%	15%	26%
Which language seems to be the most useful	Lithuanian	6%	3%	3%	4%	4%	4%
	English	82%	90%	76%	90%	87%	79%
	Other	12%	8%	21%	6%	9%	16%

It has already been mentioned that attitudes are affective because they involve feelings about the attitude object. The emotional language attitudes' dimension of Lithuanian emigrants was revealed by the answers to the survey question: *What language is the most precious, the dearest to you?* When responding to this question, a great majority of all the respondents indicated the Lithuanian language. A high (85–89%) percentage of post-Soviet wave G1 and G1+ respondents declared it as the most precious, however, even more of the earlier waves' G1 and G1+ gave the same answer. The emotional connection to Lithuanian as the most precious language is slightly lower in the G2 (80%) and notably lower in G3 (65%). In Table 3 we presented for contrast the answers to the question which language is considered to be most useful. The data shows a nearly inverted picture with the English language indicated as the most useful by an overwhelming majority of respondents (76–90%) and Lithuanian as of very little usefulness (2–6%). The only ones who see Lithuanian as useful at least to some extent are the G1 of the post-Soviet wave, quite likely due to the maintained active contacts in Lithuania.

The relationship of the Lithuanian heritage language with special positive emotions was mentioned by many participants during the qualitative interviews. Example 2 presents an extract where a participant from the post-Soviet emigration

⁵ In the brackets the country, sex (W – women, M – man), age and generation of emigration of the respondent is indicated. The interviews were carried out in Lithuanian.

wave describes the communicational space where Lithuanian is spoken with friends in the emigration context as a “little Lithuania”:

- (2) *When we all start speaking Lithuanian, it's like a little Lithuania... nice.*
(Germany, W39, G1)

Another participant who lives in Italy (example 3) also expresses special emotions related to language. In her family, she usually speaks Lithuanian with her two children and an Italian husband who knows Lithuanian, sometimes codeswitches, but the communication in Lithuanian is associated with the most beautiful feelings. The woman emphasizes that she can express the most subtle emotions, even when writing SMS messages to her children, only in her native Lithuanian language:

- (3) *It was possible (to speak in the family) in various ways but... but it is the best, the most intimate feeling is when we speak Lithuanian. <...> When you want to say something really from the heart, it is only in Lithuanian, the most subtle feelings.* (Italy, W58, G1)

A young woman living in France also emphasizes that she only calls her children with Lithuanian diminutive names, not French, she associates it with her own childhood, with the deep emotions, “from the heart”, she only sings Lithuanian lullabies (example 4).

- (4) *R⁶: And in the beginning, when the first (child) was born, the first girl?*
P: Yes.
R: Did you speak Lithuanian?
P: Yes, all the time and all the diminutives. For instance, I cannot say some French names as diminutives. They come from deep inside, from the heart, from what I myself heard when I was little. I cannot say some diminutive names in French. To a baby, the lullabies were always in Lithuanian. Some kind of secret mother and child world. (France, W32, G1)

Self-perception that forms from childhood into adolescence creates the sense of identity and is later in life strongly associated with emotions. The aspect of the identity of the Lithuanian emigrants was studied based on the data of the Lithuanian diaspora research projects (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015, Vilkienė 2015, 2019, Ramonienė 2019b). These studies show that the attitude of the post-Soviet emigration wave towards Lithuania is heterogeneous (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015); it is strongly affected by emotions and related to emigration stories. Quite frequently Lithuanians of the current emigration wave prioritize the integration into the society of the new country rather than the maintenance of Lithuanian identity (Vilkienė 2019). However, when asked about how they feel when thinking about themselves, about their own identity (see Table 4), 72% of the G1 of the post-Soviet emigration wave state that they feel Lithuanian and only 4% identify themselves with the new country of residence. There is much less certainty, however, among the post-Soviet

⁶ R indicates researcher, and P participant.

G1+, that is young people who have moved to another country by the decision of the parents, and even though half of them (55%) still feel Lithuanian, this is the generation where quite a few consider themselves not to belong specifically to any country or even a continent as 13% of them declared to feel “world citizens”.

Table 4

	Declared identity of Lithuanian emigrants					
	Post-soviet		Earlier waves			
	G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3
Lithuanian	72%	55%	74%	61%	37%	24%
Half-Lithuanian and half another nationality	7%	15%	13%	27%	46%	40%
A person from a country where he / she lives most of his / her time	4%	5%	11%	6%	10%	15%
A person from a continent where he / she lives (e.g. European, American)	8%	9%	-	2%	4%	11%
A world citizen	8%	13%	3%	2%	2%	7%
Other:	0,1%	-	-	-	0,4%	0,7%
I do not know, it is hard to tell	2%	3%	-	2%	2%	2%

During the in-depth interviews, many study participants have expressed their emotional connection with Lithuania, even though they left the country by their own decision. A young woman living in Germany, when talking about her son’s identity, was worried that it would be very hard for her if her son renounced the Lithuanian identity (example 5):

- (5) *If the child said that he is a German, it would be terrible for me. Terrible. <...> both of us (with the husband) are Lithuanian and we love Lithuania, and if the child felt German, it would be very hard.* (Germany, W 35, G1)

When asked what country they consider their own, many participants emphasized that it is only Lithuania that they consider their true home (examples 6–8). Therefore, the identification with Lithuania as one’s own country is a clear characteristic of the participants of the study who belong to the most recent emigration wave.

- (6) *My country is only Lithuania. For me America is definitely not my country.* (USA, W45, G1)
- (7) *Home, my heart, my everything, my home is in Lithuania.* (Germany, W40, G1)
- (8) *My country is Lithuania. The country of my children is France.* (France, W32, G1)

From the data analysis it seems evident that considering the cognitive and affective dimensions, the attitudes towards Lithuania and the Lithuanian language are very positive. The beliefs have a strong affective aspect and all the emotions related to whatever is Lithuanian are the most favourable. However, the qualitative data seems to give insight that the post-Soviet G1 emigrants are strongly convinced and have positive attitudes about Lithuania themselves but might not be much concerned about educating their children in the same manner. The emigrants from the earlier waves, especially those who left Lithuania because of WWII, have made

a great and specific effort into the Lithuanian bringing up of their children, so much that the G1+ imitated this when educating their own offsprings (this is in a way echoed in the attitudes of G2 and G3). The following section will look into the declared language behaviour and see whether the positive attitudes seen in this section determine the language practice.

4. Uses of the Lithuanian language

4.1. General and personal use

Fishman's (1991) multi-generational model for language maintenance and shift shows how a language typically exists in emigration: the first generation emigrate knowing their own language and more or less acquire the language of the new environment, the second generation more or less acquire the home language and acquire the language of the environment well, while the third generation know the language of the environment well but rarely learn the heritage language. This is reflected in our data as first generation Lithuanian emigrants use Lithuanian in the country of their residence. Table 5 presents answers to the general question about Lithuanian language use in the country where they live. The data show that 90 percent of post-Soviet G1 (and 87% of earlier waves' G1) respondents affirm they use Lithuanian. The G1+ respondents from all the waves use Lithuanian in the country even more. And even if the G2 percentage is rather high (80%), an important decrease can be seen in the third generation (47%). Therefore, our data generally show the same tendency as stated by Fishman, however, the high percentage of use of Lithuanian in the country of residence by the G2 is most probably the effect of their efforts to maintain the Lithuanian heritage language for younger generations and thus a relatively high percent also among the G3.

Table 5

General use of Lithuanian in the country of residence					
Post-Soviet		Earlier waves			
G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3
90%	94%	87%	98%	80%	47%

The emigrants of the most recent wave are often not much detached from the life in Lithuania: they follow Lithuanian media, read books, etc. A big part of the post-Soviet G1 emigrants declare that they are interested in the life and culture of Lithuania (66%) and they identify themselves with Lithuanian history (80%). It is therefore not surprising that they affirm that they use not only the oral but also the written Lithuanian language (see Figure 1). The respondents declare that they often or at least sometimes read books (in total 95%), press (in total 91%), to write in Lithuanian (in total 98%), to browse the internet (in total 96%) in Lithuanian. The post-Soviet G1+ respondents' answers are slightly lower but also rather high in all of these activities. Among the earlier waves' emigrants, the G1 and G1+ respondents also use written Lithuanian to a high percent with the gradual decrease in G2 and G3. This, however, shows the G2 and G3 of the earlier waves have the competence to use written Lithuanian.

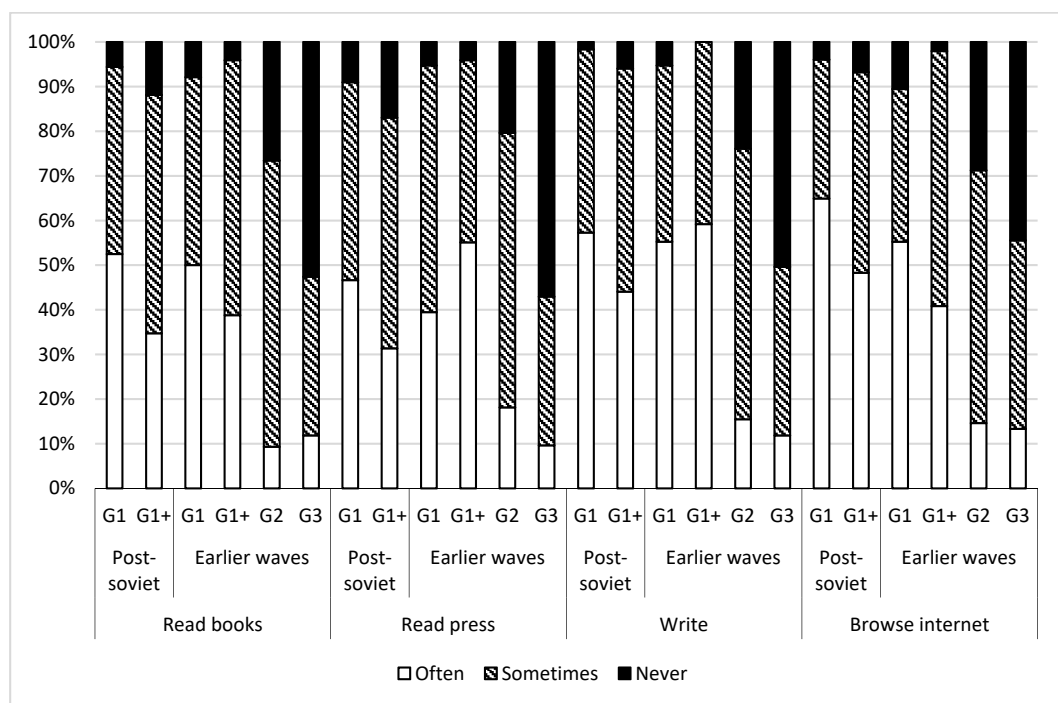


Figure 1. Use of written Lithuanian

Another important aspect of language use is the inner language of a person. It is quite natural that Lithuanian is the inner language of a regular post-Soviet G1 emigrant: 99% of them affirm that they think in Lithuanian, 98% state they count in Lithuanian. During the in-depth interviews, some emigrants who spend most of their time in the language of the immigration country said their primary language of thought is Lithuanian. One interviewed scholar, for example, who did not live in Lithuania for 12 years, who has worked in different foreign countries, who now lives in Germany and uses German or English at work, associates only Lithuanian with his own thinking and brain activity (example 9):

(9) R: *And in what language do you think?*

P: *I count in Lithuanian, I think in Lithuanian... it is, how to say, burned into the brain already.*

(Germany, M35, G1)

Another respondent living in Canada states that she is conscious of the fact that Lithuanian is the language of her dreams, the base of her thinking (example 10):

(10) P: *(Lithuanian for me is) the language of emotions, the language of tiredness, when the brain does not want to think anything anymore, because English for me is work, it is work for me.*

R: *So in what language do you think?*

P: *Well, it depends: I especially catch myself when I write. I write (in English) and then I realize that I am thinking in Lithuanian <...> Dream? Only in Lithuanian.* (Canada, W59, G1)

4.2. Use of Lithuanian in different domains

When analysing the use of Lithuanian in various domains, important differences can be seen in the data of different emigration generations. The order of the domains where Lithuanian is used differs the most when the post-Soviet emigrants are compared with the emigrants of the previous generations. If we look at the top three domains, we will see that the order and proportions indicated of the post-Soviet and the earlier waves' emigrants are quite different (see Table 6). For all post-Soviet emigrants, the most frequent domain of the Lithuanian language use is the home (77% for G1, 90% for G1+ respondents). For them the community is in the second place (60% for G1, 56% for G1+ respondents). The third place, however, differs for the post-Soviet G1 and G1+: use at work and with friends is equally distributed for the G1 (23%), while the G1+ use Lithuanian a lot in semi-public domains (cafes, shops etc., 22%).

Table 6

Use of Lithuanian in different domains⁷

	Post-soviet		Earlier waves			
	G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3
At home	77%	90%	70%	79%	71%	64%
At the hairdresser's, in cafes, shops, and other similar places	11%	22%	3%	4%	11%	6%
At work	23%	16%	18%	4%	8%	9%
At school, university	4%	10%	3%	2%	2%	5%
In the meetings of the Lithuanian community	60%	56%	76%	94%	90%	84%
In church	11%	16%	39%	44%	51%	41%
With friends	23%	11%	9%	44%	23%	13%

These domains come in different order according to the frequency of use by emigrants of the earlier waves. In the communication of all the generations, the heritage language is used firstly not at home but in the community (76–94%). The home domain is in the second place, where 64–79% of all the generations claim to use Lithuanian. The third place is occupied by a domain that does not appear in the top three of the post-Soviet wave domains, that is the church where 39–51% of the respondents from the earlier waves claim to use Lithuanian. In the following section, these top domains will be analysed separately.

4.2.1. Home domain

It is natural that the heritage language is used in the home domain of emigrants of the first generation. If both parents speak the same heritage language, the communication at home in that language is often chosen as the main or at least the desired communicative strategy (Pauwels 2016). This is confirmed by our data. Out

⁷ Multiple answers were possible, therefore the percentage indicates the part of total in that group.

of all Lithuanian emigrants surveyed, 50% confirmed they lived in mono-ethnic Lithuanian families. Therefore, the frequent use of Lithuanian in the home domain is not surprising.

However, to maintain a heritage language in a mixed family, when parents belong to a different ethnolinguistic group, especially where one parent is a speaker of the language of the immigration country, is much more difficult. According to our data, 67% of the G2 and as much as 86% of G3 emigrants of the previous emigration waves live in mixed families, therefore, they use less Lithuanian both in general and in their families. As can be seen in Table 6, 71% of G2 and 64% of G3 emigrants affirm they use Lithuanian at home and this is the second most popular domain they use Lithuanian in.

Nevertheless, it is worthwhile looking into the question of the Lithuanian language maintenance in G2 and G3's family language policy that has already been somewhat analysed. Previous studies found that quite a large part of the second wave of Lithuanian emigrants (Jakaitė-Bulbukienė 2015, Ramonienė 2019a, Vilkienė 2019), the WWII wave, had formed a rather successful family language policy and management. so that they were able to pass on the Lithuanian language to the younger generations, not only to the second but often also to the third or even the fourth generation. The desire to maintain the Lithuanian identity and Lithuanian language by the members of this emigration wave who called themselves not emigrants but war refugees and were hoping to come back to Lithuania soon, were very clear and strong. Many families of this emigration wave formed their home environment as completely Lithuanian, where only Lithuanian is spoken. This rather strict language management helped them to maintain the heritage language because, as our participants state, at home it was often forbidden to speak other languages than Lithuanian (example 11).

- (11) *In our house there was a very clear understanding, that not even a word here, it's Lithuania here. <...> when I came back home, the door closes and there is Lithuanian language here. Here is Lithuania, there is a Lithuanian flag and this is our territory and that's how we behave here.*
(USA, W68, G1+)

The interview data show that language maintenance for the emigrants of this generation is understood as an indispensable duty, as one G3 informant who lives in the USA puts it (example 12):

- (12) *(to maintain Lithuanian) becomes a kind of obligation. Because if I stop, what will happen? <...> I don't want to be the one that stops it in our family, you know. It's a responsibility almost, that you have to maintain...*
(USA, W45, G3)

During the in-depth interviews quite a few informants of G2 expressed gratitude to their parents for applying a strict language policy as a result of which they have maintained the Lithuanian language as an enormous gift (example 13):

- (13) *This is completely the merit of the parents (that I know Lithuanian well). <...> My parents' hand was strict. <...> when I finally realized, that all of this was really only because of their decision that the children will speak Lithuanian. <...> I really appreciate my parents, that they gave me the language as a gift. (USA, W63, G2)*

When analysing the data of the most recent post-soviet emigration wave, one can find a different attitude to passing on the Lithuanian language to the younger generations. In general, it seems that the Lithuanian language maintenance and passing it on to the children and grandchildren seems appealing as 92% of G1 respondents answered positively to the question *Would you like your future generations (children, grandchildren, etc.) to know Lithuanian language*. However, many of them expressed unwillingness to undertake an active, strict family language policy. Some participants also emphasized the fact that the problems of emigrant life in the new country do not allow to concentrate, to dedicate a lot of time, to engage in a specific way in teaching the heritage language to the children (examples 14, 15).

- (14) *You know, we did not take some drastic measures (to teach Lithuanian) <...> well that state when you emigrate to another country and you have to start a new life, there are so many simple things that we have to do here. (USA, W45, G1)*
- (15) *But somehow life goes on, there are so many things that need to be done, that sometimes things like thinking in what language should I speak to the child fall into the second... into the second place. (Canada, M35, G1)*

Sometimes they indicate that it is very important for children themselves to decide to learn Lithuanian, that they wouldn't be forced to learn Lithuanian, that it should not be made too stressful for children (example 16), and that life in emigration naturally forces the children to switch to the language of the country of residence (example 17). Knowing Lithuanian is sometimes valued more for pragmatic reasons, so that the children would know one more language to be able to communicate with grandparents and other relatives in Lithuanian, but not so much for maintaining the Lithuanian identity. In cases of unsuccessful attempts to teach their child Lithuanian or when seeing the unwillingness or passivity of the children, they often abandon their decision and switch to speaking to their children in the language of the country of residence (also see Hilbig 2020).

- (16) *It would be nice if they (children, grandchildren) knew Lithuanian, but yes, it's not important for me. <...> It would be nice. Because our family roots are somewhere in Lithuania <...> I want to allow my son to decide for himself what language should he learn because it's important for me that my son was a child, because nowadays the children are especially from the young age forced into schools, taught languages, loaded with stuff, that they don't have time to be children. (Germany, M39, G1)*

- (17) *What should one do if they (children) speak German to each other. We have talked about it (with the wife). And we still reached a conclusion that it is a natural thing, because we cannot change this in any way. Because we live here, they grow here, they communicate here, we cannot change them in some artificial manner, because they live not in Lithuania.* (Germany, M35, G1)

4.2.2. Community domain

According to the frequency of use of Lithuanian, the community has an important place in the lives of emigrants. Our survey data show that this domain is particularly important to earlier waves' G1+, G2 and G3 emigrants, where it occupies the first place according to the use of the heritage language and precedes home domain in importance. As presented in Table 6, 94% of G1+, 90% of G2 and 84% of G3 emigrants claim to use Lithuanian for communication in the community. It is important to emphasize once more that the most of the earlier waves' G1+, the G2 and G3 respondents who participated in the survey, are children and grandchildren of WWII refugees. The community had and still has a particularly important role in the life of the emigrants of this wave. This can be seen from the in-depth interviews where the informants of G2 and G3 spoke about a constant participation in some kind of Lithuanian activity now and since their childhood, where they used to spend time together with their parents, siblings and Lithuanian friends (examples 18, 19). This was the way to maintain Lithuanian identity, to expand the possibilities for the young generation to speak Lithuanian not only at home but also outside the home domain:

- (18) *I grew up in a very typical Lithuanian family. It means that there were Lithuanian activities during the whole week. Church on Sunday, school on Saturday, national dances on Thursday.* (Canada, W48, G2)
- (19) *We have so much here in Toronto: churches, and I work in a Lithuanian school now <...> and I sing in a choir. Almost everything that we do after work and on weekends is with the Lithuanian community.* (Canada, M31, G3)

The use of Lithuanian in the community by post-Soviet emigrants is also rather important but not as much as it is important for the emigrants of the earlier waves. As our survey data show, this domain is in the second position after the home domain, according to the frequency of use of the Lithuanian language for the post-Soviet wave. 60% of the surveyed G1 and 56% of G1+ respondents claim to use Lithuanian in the community.

However, it should be mentioned that the participation of the most recent emigrants in the activities of Lithuanian communities differs a lot from those in the previous emigration waves. The new emigrants are a lot less likely to join the life of the communities. Table 7 shows that post-Soviet G1 and G1+ emigrants participate by far less in the activities of the community, as compared to the emigrants of the earlier waves. There are only 11% of post-Soviet G1 (and 15% G1+) emigrants who state to actively participate in the activity of the

Lithuanian community in their country of residence, while for the generations of the earlier emigration waves this number is between 33 and 59%. A considerable part of the post-Soviet survey participants (16% G1 and 14% G1+) responded they do not want or do not feel the need to participate in the life of the Lithuanian community, while opinions of this type were not found at all in the earlier waves' G1+ and far less frequent in G2 (3%) and G3 (only 1%). Therefore, our data confirms the attitude towards community difference noted by others concerning the new post-Soviet emigration wave. Other diaspora generations had a strong characteristic of creating Lithuanian associations and participating in their activities. In the post-Soviet emigration wave, however, there are no evident tendencies of solidarity associations (Aleksandravičius 2013).

Table 7

Participation in the activities of Lithuanian communities

	Post-Soviet		Earlier waves			
	G1	G1+	G1	G1+	G2	G3
Yes, I am actively involved	11%	15%	34%	59%	45%	33%
I take part when I can, sometimes	36%	36%	34%	29%	35%	41%
I do not take part because the Lithuanian community is not very active	9%	12%	8%	4%	6%	13%
I do not take part because of objective reasons (it is too far, I do not have time, etc.)	28%	19%	13%	6%	11%	11%
I do not take part because I do not find it interesting or useful	16%	14%	8%	-	3%	1%
Other	1%	3%	3%	2%	1%	2%

However, one cannot make the claim that community activities or the communication in Lithuanian during these activities is completely foreign to Lithuanian emigrants of the current wave. Data of the in-depth interviews shows that the emigrants of the most recent wave join the previously established communities and Lithuanian schools not as often as G2 and G3 emigrants, but occasionally participate in the events (this can also be inferred from the 36% of post-Soviet G1 and G1+ who claim to participate sometimes, when they are able to), sometimes even establish new communities in countries that did not have communities previously (example 20), learn from the previous waves and organize new associations (example 21), create Facebook groups (example 22) where they feel to live a different – Lithuanian – life and thus satisfy their wish to communicate in Lithuanian (also see Gudavičienė 2019).

- (20) *I participate (in the activity of Oslo Lithuanian community). I also used to be on the board. <...> We used to organize, I sat in a jury for a few years, fine reading competitions and embassy events. (Norway, W46, G1)*
- (21) *Our friends are mostly Lithuanian, we have created a women's club, "Alatėja", we (speak) Lithuanian there. We practically live a double life. (USA, W45, G1)*
- (22) *We have created a group now. As I live in Lyon, so I created a Facebook group Lithuanians of Lyon, so we now, well, it works positively. At least to me personally, because I have someone to talk to. (France, W32, G1)*

4.2.3. Friendship domain

One more domain worth analysing when looking at the different waves of emigration is friendship, occupying the third place of communication in Lithuanian according to frequency among post-Soviet emigrants, together with the work domain. As presented in Table 6, as much as 44% of the WWII refugees' children generation use Lithuanian to talk to their friends, whereas 23% of both post-Soviet G1 and earlier waves' G2 respondents affirm to use Lithuanian when speaking to friends. The use of Lithuanian in these relationships among post-Soviet G1+ and G3 emigrants is much lower: only 11 and 13% respectively.

How can this use of Lithuanian in the friendship domain be explained? The same proportions of Lithuanian language use found in the lives of post-Soviet G1 and earlier waves' G2 emigrants seem to be determined by dissimilar and rather different reasons.

In general, emigrants of the first generation tend to bond with other Lithuanian speaking emigrants often because they feel a psychological discomfort when living in a foreign country. As perceived in the in-depth interviews, the emigrants of the most recent wave do not feel “at home” themselves in the new country (examples 23, 24) and seldom become friends with locals. Circles of new friends of the last emigration wave are forming in various countries, and people speak Lithuanian there. As much as 37% of the post-Soviet G1 (32% G1+) emigrants who participated in the survey stated their preference of Lithuanian speaking friends:

- (23) *No, here (in Canada) I do not belong. No way (I can be considered) as belonging here. <...> I will never belong here.* (Canada Mot 59, G1)
- (24) *I'm telling you, at the age of fifty coming here, to integrate here it was, it is difficult for me. And I go there (to Lithuania) and my soul sings there. Because here it still is foreign.* (USA, W65, G1)

The post-Soviet G1+ in the friendship domain seem to be more similar to the G3 than to other generations. It would seem the post-Soviet G1+, who emigrated by the decision of their parents, make an effort to integrate into the new environment as best as they can by making friends mostly with the local people.

The friendship domain can be seen from a slightly different perspective when looking at the G2 emigrants, where the communication in Lithuanian with friends is in the fourth position and constitutes a relatively large part of the entire communication in Lithuanian: 23%. The Lithuanian friendships of this generation are closely connected with the already mentioned Lithuanian communities and with the aspiration of the parents to educate their children to be Lithuanian. Especially the Second World War refugees took great care of Lithuanian friendships of their children because they understood that this can be the foundation for the formation of Lithuanian identity. They created social networks for their younger generation where they could form friendships that many maintained during their entire life. More than one emigrant has emphasized the significance of friendships in relation

to Lithuanian language maintenance, Lithuanian identity and personal psychological comfort (examples 25, 26, 27):

- (25) *Without Lithuanian friends I would be very lonely.* (USA, W65, G2)
- (26) *When I was growing up, that parish and all those friends: those scouts, those school friends – they were family. And our parents were all friends and the children were growing up together and they were friends. And now they are my family, they are godparents of children. And, you know, there is a community. If those were not there, it would be very bad. And maybe not because of the Lithuanian identity but maybe because of the soul of a human and how it grows. I think that Americans don't have such relationships that last since birth. You know, and we are Lithuanians. I know my friends from, you know, when we were three years old and we still have something to talk about, every day. It's like that because we are like family and we grew up together in the parish. I think that is very important. If there are some problems in life or if while you go through all those teenager years, you can be further away and take a bad road. You have this other support system, you have another group, where you can be accepted and looked after.* (USA, W45, G3)
- (27) *It is in those organizations where real friendships form, of the kind that last a lifetime.* (Canada, W66, G2)

4.2.4. Church domain

One more domain where the communication in Lithuanian by post-Soviet emigrants differ notably from emigrants of the earlier waves, is the church, which occupies the third place according to the frequency of use of Lithuanian in different domains in the life of earlier wave emigrants (Table 6). 44% of earlier wave G1+, 51% of G2 and 41% of G3 respondents affirm that they speak Lithuanian in church. This domain and usage of Lithuanian in church is far less important to the post-Soviet emigrants, only 11% G1 (16% G1+) state that they use Lithuanian language in church. More than in church they use Lithuanian with friends, at work, speak Lithuanian in shops and other service domains (11% for G1 and surprising 22% for G1+). From the interviews of G2 and G3 emigrants it can be understood that in their life the Lithuanian church is almost a synonym of the Lithuanian community. This is due to the fact that in the life of the communities of the previous Lithuanian emigration waves, the church and other Catholic organizations were a very important part, directly connected with the Lithuanian identity and its maintenance, as well as the use of the Lithuanian language (examples 28, 29), whereas the emigrants of the most recent post-Soviet emigration wave, having experienced a lot of atheist education in Soviet Lithuania, are far less participating in church life in general. This new wave emigrants' behaviour is noticed also by the emigrants of the previous waves (examples 30, 31). Therefore, it is natural that the church domain is a lot less associated with the Lithuanian language and its use for the emigrants of the post-Soviet emigration wave.

- (28) *The church was very important, it was like the centre, we would all meet there with our friends. And we would keep friends separately, those who were English friends, who were school friends, and then there were real friends, who were Lithuanian. And usually on weekends we would spend time only with Lithuanians.* (Canada, W66, G2)
- (29) *Our friends <...> are almost exclusively Lithuanian. And for now we are very attached to the parish, so we go there <...> forty miles one way.* (USA, W76, G1+)
- (30) *The church is not very important for them.* (USA, W65, G2)
- (31) *Now with the third-wavers I see different aspects. <...> Our teachers, for example, many of them are already from the third-wavers, and they manage to balance both lives very well, while others have disappeared without even passing by the parish. And I think that this is a lack of faith or even hatred towards the faith that pushes them away from the parish, from everything that has something in common with the parish <...> it seems to me that this hatred, that they are repelled by what is religious.* (USA, W68, G1+)

5. Discussion and conclusions

Summing up, the Lithuanian language is used by the majority (above 90%) of Lithuanians of the new emigration wave in various domains. They speak Lithuanian at home, in Lithuanian communities, with friends and elsewhere, they read, write, browse the internet in Lithuanian, and for many of them Lithuanian is their inner language in which they think, count and dream. However, when comparing this to emigrants from the previous emigration waves, a difference of use of Lithuanian can be noted in some domains. G2 and G3 Lithuanian emigrants usually speak Lithuanian in Lithuanian communities; the home domain is in the second place and the church, according to the frequency of use of Lithuanian, is in the third place. For Lithuanians of the post-Soviet emigration wave, the most frequent domain for the use of Lithuanian is home; the second domain is community, whereas work and friends are in the third position. The characteristics of the language behaviour of the new emigration wave are related to their minor tendency towards socialization, with the aspiration of the first emigration generation for quick integration to the society of the new country. Lithuanians of the post-Soviet emigration wave tend to support a less strict family language policy at home regarding their heritage language maintenance than political emigrants who left Lithuania at the end of WWII. Most of the post-Soviet emigrants would like their children and grandchildren to know Lithuanian, but they are less likely to put a lot of effort into the maintenance of the Lithuanian language and identity, as compared to the emigrants of the previous wave. The new emigrants have different priorities for their emigrant life: to become stable in the new country, to create a comfortable, easier, good life for the children, aspects exactly characteristic of the emigrants of economic nature.

Having analysed the cognitive and affective dimensions of language attitudes of the post-Soviet emigrants, we can state that both beliefs and language-related

emotions regarding Lithuanian are very positive; in this respect this emigration wave does not differ much from the earlier waves. Steadfast beliefs about the value of the Lithuanian language itself and the bond with Lithuanian history is shared by all those of Lithuanian descent. For most of the new wave emigrants, Lithuania remains their own country, emotionally closer than the new country that has accepted them, and the Lithuanian language remains the dearest, the most precious language.

The focus of our attention and the major difference is found in the behavioural dimension. The positive cognitive and affective components of attitudes do not seem to have a sufficiently strong effect on the declared behaviour. Even in the overt expression of attitudes they declare different priorities, and the economic and everyday well-being is put in the first place. They do use the Lithuanian language in situations where it is more convenient for them to use it, like in mono-ethnic families, among friends, reading books, etc. However, maintaining the heritage language is not considered a priority as soon as difficulties arise and when effort is needed to overcome them.

Emigrants from the earlier emigration waves, especially the second wave who left Lithuania due to political reasons, consciously did not only create the Lithuanian environment at home but also founded communities and were devoted to the commitment of maintaining the Lithuanian language and identity. They went to great lengths in order to provide a varied language input in different domains for their children and persevered it in their priorities. The post-Soviet emigrants, on the other hand, do not seem to fully understand the importance of their own behaviour and efforts (or absence thereof) regarding the maintenance of the heritage language in the next generations. They do not sufficiently take advantage of community life as a context for developing better language skills and competences for language use outside the private sphere. They value pragmatic aspects such as communicating with the grandparents or simply an additional language, but do not value language as a core component of ethnic identity.

A point of discussion and direction of further research could be the comparison of the most recent emigration wave with the emigration from Lithuania in 1918–1939. During that period, many Lithuanians went to different countries, quite a few to South America, for economic reasons. They made an effort to quickly integrate into the society of their host countries. Even though they spoke Lithuanian at home and in Lithuanian communities, they wanted their younger generation to quickly learn the local languages (Aleksandravičius 2013, Ramonienė 2019c) and put less effort into the maintenance of the Lithuanian language. Reasons narrated by their descendants are similar to those indicated by the post-Soviet G1s. Currently in most of the Lithuanian communities of that pre-WWII wave of emigration, in Lithuanian families (in Argentina for example), the Lithuanian identity is still maintained, but the intergenerational passing on of the Lithuanian language to the younger generations is discontinued, i.e. the third generation does not know Lithuanian anymore. Naturally, the 21st century provides different possibilities, compared to those a hundred years ago, to maintain connections with the native

country, with Lithuanian-speaking relatives and friends who live in various places of the world. However, the parallel with a rather similar kind of emigration and its linguistic behaviour makes us think that a similar outcome may await the emigrants of the most recent emigration wave.

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Article history:

Received: 20 May 2021

Accepted: 19 October 2021

Bionotes:

Meilutė RAMONIENĖ is a Professor and Director of the Institute of Applied Linguistics at Vilnius University. Her research interests include applied linguistics, sociolinguistics, and teaching Lithuanian as a second language. She is the editor-in-chief of the research journal “Taikomoji kalbotyra”.

Contact information:

Universiteto St 5, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lithuania

e-mail: meilute.ramoniene@flf.vu.lt

ORCID: 0000-0003-4182-4332

Jogilė Teresa RAMONAITĖ is a fellow researcher at the Institute of the Lithuanian language. Her research interests include psycholinguistics, second language acquisition, and sociolinguistics.

Contact information:

The Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Department of Sociolinguistics, P. Vileišio st. 5, LT-10308, Vilnius, Lithuania

e-mail: jogileteresa@sociolingvistika.lt

ORCID: 0000-0002-2988-5194

Сведения об авторах:

Мейлуте РАМОНЕНЕ – профессор и директор Института прикладной лингвистики Вильнюсского университета. Сферы научных интересов: прикладная лингвистика, социолингвистика, обучение литовскому языку как неродному. М. Рамонене является главным редактором научного журнала “Taikomoji kalbotyra”.

Контактная информация:

Universiteto St 5, LT-01513 Vilnius, Lithuania

e-mail: meilute.ramoniene@flf.vu.lt

ORCID: 0000-0003-4182-4332

Йогиле Тереса РАМОНАЙТЕ – научный сотрудник Института литовского языка. Сферы ее научных интересов: психолингвистика, усвоение второго языка, социолингвистика.

Контактная информация:

The Institute of the Lithuanian Language, Department of Sociolinguistics, P. Vileišio st. 5, LT-10308, Vilnius, Lithuania

e-mail: jogileteresa@sociolingvistika.lt

ORCID: 0000-0002-2988-5194



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1047-1070>

Research article

Family language policy in Russian-Estonian and Russian-Spanish multilingual settings

Olga IVANOVA¹ and Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA²

¹University of Salamanca
Salamanca, Spain

²Tallinn University
Tallinn, Estonia

Abstract

This paper primarily focuses on the family language policy of bilingual Russian-Estonian and Russian-Spanish families in relation to the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language. Its main objective is to identify social factors that either help or hinder this process. In doing so, this paper searches for commonalities and specificities of the mainstream attitudes towards Russian as a heritage language in Estonia and Spain, by analysing the sociolinguistic situation of Russian in both countries and by examining the factors conditioning the maintenance of Russian as a heritage language in family settings. Our research is based on an in-depth analysis of a variety of sources, mainly quantitative statistical and demographic data on self-reported language behaviour and language ideologies in mixed families from Estonia (n = 40) and Spain (n = 40). The main results of our comparative study confirm the general positive attitude towards Russian as a heritage language, but they also highlight an important variability of these attitudes both between countries and within each community. We show that these attitudes directly determine the principles of family language policy, the parents' strategies to transmit Russian as a heritage language, and the level of proficiency in Russian as a heritage language in the second generation. These results allow us to conclude that, as a heritage language, Russian relies on strong attitudinal support in even small communities, like Estonian or Spanish, but also that its confident transmission should rely on external subsidy.

Keywords: *Russian, heritage language, bilingualism, language management, Estonia, Spain*

For citation:

Ivanova, Olga & Anastassia Zabrodskaia. 2021. Family language policy in Russian-Estonian and Russian-Spanish multilingual settings. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1047–1070. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1047-1070>

Семейная языковая политика в русско-эстонской и русско-испанской многоязычной среде

Ольга ИВАНОВА¹, Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ²

¹Университет Саламанки
Саламанка, Испания

²Таллинский университет
Таллин, Эстония

Аннотация

В данной статье основное внимание уделяется языковой политике, которой придерживаются двуязычные русско-эстонские и русско-испанские семьи по отношению к сохранению русского языка как унаследованного. Основная цель статьи – определить социальные факторы, которые либо помогают, либо препятствуют этому процессу. Данная статья рассматривает общие черты и специфику глобальных отношений к русскому языку как унаследованному в Эстонии и Испании на основе анализа социолингвистической ситуации русского языка в обеих странах и исследования факторов, которые способствуют поддержке русского языка как унаследованного в семьях. Это исследование основано на глубоком анализе различных источников, включая количественные статистические и демографические данные о самооценке языкового поведения и языковых идеологий в смешанных семьях Эстонии (n = 40) и Испании (n = 40). Основные результаты этого сравнительного исследования подтверждают общее положительное отношение к русскому языку как унаследованному, но они также подчеркивают его значительную вариативность как между странами так и внутри каждого сообщества. Мы указываем на то, как это отношение напрямую влияет на семейную языковую политику, родительские стратегии в передаче русского языка как унаследованного, а также на уровень владения русским языком как унаследованным во втором поколении. Эти результаты дают нам возможность заключить, что русский язык как унаследованный полагается на значительную эмоциональную поддержку даже в таких маленьких сообществах как эстонская и испанская, а также что для его успешного поддержания необходимы внешние субсидии.

Ключевые слова: русский язык, «эритажный» (унаследованный) язык, двуязычие, управление языками, Эстония, Испания

Для цитирования:

Ivanova O., Zabrodskaia A. Family language policy in Russian-Estonian and Russian-Spanish multilingual settings. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 1047–1070. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1047-1070>

1. Introduction

Since the dissolution of the USSR in 1991, more than seven and a half million people emigrated from the former Soviet republics in search of better social and economic opportunities. A significant number of ex-Soviet expatriates settled in Europe. Germany and Israel – historical destinations for citizens from the former USSR – again became the main centres of attraction during the 1990s, and Southern European countries, such as Italy and Spain, attracted more professional and economic migration from the 2000s on (Denisenko 2020).

As a result, new areas of Russian as a heritage language (RHL) have formed in different parts of the world. Besides the traditional milieux, Russian is becoming

increasingly common in new settlement sites, where Russophone diaspora opted to maintain Russian because of its role as a lingua franca for Russian-speakers from former Soviet countries (Maximova et al. 2018, Pavlenko 2006, Pencheva 2017), its intense commodification (Muth 2017) and its extension to professional areas, like health-care (Suryanarayan 2017). Presently, the number of Russian-speakers, both native and non-native, living outside Russia is almost equal to speakers living in the *homeland* (Aref'ev 2014, Ryazanova-Clarke 2014). However, there are still many socio-political settings in Europe where Russian is widely used but where its situation is also shifting, uncertain or unstudied. Divergences among post-Soviet states are sometimes huge (for a global overview, see Pavlenko 2013), and some national situations are still undergoing major sociolinguistic changes. In the Baltic countries, post-Soviet languages policies of the early 1990s shaped a new social modality for the Russophone population: over the course of three decades, Russian changed from being the dominant official to being a foreign language. These thirty years have given Estonia (as well as Latvia and Lithuania) the first generation of residents who learnt Russian as a native (or one of the first) language/s under its official status as foreign.

In addition, Russian is emerging as a diaspora language in some European countries where it has not previously had an important presence but where the number of Russian-speakers has been steadily increasing. Russophones arrive for different reasons, and in some cases, they will to uproot themselves from their original culture. This is frequent among Russophones in Spain, where more than 70,000 Russians (not counting Russophones from other ex-Soviet states) has settled since 2000 in different parts of the country. At present, a large number of Spanish Russophones intermarried with Spaniards and are raising children with RHL.

In this paper, we focus on these two countries – Estonia and Spain – which represent the challenging socio-political cases described above. Our aim is to understand the principles of family language management in intermarriages in these countries and, consequently, to offer an outline of the vitality, functionality and ideological value of Russian in these *under-determined* sociolinguistic milieu. We define both of them as ‘under-determined’ for not endorsing the acquisition and use of Russian, but leaving the decision to family agents. In line with previous research (Lanza 2007), we maintain that family language policy, management and attitudes greatly influence the process of heritage language maintenance, reflecting the ideological and social position of parents on their languages (King et al. 2008).

Concerning heritage language transmission, family language policy is closely linked to parental language everyday language management activities (Schwarz 2008). In intermarriages, family language policy plays a very important role in regulating its continuity and even social vitality (Pillai et al. 2014). Making decisions regarding home language policy may become challenging for transnational families, specifically when they have to “choose” which of the languages will fulfil which role within and outside the family setting (Hirsch & Lee 2018). In this research, based on the classic Spolsky (2012) model of family

language policy as a conglomerate of ideologies, management and practices, we ask which social factors determine the degree of vitality of RHL in different diaspora settings and why in apparently similar social circumstances the maintenance and transmission of RHL may differ greatly. The sociolinguistic settings we analyze are *under-determined*: in both Estonia and Spain, Russophones are left to their own devices in deciding whether to maintain RHL with their children. We should emphasise that the situations compared in this study are not chosen randomly. As sociolinguistic settings where the presence of RHL is notable, despite their vast differences, Estonia and Spain share common social and political traits. In this sense, the present study provides a novel contrastive perspective on family language policy in two partially similar and partially dissimilar sociolinguistic settings. Previous information on contrasts between Estonia and Spain can only be found in studies conducted by Laitin (1992) and Branchadell (2011) comparing issues of language normalisation and the policy regarding Russian and Spanish in Estonia and Catalonia, respectively. To our knowledge, no previous research has been conducted regarding the sociolinguistic situation of RHL in these two countries, though such a contrastive study could provide interesting data on the vitality of RHL as shown in related works, for example Karpava, Ringblom & Zabrodsckaja (2018, 2019, 2020, 2021). As a result, the present research will contribute to the growing but still scarce research on RHL, especially in Europe.

2. Russian as a heritage language in Estonia and Spain: similarities and differences

The presence of RHL in Estonia and Spain is defined by several common characteristics that allow for inter-country comparison. However, there are also some sociolinguistic differences, which allow for interesting contrasts of the roles and values of RHL in small communities.

Let us start by defining Estonia and Spain as geopolitical milieus for RHL development. In both, there is an intra-continental relationship with the country of origin of Russian-speaking migrants, which is favourable for maintaining close and frequent links with the motherland. In the case of Estonia, there is a direct border with Russia that connects Estonian and Russian languages and cultures, and this eases the transmission of linguistic and cultural heritage values (see Karpava et al. 2020). However, in Spain, Russian-speaking host countries (if we assume that some post-Soviet nationals are Russian-speaking and bilingual in their national language and Russian) are more than 3000 kilometres away, which prevents continuous and direct contact. This fact influences the way in which Russian-speaking communities in both countries reinforce ties with the Russian language through homeland trips and direct contact with Russian-speaking communities in nearby countries (e.g., Karpava et al. 2020). Previous studies (see, for example, García 2003, for a review) highlighted the possible impact of geographical distance from the homeland on heritage language transmission.

In Spain, trips to the homeland are costly and time-consuming in comparison with Estonia, and only well-to-do families can afford annual home visits. The

Russian language is definitely a minority language in both Estonia and Spain, although this subordinate role differs in terms of the relationship with the official language. In Estonia, Russian does not have a classic minority-majority relationship with Estonian: its historical presence in Estonia during the second part of the 20th century as a language of interethnic communication determined that even today there are many L1 speakers of Russian despite the one-official-language policy. In Spain, Russian is just one of the immigrant languages, on a par with Arabic, Romanian, Ukrainian, Polish and Portuguese. In this sense, the relationship between Russian and Spanish in Spain follows a classic model of minority-majority languages. In any case, Russian in Estonia and Spain has the same status as a foreign language.

As for language legislation, Estonia and Spain have both similar and different ways of treating immigrant languages. In both countries, there is only one state language: Estonian and Spanish respectively, though the Spanish Constitution recognises two official languages in bilingual regions of the country. English is an L2 language in both Estonia and Spain, although it is used in different ways. Many Estonians, especially younger ones, speak English fluently; though in Spain knowing English is almost fully limited to the youngest generation. This is crucial for understanding family language policies in intermarriages: in the case of Spain, few mixed families can rely on English as a family *lingua franca* and this strengthens the position of Spanish as the main means of communication.

2.1. Russian in Estonia: historical and sociolinguistic background

Since the break-up of the USSR in 1991, there have been multiple sociolinguistic changes related to the *de facto* and *de jure* status of the Russian language. Estonian was declared the only official language again (as it was during the first period of independence, in 1918–1940), and the goal was set to promote bilingualism amongst the Russian-speaking communities living in Estonia. For this reason, the post-Soviet urban socio-cultural-linguistic environment has attracted scholarly interest “as a contested linguistic space, where emotional exchanges over language-related issues are fodder for the daily news” (Pavlenko 2008: 275). However, as large-scale survey research showed (Ehala & Zabrodskaja 2013), the picture of a strict division of the Estonian society along ethnolinguistic lines is an oversimplification. Russian-speakers do not form a single unitary category with a uniform value system and attitudes but show different tendencies about culture and language maintenance or assimilation. Thus, the integration of the Russian-speaking population in Estonia varies from full integration to a complete lack of integration, and the sociolinguistic background itself is quite uneven.

There is a great deal of sociolinguistic research on the Russian-speakers of Estonia (Kemppainen et al. 2004, Verschik 2005, Adamson & Tshuikina 2015, Karpava et al. 2018, to mention just a few). Much of what is known about them is that Russian-speakers are in a socially subordinate position as speakers of a minority language in Estonia. Estonian Russian-speakers cannot be considered a

typical minority group due to socio-historical factors. But this is not a typical postcolonial setting either: their language has not retained the powerful position that, for example, French and English have retained in much of present-day Africa or India.

Russian was the dominant language of a number of different ethnicities in the territory of the Soviet Union who settled in Estonia during the Soviet period. As their common identity is constructed mainly by means of the Russian language, these groups might be called Russian-speaking communities without distinguishing their different ethnic backgrounds. Most of them had to adapt to the Estonian post-independence language policy, which requires certified proficiency in the Estonian language in order to be hired for certain jobs and to participate fully in the socio-political life of the country, which has systematically led to the formation of individual bilingualism in the Russian community.

As of January 2021, the population of Russians in Estonia was estimated at 320,000, which is 24% of the total population (1.3 million people). According to the Population and Housing Census (2011), there are representatives of 192 ethnic nationalities living in Estonia and 157 languages are spoken as mother tongues. The same census also showed that the share of Russian-speakers is 29.6%. This means that there are other ethnicities that use Russian as their first language. This is why it would be more accurate to use the term ‘Russian-speaker,’ rather than ‘Russian.’ As Laitin (1998) noted, the “Russian-speaking population” is a sub-identity of Russians, not a new category of identity in post-Soviet Estonia.

The sizeable Russian-speaking population of Estonia lives very compactly: only 20% live in majority Estonian-speaking areas. Almost half of the Russian-speaking population lives in Tallinn and a third in Ida-Viru County, a region that is economically weaker than the country as a whole. Here, the density of the Russian-speaking population is extremely high.

Estonia offers Russian-language instruction in basic schools; secondary education must be at least 60% in the Estonian language. The local Russian-language cultural life and media are fairly poor in comparison with Russia’s. A strong factor is that families, whether only Russian-speaking or Russian-Estonian bilingual, maintain close (family, cultural and economic) ties with Russia, and this impacts the ethnic, cultural and linguistic identities of Russian-speaking family members and children.

Russian-speaking people live in a bilingual society in Estonia, where Estonian is the dominant and prestigious language. In fact, to get Estonian citizenship, among other requirements, one must pass an Estonian language proficiency examination and an examination of knowledge of the Constitution of the Republic of Estonia and the Citizenship Act. This influences parental decisions about educational trajectories, especially when considering that the Estonian language proficiency examination is not required if a person has acquired basic, secondary or higher education in Estonian.

Estonia is not a destination for significant transnational migration currently: still, globalisation has increased the importance of English for the Estonian-

speaking and Russian-speaking populations. In general, in Estonian society Russian is still associated with Soviet occupation (Best 2013), although at the beginning of the 21st century Russian was still the preferred language for interethnic contacts in Estonia and was the main language of information in the sphere of Russian-speakers, who built their identities with Russian in mind (Siiner 2006: 162).

2.2. Russian in Spain: a recent story

Russian arrived in Spain at the end of the 20th century because of massive migration from ex-Soviet countries to the West. During the 1960s and 1970s, Spain was a country of emigrants (Babiano & Farré 2002), but from the late 1980s on Spain began receiving immigrants (Corkill 2001). Currently, Spain is one of the most important magnets for CIS immigrants in Europe (Denisenko 2020: 118).

Unlike the Baltic countries, Mediterranean states attracted post-Soviet immigration for three main reasons: an easy-to-merge-into labour market, even after the financial crisis of 2008; a favourable climate; and a social environment usually open and friendly to foreigners. Even in 2020, despite the world health crisis, many people from the CIS still settled in Spain. Among the top host states for immigrants, Mediterranean countries are not only attractive for their climate and favourable labour markets but also for their relaxed immigration policies, initiated in the 1990s (Leifsen & Tymczuk 2012) and characterised by frequent regularisation waves (Alted 2006), as well as for ease of integration into the open-minded Spanish society.

In Spain, immigrants from Russia now number approximately 78,000, which is 75,500 more than in 1998 (official data provided by the Spanish National Institute for Statistics), i.e. the number of Russian migrants has grown by a factor of 30 in 21 years. This situation places Spain among countries with low rates of Russian native speakers – the Russophone diaspora is not on the list of the biggest immigrant communities given in Alted (2006) – compared to such countries as the USA, Israel and Finland.

It is, however, necessary to consider two factors to understand the size of the presence of Russian in Spain. First, not only immigrants from Russia use the Russian language; many immigrants from other East European and even Asian CIS states are users of Russian as L1 (not to mention those who use it as an L2 for interethnic communication). For this reason, it is difficult to estimate how many Russian-speakers live in Spain, since there is no data on how many immigrants from other CIS countries use Russian in their everyday life. Finally, the official data on immigrants only include those legally established in Spain and do not take into account speakers who reside illegally.

Migration reasons are key social factors in explaining the levels of RHL in Spain. Russian is definitely a heritage language there, if we consider its definition by Scontas, Fuchs & Polinsky (2015) as a language spoken uniquely at home, whereas the community itself speaks another, dominant language, both being learnt since early childhood, either simultaneously or sequentially but with a short time

difference between them. What makes Russian a heritage language in Spain involves several characteristics defined in literature, such as its local sociolinguistic status and its condition as a minority language, in the sense that it is learnt at home as opposed to in society (Montrul 2016: 15–16).

The opportunity to maintain Russian in Spain is heterogeneous, uneven and, generally, limited. There are several non-official schools of Russian language and culture for immigrants in different parts of Spain, which were created and are led by associations or alliances of ex-pats. Their presence is dominant on the eastern shore and in the large urban areas, where CIS immigrants are concentrated. Thus, families isolated from CIS immigrant centres usually do not have opportunities to provide their children with Russian language instruction outside the family setting. In addition, natural exposure to the Russian language is very limited¹.

Despite the major reorganisation of language attitudes and preferences in CIS countries, most of the post-Soviet community in Spain still uses Russian as a *lingua franca*, with many asymmetric bilinguals in the diaspora. For many of them, Russian was a minority language in their native countries, but currently many immigrants use it as the main linguistic means.

Within the community, one of the factors affecting the maintenance of Russian is the practical absence of any other means to communicate with new in-laws: Spanish people, especially those over 40, are rarely proficient in any other language than Spanish. Many immigrants acquire Spanish so easily and quickly that they decide (only somewhat voluntarily) to become Spanish-speakers, inhibiting the maintenance of Russian. Definitely, this situation creates specific sociolinguistic conditions for the maintenance of RHL in Spain. One of the most outstanding features of this situation is that, although first-generation speakers frequently rely on intense contact with a Russian-speaking network, second-generation speakers usually do not have much exposure to Russian in their everyday social communication.

3. Methodological considerations

Language practices are directed by attitudes and ideologies about the social value of languages, and heritage language transmission is a good example of this bottom-up process. Actually, attitudes to languages in contact between minority (heritage) and majority groups, from both the in-group and the out-group, can have an extensive effect on heritage language maintenance and shift (Jenkins 2018).

¹ Only three Spanish universities – in Madrid, Granada and Barcelona – offer official degrees in Slavic Philology (Guzmán Tirado 2017), although many university language centres offer courses in Russian for adults, mainly students and teachers. Among Spanish official schools of languages which admit students over 14 years old, only a few offer courses in Russian from level A1 to level B2. The Embassy of the Russian Federation in Madrid runs a comprehensive school offering primary and secondary education that follows Russian language legislation, but the total number of pupils in the last school year was only 88.

In Estonia and in most parts of Spain (excluding bilingual communities), mixed families with Russian members typically use the majority language – Estonian and Spanish, respectively – and Russian. In order to understand language management in intermarriages in both countries, we conducted parallel fieldwork studies aimed at understanding which social factors shape positive and negative attitudes towards the maintenance of RHL. We applied a quantitative approach based on a questionnaire with both closed and open questions, the content of which was similar to standard inquiries in heritage language studies for immigrant parents (see, for example, Nesteruk's (2010) study of East European immigrants in the USA). The originality of our approach consists of applying similar protocols in two different countries, Estonia and Spain, and collecting comparable data from these two sociolinguistic milieus.

In our study, we do not consider gender differences, income or socioeconomic status information. In addition, the complexities connected with the term 'ethnicity' did not permit the collection of data on ethnic origin: we decided to talk about our study participants as self-reported Russian-speakers, or Russophones. These factors may partly bias the results. In the analysis of data proceeding from the fieldwork, we will use De Houwer's (1999) model combining language ideology, use and development: we thus will analyse the relationship between language practices in the home, parents' attitudes towards RHL maintenance and transmission, and perceived proficiency in RHL. Although we admit that a more qualitative approach would provide us with a deeper and more detailed perspective on language attitudes and practices in migrant families, the scope of the present paper is limited to quantitative data on overt attitudes and ideologies.

3.1. Russian as a heritage language in mixed families in Estonia: the present study in context

As described above, Russian has had a long history in Estonia and most Russian-speakers are not recent immigrants but have lived in Estonia their whole lives. Studies on the Russian language and culture in Estonia showed that in the last three decades Russian has assumed a new sociolinguistic position because of political changes and changes in the attitudes of Estonian society. Now, Russian has a lower status than Estonian does, and this creates a feeling of belonging to a language minority group among its speakers (Kemppainen et al. 2004). Intermarriages between ethnic Estonians and Russian-speakers are not frequent (Best 2013). However, many opt to live in common law marriages. This is why many mixed families remain invisible or unreachable for research without the use of a strong social network or a skilled implementation of snowball sampling.

In their recent comparative research, Karpava et al. (2018) found that Russian-speaking members of mixed families in Estonia usually had bilingual Russian-Estonian language identity, used Estonian at home more than Russian and, importantly, did not always use RHL with their children. They concluded that Estonia did not favour the maintenance of Russian as a minority language because

of the general negative attitude to Russia, which meant that L1 Russian-speaking parents experienced higher rates of social negativity. As a result, only half of the children from mixed marriages in Estonia spoke and understood Russian, and only a quarter of them could read and write Russian, while most Russian-speaking population felt discriminated against for their language use.

In the present study, the families had children who attended kindergartens and/or schools with Estonian as the language of instruction or were in Estonian-language immersion programmes². As the Spanish sample consists of 97% females, in Estonia a total of 40 Russian-speaking mothers were chosen from those who answered semi-structured questions about their social and sociolinguistic characteristics and open-ended questions regarding language use, transmission and maintenance, as well as attitudes to all of these processes in their families. The average age of the participants was 38, with $SD = 6.8$; all 40 participants were women who lived in different parts of Estonia, including such bilingual regions as Tallinn and Maardu, and the mainly Russian-speaking north-east. The participants were all born in Estonia. Most families had one or two children of very different ages: from eight months to 25 years old.

The ethnographic approach posed some limitations on the current study, as mainly females were chosen, but the parents were unique individuals and, as such, they often deviated in their “impact beliefs” (De Houwer 1999), which may have influenced RHL transmission. This study lacks statistical representation, as it is based on the ideologies, understandings and attitudes of the female respondents, which, in a practical sense, are difficult to measure.

3.2. Russian as a heritage language in mixed families in Spain: the present study in context

As one of the foreign languages, Russian has an added sociolinguistic value in Spain because of its extended use as a *lingua franca* among ex-pats from different ex-Soviet countries. Very few sociolinguistic studies were conducted on the status of RHL in Spain. Vorobeva and Bel (2017) analysed the relationship between the use of Russian L1 in home settings in trilingual Catalan-Spanish-Russian children of immigrants and found that the proportion of L1 input and use had a direct influence on the proficiency in RHL. Ivanova (2019) conducted a study on the effects of cognitive and affective factors on the subjective RHL proficiency level in second-generation Russophone immigrants in a small town in central Spain and found that positive self-identification and attitudes of Russophone parents directly influenced the level of proficiency in RHL.

² It must be added that Estonian education has become increasingly diverse, especially during the past decade, because of the admission of pupils from both Russian-speaking families and Estonian-Russian bilingual families (in addition, children from new immigrant families may enter schools without any or with very little knowledge of Estonian or Russian). These factors contribute to the creation of cultural and linguistic diversity in 21st-century Estonian schools.

Forty Russian-speaking parents answered 15 questions concerning their social and sociolinguistic characteristics and, in more detail, questions concerning language use, transmission and maintenance, and attitudes to all these processes, in their families. The items included in the questionnaire were aimed at collecting data on family language policy, contextual language maintenance and perceived language proficiency for both first-generation and second-generation speakers. In this respect, the study is similar to previous methodological designs on heritage language management and acquisition in bilingual families (for example, Altman et al. 2013 for Russian-Hebrew bilingual families in Israel).

The average age of participants was 39, with $SD=6.97$; 39 of the 40 participants were women (97.5%); they lived in different parts of Spain, including such bilingual regions as Catalonia, Valencia, the Basque region and the Balearic Isles. Participants had lived an average of 11 years in Spain, though the range was wide: from 2 to 23 years ($SD=5.84$). Most families had one or two children of very different ages: from six months to 22 years old.

4. A comparison of Russian as a heritage language transmission in Estonia and Spain

4.1. Family language policies in mixed families

Most mixed families in Spain had only one Russian-speaking parent member: 67.5% of participants said that their partners had no competence in Russian (some defined it as *A0 Russian*, imitating the well-known language proficiency CEFR scale with levels from A1 to C2). Such a situation did not apparently impede the application of the one parent–one language family policy, which is considered to be particularly effective for promoting active bilingualism when one language is minority and has little social support (Takeuchi 2006). The rest of the sample was distributed as follows: 15% of the partners had basic skills in Russian, 7.5% had intermediate proficiency, and 10% were native speakers of Russian. In general, these data clearly showed the tendency of the Spanish partners not to learn the language of their Russophone spouses. In contrast, most Russian-speaking spouses declared themselves “coordinate bilinguals” in Russian and Spanish (42.5% of the participants selected the option *I know Russian and Spanish equally well*) and “asymmetric bilinguals” with better proficiency in Russian (55% selected the option *I know Russian better than Spanish*). In general, the Russophone immigrants do not find it difficult to learn Spanish (Marcu 2010), even though they do not know a word when they arrive in Spain.

It was quite a challenge to determine who were Russian-speakers and who were Russian-Estonian bilingual speakers based on their linguistic and cultural backgrounds, which we collected throughout the Estonian regions. It was not always easy to establish who did or did not fulfil the criteria. Firstly, all Russian-speaking respondents had quite proficient command of Estonian because they were originally from Estonia, had graduated from the Estonian (higher) educational system, worked or had worked (if at the time of the study they were at home with

child(ren)) in Estonian language environments and communicated in Estonian both at work and in their daily social lives. Secondly, individuals had their own self-identifications and often felt that they were more “Russian-speaking Estonians” or “Estonian Russians” than “Russians” or “Russian-speakers”. What all families had in common was that Russian was at least one of the heritage languages of the mother. Living in Estonia, these parents did not experience any language barriers when there was a need to be socially involved or politically informed.

We predicted that these backgrounds would both reflect on and influence the attitudes towards RHL maintenance and transmission, significantly determining family language policies. Spanish Russophone spouses are the language bridge in the mixed families, since they learn Spanish and so assure in-family communication. Simultaneously, they maintain their proficiency in Russian as their native language and potentially can transmit it to their children. Actually, dominant language practices within the mixed families confirm this prediction: Russian and Spanish are both substantially present in family communications, but their agents and purposes are different. At the same time in Estonia, mothers have not only Russian as a mother tongue but are Russian-Estonian bilinguals or very advanced in Estonian and the fathers also identify themselves with both Estonian and Russian (to at least some extent). The data obtained from interviews and observation confirm that this leads to spontaneous translanguaging (i.e. use of both Estonian and Russian interchangeably and without any inner conflict) during in-family communication (Karpava et al. 2019, 2021).

As for the language-commitment of the Russophone spouses in Spanish families, 40% declare that they use Russian with children and 7.5% state they *exclusively* used Russian with their children. The other participants either do not specify the language/s they used with their children or clearly say that Russian is not the only language they use with their children. In the first case, accounting for 22.5%, we can only assume that Russian is used in the family settings, but we cannot claim that it is used as the only language with children. In Russian-Spanish families, the one parent–one language policy is the best approach; otherwise, Spanish would definitely hinder the functionality and generation transmission of RHL. Consequently, from the given data we can be sure that only half of the Russophone parents use the one parent–one language policy, while approximately a quarter of the parents use family language policies with various distributions of Russian and Spanish.

In Estonia, Russian is used in 57.5% of cases and Estonian in 77.5%. This again shows the chosen attitude towards language use: mixed families try to remain bilingual but under the influence of the larger societal process in Estonian-dominant speech communities Estonian is dominant. 65% of respondents say that they *often* code-switch at home and 20% express concern that their children might sometimes consciously or unconsciously refuse to use or avoid using Russian at home. Thus, the reason for using Estonian and Russian languages interchangeably is not only the attempt to include all conversation partners but it could also be motivated by

children who construct their own language policies and might not find RHL use necessary in their social spheres.

In Spain, with 30% of speakers, language combinations are different. First, some Russophones tend to mostly use Russian with their children, but shift to Spanish when Spanish-speaking relatives (e.g. their spouse or parents-in-law) are present. This group also emphasises their intention to mainly use Russian: “I try to speak Russian to my child”, but “I do not always succeed in it”. However, a group of Russian-speaking parents state they use Russian, Spanish and other languages present in their highly mixed families, e.g. English, Georgian, Catalan or Ukrainian, as common communicative tools. The speakers themselves define their family language situations as “language blends” and different languages are used “all mixed when talking to everybody.” In Estonia, only 5% (two mothers) claim to use Russian-only purposely with their children at home. This might be a result of schoolteachers’ or other educators’ attitudes towards bilingual language use, which is often seen as causing gaps in lexicon, morphosyntax or “ideal” pronunciation. When a bilingual child enters an Estonian-medium kindergarten or school, in order to measure his/her language abilities and practices, monolingual children are used for comparison. One of the mothers gave an example of a seven-year-old daughter: “when she said about a cat: “**see on kisa**” ‘this is a cat’, then a speech therapist predicted complete backwardness in the future and recommended she forget Russian completely.” In Estonian, a cat is **kass** and a kitten is **kiisu**, while in Russian a cat is *koshka* and *kisa* is its diminutive. In other words, **kisa** is a mixture of the Estonian and Russian words for kitten. A sociolinguist might speculate about the code-switched word being a result of a possible phonological facilitation but for the therapist it was just a deviation from a norm that had to be removed as an abnormality. This reaction exemplifies a typical Herderian philosophy towards language and language use interpretation that is supported by Estonia’s teachers, speech therapists, etc.: it was not only at the end of the 1990s/beginning of the 2000s when bilingual families were recommended not to use Russian at home because of “its harmful influence on development of real Estonian,” but it is also a very common attitude nowadays. There are also numerous examples given by mothers in which “a kindergarten teacher says that if your child starts/continues speaking Russian, then the whole kindergarten will switch to Russian. So please do not show other children that your family is Russian-speaking.” Besides these “horror stories” there are also examples in which “there is a boy in this kindergarten, coming from a fully Russian family whose parents speak poor Estonian and who has to learn Estonian and become a real Estonian speaker.”

In essence, Russian-Spanish families in Spain and Russian-Estonian families in Estonia vary greatly in their commitments to the transmission of RHL. In Spain, only half of all Russophone parents use a Russian-only communicative strategy with their children and about a third of Russophone parents admit not using Russian solely when communicating with children. In Estonia, there were no families where both parents opted for Russian-only, and only two mothers try to implement a one

parent–one language strategy, using Russian only. A possible explanation is that Russian-speaking immigrants use Spanish as a means to achieve a deeper integration into their host society: according to a qualitative study by Marcu (2010), many East European immigrants feel they play a secondary role in the Spanish society. Their speaking Spanish, thus, may be a tactic, either conscious or unconscious, to achieve deeper integration. In Estonia, a feeling of being a second-class citizen if you do not speak Estonian at a nearly native level also prevails; consequently, speaking Estonian facilitates children’s connection with mainstream schools and builds strong bridges with the dominant society and culture.

4.2. Attitudes to the maintenance and transmission of Russian as heritage language

When asked about their language attitudes, Russophones from intermarriages in Spain were positive about Russian language maintenance with their children: more than 90% believe their children should know Russian as heritage language. The increasing demand for Russian in the job market both in Estonia and in the EU pushed Russian-Estonian bilingual families close to a 100% positive attitude towards RHL transmission.

However, despite this general positive attitude to RHL, beliefs about why Russian is important for the younger generation vary. In Estonia, Russian is gradually losing ground to Estonian in education, which is evident in the choice of the language of instruction in kindergarten, school and hobby schools, although among those families Russian is still considered important as a language of a “great people”, “great culture”, “unique Russian soul” and a “language of world classics.” In Spain, there is a belief that Russian is necessary for its affective link because it is a native language of the children (22.5%) and is, thus, part of their identification, their “roots” and cultural traditions. Overall, affective reasons are not dominant: they are given by only 37.5% of the parents. In Estonia, parents support their children feeling “both Russian and Estonian” (62.5%), or “Estonian but still having Russian roots” (37.5%). Notably, participants criticise those bilingual families who “try to raise Estonians-only” because this creates in their children a “disturbing identity.” where they are in constant search of themselves: “I saw one example where a girl could not find a place for herself among Estonians ... no matter how hard she tried she still could not erase her Russian soul. I believe that my child will not be negatively affected but instead will be proud of the mastery of the great Russian language and culture.”

Spanish respondents give much more weight to functional reasons. As one of the major languages of the world, Russian could potentially offer job and educational opportunities to immigrants’ children, since it “gives additional benefits” (30%). Furthermore, knowing Russian is important for maintaining contact and communication with relatives and the country of origin (32.5%). In fact, this position is pragmatic: Russian is one of the most commonly used languages worldwide and in many post-Soviet diasporas it is the lingua franca used by

speakers of very different nationalities. This position is expressed by Russophone parents of transnational families in Spain, who state that knowing an additional language (i.e. Russian) is important since “languages are not superfluous” (15%). In this context, Russian is seen as an “additional language” (10%), on a par with other important languages, such as English. In Estonia, claims that “many jobs here require Russian, not only Estonian” (80%) and “it is good to speak many languages” (90%) are more common than “Russian will increase the opportunity to study in Russia and have a greater variety of professions” (5%). Also, according to this study, Estonia’s mixed families do not name the necessity to communicate with Russian-speaking relatives in Russia and seem unworried about communication with Russian-speaking family members living in Estonia, as children would pick up the language naturally from the environment even if a family lived in an Estonian-dominant region: “we send our son to Narva [a town on the Russian border with an almost 90% ethnic Russian population] every holiday and on other occasions to stay with my parents, to interact with them, inside the environment.” At the same time, the role of grandparents in teaching or speaking in Russian in early childhood is mentioned by 70%: “our grandmother speaks Russian only and this is how our child acquired it without obvious difficulty.” In this respect, previous research (for example, Moustouli 2020) already reported the grandparent factor in heritage language maintenance.

There is a third group of reasons for positive attitudes towards RHL transmission in mixed families in Spain: personal development. Although the percentage is not very high, a group of parents say that Russian is what their children “need for their own development” (20%). A very small number of parents mention aesthetic motivation: enriching a person’s interior world (5%), being bilingual (5%) and being able to read impressive literature in its original language (2.5%). A significant difference with the Spanish data is that Russian in Estonia is viewed as a link to higher culture and a prestigious cultural background that is not available to non-speakers of Russian (100%): “my child will not read Lermontov in a clumsy translation” or “Pushkin’s fairy tales are not ‘Spring and a piece of shit’ [a popular children’s book written by an Estonian writer]”. This is the main point when Estonian is (sometimes too heavily) criticised because of its weak and poor cultural connections. The paradox is that the same parents send their children to Estonian-medium schools because it is the language “that people use with one another” here, “needed for profession,” or “an indication of education” but they feel that only Russian culture might form a child into a fully cultured person (Table 1).

In Spain, these reasons reveal the pragmatic approach of Russophone parents to RHL transmission: Russian is above all considered to be a useful communicative means that might improve their children’s job prospects, and its affective value is seen as being relatively unimportant. In Estonia, the positive attitude towards RHL transmission motivated by the great heritage culture and identity-related considerations were well documented previously (Karpava et al. 2020) and are totally confirmed in this study.

Table 1

Reasons declared for transmitting RHL to their children

Reasons declared by Russophone parents from mixed families	Spain	Estonia
It allows them to stay in contact with relatives	32.5%	0%
It may provide job and educational opportunities	30%	80%
It is their native language	22.5%	37.5%
It enhances personal development	20%	100%
It is an additional language to know	10%	90%
It represents their roots and culture	10%	37.5%
It enriches a person's interior world	5%	100%
It allows one to be bilingual	5%	62.5%
It allows one to read literature in the original language	2.5%	100%

4.3. Assessed language proficiency in Russian as a heritage language in the second generation

The overwhelming majority of Russophone parents from intermarriages in Spain (90%) and all Russian-speaking parents in Estonia (100%) want their children to have native-level proficiency in Russian. The parents say that it is a *sine qua non* prerequisite for their children to feel they are also Russian, to freely interact with all their family, to be more tolerant of other ethnic groups and nations, and to get a head start on learning other foreign languages. In both countries, the parents appear to be very aware of the need for RHL; however, there are variations in the parents' motivations and expectations.

When asked about the language proficiency of their children, only 34% of parents in Spain state that their children are *fully balanced Spanish-Russian bilinguals*. Of these parents, about half use the one parent–one language policy at home and thus only speak Russian with their children; the other half use both Russian and Spanish, though most of them state that the proportion of Spanish in these communicative practices is small. In describing their children's language competence in detail, parents state that their grammar mistakes are typical of the developmental stages associated with the children's ages, and the most common "deviation" from Russian native fluency is a slight accent. They stress that everything is normal with the proficiency in Russian in their children, who "are not different from children living in Russia." Parents state that their children use Russian freely in any context, in general, "in any (situations) where she knows that she will be understood." In terms of *fully balanced bilingualism*, 50% of Russian-Estonian families state that, despite their desire to succeed, they are bitterly disappointed in the results (which might vary even among children in the same family): "the older one is equally proficient, as there are no problems at all with one or another language, and the youngest is... with her it has not worked out." This may also have been reflected in the overall view of respondents who intuitively feel that their children's Russian was somewhat different from the Russian of children in Russia "because after all, two languages have intertwined."

40% of parents in Spain declare that their children are *unbalanced bilinguals*, whose knowledge of Russian is worse than that of Spanish; the same was true of 50% of Estonian-Russian families who make a conscious effort to teach their children Russian as it is “important because of its rich cultural roots.” In Spain, half of the parents also use the one parent–one language policy, which confirms previous observations (e.g. Takeuchi 2006) that this family language strategy is not sufficient to assure native-level proficiency in the heritage language. Some parents from this group attribute general worse proficiency in Russian to their children: “she of course (speaks) worse in Russian” in comparison with Spanish because of the language environment they lived in. “Of course they speak better in Spanish, but it is just because they live in Spain. If they lived in Russia, they would surely speak better in Russian.” Parents in this group also try to excuse their children's lack of balanced bilingualism. For example, they emphasise the important meta-bilingual competence of their children: “For children, Russian is not the main language in the family, but they try their best. They never mix them up; they address each of the parents in their ‘own’ language.” In Estonia, the respondents reported that the main problem was “kitchen” Russian and “of course we’re not satisfied but all parents can always find flaws and here patience and motivation matter a lot; this is how they can inspire their child and this is what I do.” On the other hand, one Russian-speaking mother says: “If she does not know how to say something in Russian, then she asks “**miks...kat eto skazat**” (Est ‘why’... Rus ‘how to say that’) and continues in Estonian. It is very funny, it is very... I think it is cool, that everything is fine” (“То есть это очень забавно, это очень ... я считаю здорово, то есть всё нормально”). The pedagogical implication of such an attitude shown by a Russian-speaking mother cannot be underestimated: providing such an answer full of optimism (“funny–cool–fine”) for code-switching cannot be taken as a means of promoting RHL use by her child.

Special attention is warranted by the third group of parents in Spain, who define their children as trilinguals for whom Russian is the third language (there is no similar group in the Estonian data set). This normally occurs in families living in bilingual parts of Spain, e.g. Catalonia, where Catalan is the first language children learn, followed by Spanish and only then by Russian (13%): “in my case, Russian is their third language, after Catalan and Spanish.” In some other cases, Russian is the third most-known language because parents encourage the knowledge of English over Russian (10%). Among these families, only 28% use the one parent–one language policy, while the rest use Russian and Spanish, as well as other languages, e.g. Catalan and English, in communicating with their children, which is consistent with other studies suggesting that parents’ attitudes and ideologies do not necessarily match actual language practices at home. As a result, proficiency in RHL is limited: the children “understand but hardly speak Russian” or (the child) “understands Russian but does not speak it at all.” The following statement summarises language proficiency in such families: “My children indeed speak Spanish best, then English and only after that Russian.”

Figure 1 shows the relationship between family language policy and assessed language proficiency in RHL in the second generation in Spain. There were two tendencies: assessed balanced and unbalanced bilingualism may have arisen with equal probability from both the one parent–one language strategy and mixed Russian-Spanish communication from the Russophone parent. This observation is in line with previous studies, e.g. Isurin & Ivanova-Sullivan (2008), who defined RHL speakers in the USA as “*lost in between*” in the continuum of language speakers: they could not be considered as speakers of an L2/FL, but they usually fell below native speakers in some grammatical respects. On the other hand, trilingualism and multilingualism in the family tend to move Russian into the position of the third family language, with direct impact on second generation proficiency in RHL.

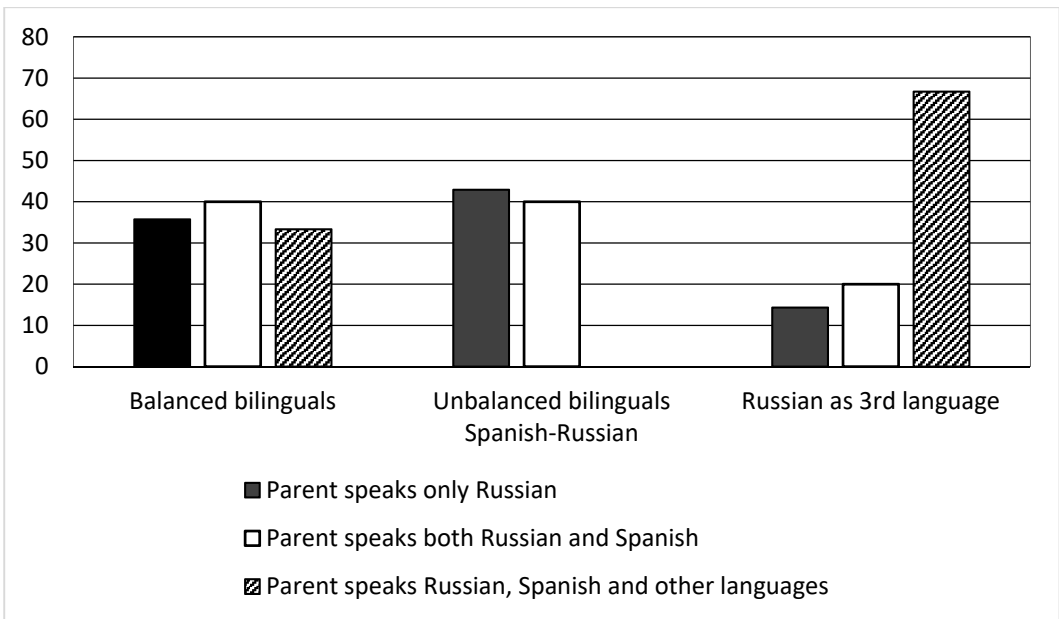


Figure 1. Family language policy and assessed RHL proficiency in the second generation

5. Concluding comments

With immigrant Russians, it is assumed that speakers accept or reject maintaining and transmitting RHL in accordance with their attitudes to the country of origin and its international policies (Mustajoki et al. 2020). This paper presents comparative results from ethnographic research conducted in different parts of Estonia and Spain, and thus offers important information about sociolinguistic variation in RHL maintenance and loss. It provides evidence of how different sociolinguistic backgrounds and social milieus may affect all processes related to RHL transmission: management, maintenance, use and proficiency.

In Spain, these factors form specific sociolinguistic profiles, which may foster the maintenance of Russian in mixed families, leave it in an intermediate position

(Russian is not “banned” in the families but is not specifically maintained), or hinder its position as a heritage language. Mixed Russian-Spanish families may thus be classified into three groups: 1) families with fully-bilingual children, 2) families with asymmetric bilingual children and 3) families with Spanish monolingual children. In line with previous research (cf. Schwarz 2008), the fieldwork with Spanish Russophones reveals that family language policy in diaspora is inconsistent. Of course, socioeconomic background explains gradual variation in RHL maintenance in intermarriages in Spain. Such factors were described by Jenkins (2018), based on multiple previous sociolinguistic studies of heritage languages, as those responsible for linguistic assimilation of immigrant groups and determinant in heritage language maintenance or shift.

Although it is true that studies on heritage language transmission and maintenance point in the “wrong” direction (cf. Nesteruk 2010) – the number of balanced bilinguals in the second generation is low and most children gradually lose (if they have previously acquired) their heritage language in favour of the dominant language of the country – in Spain the situation does not seem to be very severe. Indeed, heritage speakers usually show attainment in their heritage language and do not necessarily feel they have to achieve native-like proficiency in the heritage language (Scontas et al. 2015). This may not be due to family language planning, but rather to the overall bilingual family language policy towards the maintenance of RHL.

In Estonia, the situation of RHL transmission involves paradoxes: none of the study participants consider RHL unnecessary, and each provides a list of the best aspects of RHL and maintaining Russian cultural identity in the child, but they are not successful in spite of their strong motivations and high expectations in terms of the children’s competence (“in reading Russian classics”). They are actually increasing RHL loss because their children actively employ code-switching to compensate for imperfect knowledge to get high-level education in Estonian, while picking up Russian from the natural environment, which is certainly not enough to facilitate satisfactory outcomes. Clearly, this situation shows that Russian-speaking parents must be patient and supportive in teaching their children to use Russian well and to encourage them not to lose interest in RHL: this could be done by making the child aware from early childhood that language learning is a conscious mental process and one has to practice and expand RHL constantly. In both Estonia and Spain, there is a significant number of Russian-speaking parents committed to RHL transmission and strongly convinced of the importance of Russian, both as an international and as a *native* language that might improve their children’s job prospects. At the same time, the status of RHL at the individual family level is conditioned by constantly negotiating clashing social, sociolinguistic, psycholinguistic and political factors.

We would like to finish by highlighting the most important implications of our research. First, we could confirm that the maintenance of RHL is driven by both affective and functional factors, what singles out Russian among other heritage

languages in European countries: Russophones believe that Russian is not only important for its commodification value, but also for its associated cultural heritage. Second, we could observe that even small, unsupported communities tend to maintain RHL, although at a relatively modest level. Russophone communities in Spain and Estonia are highly variable in their attitudes to RHL maintenance, but still, in most families, the tendency is to favour Russian. Finally yet importantly, our research confirms the extreme importance to promote external additional education for supporting heritage languages proficiency in successive generations.

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Author contributions

Authors 1 and 2 contributed equally and should be considered co-first authors.

Acknowledgements

This article was supported by basic funding for research areas of national significance at the Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics of the University of Tartu. The theoretical results are part of the project IUT20-3 “Sustainability of Estonian in the era of globalisation” (EKKAM).

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Article history:

Received: 20 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionotes:

Olga IVANOVA is Associate Professor of General Linguistics at the Spanish Language Department of the University of Salamanca, Spain. Her primary research interest is language development during the lifespan, with particular focus on heritage language acquisition and bilingualism and language impairment in old age and dementia. She is a member of the research group “Neurophysiology, Cognition and Behaviour” of Castile-Leon Institute of Neurosciences and of the research group “Aging and Dependency Prevention” of the Institute for Biomedical Research, both in Spain. She is the founder and president of the Association for Russian as Heritage Language in Salamanca, Spain.

Contact information:

University of Salamanca

Plaza de Anaya s/n, 37008 Salamanca, Spain

e-mail: olga.ivanova@usal.es

ORCID: 0000-0002-9657-5380

Anastassia ZABRODSKAJA (PhD) is Professor of Intercultural Communication and Head of the Communication Management Master’s programme at Tallinn University. She is in charge of the management of the European Master’s in Intercultural Communication programme. Her primary research interests are identity, language contacts and linguistic landscape. She is a Regional Representative (Europe) on the Executive Committee of International Association of Language and Social Psychology and a Management Committee Member of the European Family Support Network COST Action: A bottom-up, evidence-based and multidisciplinary approach.

Contact information:

Tallinn University

Baltic Film, Media and Arts School

Narva mnt 27, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia

e-mail: anastassia.zabrodskaia@gmail.com

ORCID: 0000-0001-8082-3549

Сведения об авторах:

Ольга ИВАНОВА – доцент кафедры испанского языка университета Саламанки, Испания. Сфера ее научных интересов – эволюция владения языком в течение жизни, в особенности при владении эритажными языками и двуязычием, а также изменения в языковом владении в пожилом возрасте. Является научным сотрудником исследовательской группы «Нейрофизиология, познание и поведение» в Институте нейронаук Кастильи и Леона, а также рабочей группы «Старение и профилактика зависимости» в Институте биомедицинских исследований (Испания). Основатель и президент Ассоциации русского языка как эритажного в Саламанке (Испания).

Контактная информация:

University of Salamanca
Plaza de Anaya s/n, 37008 Salamanca, Spain
e-mail: olga.ivanova@usal.es
ORCID: 0000-0002-9657-5380

Анастасия ЗАБРОДСКАЯ (PhD) – профессор межкультурной коммуникации Таллинского университета, руководитель магистерской программы «Управление коммуникацией». Она также руководит программой Европейской магистратуры по межкультурной коммуникации. Сферу ее научных интересов составляют идентичность, языковые контакты и языковой ландшафт. Она является региональным представителем Европы в Исполнительном комитете Международной ассоциации языков и социальной психологии и членом Межправительственной структуры по координации национальных исследований на европейском уровне по вопросам многоязычной семьи.

Контактная информация:

Tallinn University
Baltic Film, Media and Arts School
Narva mnt 27, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia
e-mail: anastassia.zabrodskaja@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-8082-3549



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1071-1102>

Research article

Comprehension of Ukrainian by Estonians via Russian: Structural and extra-linguistic aspects

Anna BRANETS¹ and Anna VERSCHIK²

¹University of Tartu
Tartu, Estonia

²Tallinn University
Tallinn, Estonia

Abstract

This study explores how people use and expand their linguistic resources in the situation when they have some proficiency in L2 and try to understand L3 that is related to L2. The focus of the study is on the comprehension of Ukrainian by Estonian L1 speakers via their proficiency in Russian (L2). This situation is labeled as mediated receptive multilingualism. The aim of this research is to investigate the role of cross-linguistic similarity (objective or perceived, in the terms of Ringbom 2007) and extra-linguistic predictors of success in comprehension. In addition to measuring the success rate, we pay attention to the participant's perspective. The experiment was conducted with 30 speakers of Estonian as L1 and included a questionnaire, C-test in Russian, three Ukrainian texts with different groups of tasks, and debriefing. In this article, we focus on the task of defining Ukrainian words from the text and on debriefing interviews. The results showed that similarity, perceived or objective, is not the only decisive factor in facilitating understanding. The participants' explanations confirmed our previous findings that similarity, albeit important, is only partly responsible for successful comprehension. This became clear from the debriefing interviews. In many cases, the participants' choice was affected by a range of extra-linguistic factors: general knowledge, context, exposure to various registers of Russian, M-factor, meta-linguistic awareness, and learnability. In some instances, context and general knowledge outweighed similarity. These findings show how similarity worked together with extra-linguistic factors in facilitating successful comprehension in challenging multilingual settings.

Keywords: *mediated receptive multilingualism, comprehension, objective and perceived similarity, Ukrainian, Russian, Estonian*

For citation:

Branets, Anna & Anna Verschik. 2021. Comprehension of Ukrainian by Estonians via Russian: Structural and extra-linguistic aspects. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1071–1102. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1071-1102>

Понимание украинского языка эстонцами через русский: структурные и экстралингвистические аспекты

Анна БРАНЕЦ¹, Анна ВЕРШИК²

¹Тартуский университет
Тарту, Эстония

²Таллинский университет
Таллин, Эстония

Аннотация

В исследовании рассматривается, как люди используют и расширяют свои лингвистические ресурсы в ситуации, когда они владеют на некотором уровне вторым языком и пытаются понять третий язык, близкородственный второму языку. Основное внимание в исследовании уделяется пониманию украинского языка с помощью некоторого знания русского носителями эстонского как первого языка. Эта ситуация называется опосредованным рецептивным многоязычием. Целью данного исследования является изучение роли межъязыкового сходства (объективного или предполагаемого, в терминах Ringbom 2007) и экстралингвистических факторов для правильного понимания. Помимо измерения уровня успеха, мы анализируем точку зрения респондентов. Эксперимент был проведен с 30-ю носителями эстонского как первого языка и включал опросник, С-тест на знание русского языка, три украинских текста с различными группами заданий и интервью. В этой статье мы делаем акцент на группе заданий по определению значения украинских слов из текстов, а также на интервью. Результаты показали, что сходство, воспринимаемое или объективное, не является единственным решающим фактором, способствующим пониманию. Объяснения участников подтвердили наши предыдущие выводы о том, что сходство, хотя и играет важную роль, лишь частично отвечает за правильное понимание. Это выяснилось на основе интервью. Во многих случаях на выбор участников влиял ряд экстралингвистических факторов, таких как общие знания, контекст, знакомство с различными регистрами русского языка, фактор многоязычия (М-фактор), металингвистическая сознательность и обучаемость. В некоторых случаях контекст и общие знания перевешивали роль сходства. Результаты показывают, как сходство языков в совокупности с экстралингвистическими факторами способствуют успешному пониманию в сложных ситуациях многоязычия.

Ключевые слова: опосредованное рецептивное многоязычие, понимание, объективное и предполагаемое сходство, украинский язык, русский язык, эстонский язык

Для цитирования:

Branets A., Verschik A. Comprehension of Ukrainian by Estonians via Russian: Structural and extra-linguistic aspects. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 1071–1102. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1071-1102>

1. Introduction

In the contemporary world, people often need to communicate across linguistic and cultural boundaries without having a perfect command of a foreign language. Very often English as a *lingua franca* or any local *lingua franca* are not an obvious choice in many regions and communicative situations. Therefore, interlocutors employ different language modes in order to make communication happen. One of these is receptive multilingualism (RM) a mode of communication where passive understanding of an L2 suffices: all participants use their L1 while speaking to each

other (Rehbein et al. 2012). This mode is mostly employed (and investigated) in the case of related languages (inherent RM, e. g. Estonian-Finnish) but also in communication between speakers of unrelated languages where the participants have at least a passive command of each other's language (acquired RM, e. g. Estonian-Russian).

The subject of this study is the comprehension of Ukrainian without previous exposure to it among Estonians with some proficiency in Russian. Estonian and Ukrainian are not related and no significant bilingual community speaking these languages exists (although there are indeed a few individual cases of Estonian-Ukrainian bilingualism); yet speakers of Estonian may be able to comprehend Ukrainian through the knowledge of Russian. Knowing Russian as L2 should help to cope with Ukrainian as L3: they belong to the same language family (East-Slavic), have a lot of typological and lexical similarity (62% similarity in lexical composition, Tyshchenko 2010: 66). This mode of communication was termed “mediated receptive multilingualism,” where understanding of L3 can be achieved through the medium of L2 closely related to L3 (Branets et al. 2020).

The comprehension of Ukrainian among speakers of Estonian via their varying levels of proficiency in Russian was first examined by Branets, Bahtina & Verschik (2020). They found that Estonians were quite successful in reading comprehension of Ukrainian without previous exposure to it. It was attested that, in addition to structural and material similarities between Russian and Ukrainian, there are a number of extralinguistic factors that affected understanding, such as metalinguistic awareness, previous exposure to Russian and to various registers thereof, experience in multilingual communication, learnability, and attitudes towards Ukrainian (Branets et al. 2020).

The role of material and structural similarity in comprehension between closely related languages has enjoyed a lot of scholarly attention in the field of RM (Gooskens 2007a, Gooskens et al. 2008). Although similarity is highly relevant, there are other factors that may play a role, including experience in multilingual (or RM) communication, exposure to different varieties and registers (slang, regional dialects, colloquial speech; see Kaivapalu 2015), general cognitive skills (posing a hypothesis, making the comparison), and individual linguistic trajectories (personal experience, communicative needs, repertoire, Blommaert & Backus 2011). We agree with the view that language skills and language learning are shaped by use (meaning both active usage and passive exposure, see Barlow & Kemmer 2000, Blommaert & Backus 2011) and experience (Backus 2014, Bybee 2010, Croft 2001, Langacker 1987, Quick & Verschik 2019). In this study, we will analyse the participants' debriefing data where they explained their decisions. On the basis of these data, we were able to detect the participant's comprehension strategies that helped them to complete reading comprehension tasks in Ukrainian.

The aim of this paper is twofold. First, we investigate what role similarity (objective or perceived) played in the definition of Ukrainian words by speakers of Estonian in the reading comprehension experiment of Ukrainian. In addition, we

focus on the participants' perspective of employing different linguistic resources that they may already have from the prior experience of communication in complex multilingual settings. This allows us to see the mechanism of how available linguistic resources are activated from a participant's perspective in a difficult multilingual situation.

Secondly, we explore what other factors, in addition to objective and perceived similarity, played a role. In our previous research on mediated RM, we found that proficiency in Russian in itself did not determine successful comprehension and provided a list of extra-linguistics factors that facilitate comprehension (Branets et al. 2020). In contrast to the previous study, here we examine only Estonians with Russian as L2 and do not include other groups such as Russian-dominant bilinguals, balanced Russian-Estonian bilinguals, etc. The number of Estonian as L1 speakers was increased from 20 to 30.

The paper is organized in the following way: first, we discuss theoretical premises of receptive multilingualism research with a focus on mediated receptive multilingualism. We will also provide a background on objective and perceived linguistic similarities and extra-linguistic factors. Then we describe the experimental design and the participants. After that, we proceed with our findings and data analysis. Finally, we complete the article with the main conclusions.

2. Theoretical considerations

The phenomenon of RM is covered by a variety of synonymous or near-synonymous terms in the literature: mutual intelligibility (Voegelin & Harris 1951), semicommunication (Haugen 1953, 1966, 1981), plurilingual communication (Lüdi 2007), intercomprehension (Berthele 2007), receptive multilingualism (Braunmüller 2007, Zeevaert 2004, ten Thije & Zeevaert 2007), lingua receptiva (LaRa) (Lingua Receptiva 2021¹, Rehbein et al. 2012, ten Thije et al. 2017). The main objective of RM is to activate linguistic, mental, interactional, and intercultural competencies of the interlocutor's passive language during RM interactions (Rehbein et al. 2012: 249).

Nowadays, many studies in RM theory as well as in language acquisition in general have shifted from "ideal bilingual," perfect command and productive skills towards receptive skills, not necessarily perfect command, and to the purpose-based focus of reaching communicative goals in complex multilingual situations (Branets et al. 2020, Braunmüller 2007, ten Thije & Zeevaert 2007, Zeevaert 2004). Since successful communication is possible without "perfect" language use, communicative aspects of RM become central instead of formal aspects of language (Bahtina & ten Thije 2012).

The asymmetry between comprehension and production skills in receptive bilinguals has also been brought up in RM literature (Sherkina-Lieber 2015). However, RM has the potential for interlocutors with asymmetrical competencies

¹ <http://www.luistertaal.nl/en/> (accessed 15 November 2021).

to be effective by using suitable communicative strategies in exolingual interactions (Lüdi 2013). The potential of RM can be developed over time. Making full use of RM and of the resources that come with knowing another language takes time; continuing practice with the same interlocutors increases your common ground with them, and this makes you better at using effective communication strategies. The evidence of such processes was attested in the research of Czech-Croatian (Golubovic 2016) and Estonian-Russian-Ukrainian language constellations (Branets et al. 2020). In both studies, the respondents were divided into two groups: those who received instruction and those who did not. The results demonstrated a significant improvement in comprehension of the trained group. In addition, in the Estonian-Russian-Ukrainian constellation, the comprehension of three Ukrainian texts was tested while the texts were provided to participants in a different order. The participants' comprehension of the last text was always higher as they learned from one text to another and consequently applied more advanced strategies (Ibid). This suggests the language learning trajectory of RM or learnability.

Some researchers have paid particular attention to linguistic facilitators of comprehension in RM by controlling extra-linguistic factors (Härmävaara & Gooskens 2019, Gooskens et al. 2015, Salehi & Neysani 2017). The notion of objective and perceived linguistic similarity was brought up a number of times (Gooskens et al. 2008, Kaivapalu & Martin 2017). Objective similarity (and difference) is the actual degree of correspondence between languages (Jarvis & Pavlenko 2008: 177). In turn, the perceived similarity is defined as “what language learners perceive to be similar between languages” (Ringbom 2007: 7). Perceived similarity does not always function in a positive way, but there also might be negative cases of understanding or misinterpretation.

Perceived similarity by language learners with a limited command of the target language is based on their L1 or other acquired languages, “especially if they are related to the target language” (Ringbom & Jarvis 2009: 106). In our case, L1 Estonian (Finnic, Uralic) is non-related to L2 Russian and L3 Ukrainian (East-Slavic, Indo-European); however, interlocutors could rely on their knowledge of L2 Russian that could positively affect the comprehension of L3 Ukrainian and facilitate a possibility of the acquisition of Ukrainian. Our previous study has shown that the comprehension of Ukrainian by the participants with Russian as L1 differs from the participants with Estonian as L1: namely, the participants with Russian as L1 were better at understanding Ukrainian than the participants with Estonian as L1. Yet, Russian-Estonian balanced bilinguals performed better than dominant Russian-speakers from Estonia, probably because of their higher metalinguistic awareness (Branets et al. 2020: 13–14).

As for extra-linguistic factors (social, individual, communicative, etc.), several authors mention attitudes, geographical distance, exposure, metalinguistic awareness, etc. (Gooskens 2006, 2007b, Gooskens & Schneider 2019, Kaivapalu 2015, Schüppert & Gooskens 2011, Gooskens & van Heuven 2019). The difference

between perceived and objective similarities in comprehension experiments was also explained by the role of various non-linguistic factors. Kaivapalu (2015: 69) proposed a descriptive model of RM that, in addition to the degree of similarity between languages, includes such notions as various registers of L1 (colloquial usage, dialects, familiarity with slang and archaisms), metalinguistic awareness, general knowledge, random knowledge of some language items of the target language from the past, and the context. Several studies emphasized the important role of language variation that equips interlocutors with more advanced strategies of finding similarities between languages (Berthele 2008, Gooskens & Heeringa 2014, Kaivapalu & Maisa 2017). For instance, in inter-Scandinavian communication, Norwegians understand Danish and Swedish better than Danes, and Swedes understand Norwegian due to exposure to Norwegian dialects. It was suggested that exposure to a vast range of varieties raised language awareness among Norwegians and consequently helped them to establish linguistic cues and find similarities between closely related languages (Gooskens & Heeringa 2014). In addition to linguistic distance, Gooskens (2007a) highlighted the role of language attitudes (see also in Gooskens 2006, Schüppert & Gooskens 2011), contacts, and language experience with the language towards comprehension.

Various communication strategies in RM towards reaching comprehension have been attested, such as accommodation or reducing linguistic differences (Giles et al. 1991, Hlavac 2014) or hearer's and speaker's metacommunicative practices that are provided naturally by the assistance of interlocutors to each other during a conversation in complex multilingual situations (Bahtina-Jantsikene & Backus 2016). In RM, the context and multimodal elements of interaction play an important role (Härmävaara & Gooskens 2019: 19, Muikku-Werner 2014). In reading comprehension, participants mostly rely on linguistic similarities; however, when they cannot find them, they turn to the context. In such cases, the context functions as a so-called filter that helps participants to confirm or refute their assumptions (Kaivapalu 2015, Kaivapalu & Muikku-Werner 2010). Also, according to Grosjean (1998), the conversation topic within the context affects the language mode and the comprehension process.

In a narrow sense, a context may mean the plot, the topic, preceding and following words and sentences. Another type is a wider cultural context, for instance, accidental familiarity with Russian or Ukrainian songs, culture, traditions, and so forth. In a broader sense, a context may mean knowledge about the world, including specialized knowledge in a certain field, for instance, how social networks function.

Thus, even though linguistic factors play an important role in comprehension, extra-linguistic factors such as cognitive, sociolinguistic, and individual should not be disregarded as material, and structural similarity itself does not guarantee intelligibility (Bahtina-Jantsikene 2013, Branets et al. 2020, Härmävaara 2014, Kaivapalu 2015, Muikku-Werner 2013, Verschik 2012).

3. Method and participants

A written comprehension experiment was carried out with 30 Estonian participants and consisted of a socio-linguistic questionnaire, a C-test in Russian (Grotjahn 1987), several tasks for individual Ukrainian words (Shumarova 2000), and a Ukrainian text as a whole (Gooskens 2013). The experiments were followed by debriefing interviews. Each experiment lasted approximately two hours and was conducted individually with every participant with pen and paper.

3.1. Participants

30 Estonian speakers with language proficiency in Russian on a B1 or B2 level participated in a reading comprehension experiment. The experiment was conducted in 2017 and 2018 in Tallinn. All respondents were living in Tallinn at the time the experiment was carried out. The group comprised ten males and 20 females, aged from 22 to 59 years. In comparison to the data presented in (Branets et al. 2020), we have increased the number of Estonian as L1 speakers from 20 to 30 in order to provide more precise findings, and we are not taking into consideration the results obtained from other groups of participants.

The participants of the experiment were chosen based on their language proficiency in Russian (Branets et al. 2020). B1 and B2 proficiency in Russian was determined to be enough to be able to complete the Ukrainian test based on the pilot study and was tested with a C-test in Russian (Grotjahn 1987).

Seven participants already have higher education, but most of them were university students at the moment of conducting the experiment. They study sociology, architecture, youth work, business administration, craft technologies, and design, recreation arrangement, dance and choreography, pedagogy, audiovisual media, social work, linguistics, administrative management, teaching, European languages, pharmacy, graphic design, anthropology, Asian studies, communication, physics, editing, music, and IT. It is evident that linguistics students have a higher degree of linguistic awareness than others, but there were only four such students among the participants, so we do not think they influenced the results.

3.2 Testing material and procedure

The testing material consisted of a questionnaire, C-test, three Ukrainian texts with tasks, and a debriefing. The questionnaire was used to establish the sociolinguistic background of participants and their exposure to Russian and Ukrainian. It consisted of 16 questions and was modeled on the questionnaire used in a previous study by Bahtina-Jantsikene (2013) on the acquired Russian-Estonian receptive multilingualism (see more in Branets et al. 2020).

The C-test was indicated as an optimal cross-language test for measuring comprehension in the European language area (Gooskens & van Heuven 2017). In our study, the C-test was used to test the participants' proficiency in Russian. It was

developed according to the instructions presented by Grotjahn (1987) and evaluated on the basis of the scoring system proposed by Bahtina-Jantsikene (2013). The C-test comprised four short texts that were selected from different magazines. Every word was divided into two approximately equal parts, and the second part of every second word starting from the second sentence was deleted (see more in Branets et al. 2020). The participants' task was to fill in the gaps using the correct word based on the context and the required grammatical form. The participants were given 20 minutes to complete the task (5 minutes per each small text).

The main part of the experiment explored comprehension of Ukrainian texts at the B1 level. The texts were selected from the collection of texts for B1 learners of Ukrainian and belonged to different genres (artistic and media texts). The respondents received three Ukrainian texts arranged in a different order. They were requested first to read the text and then to complete the tasks which were the same for each text. The tasks for Ukrainian texts consisted of two parts: definition of individual words from the text (Shumarova 2000) and tasks for the context comprehension (Gooskens 2013, as we do not focus on this group of tasks in this article, see more in Branets et al. 2020). In this paper, we will focus on the first task (definition of individual words from the text). For this task, we selected 55 words (based on the classification below). The participants were asked to translate or to explain them in their own words. They were also able to rely on the context, as all the words from the definition task were highlighted in the text.

The words belong to three groups: (1) 36 words have Russian cognates with the same meaning (Ukrainian *знання* (znannya) 'knowledge', cf. Russian *знания* (znaniya) 'knowledge'); (2) 12 words that have Russian cognates with different meanings (Ukrainian *чоловік* (chолоvik) 'man, husband', cf. Russian *человек* (chelovek) 'human') or cognates that belong to different registers, i.e., stylistically neutral in Ukrainian vs. colloquialisms, archaisms, regionalisms, etc. in Russian (Ukrainian *очі* (ochi) 'eyes', cf. Russian *глаза* (glaza) 'eyes' and Russian archaic/poetic *очи* (ochi) 'eyes'); (3) seven words that do not have Russian cognates (Ukrainian *цікавий* (tsikavyi) 'interesting' cf. Russian *интересный* (interesnyi) 'interesting'). Word recognition tasks included nouns, verbs, adjectives, adverbs, prepositions, and numerals. The same scoring system was applied as for the Russian C-test (more details are outlined in Branets et al. 2020):

- 1 point: an entirely correct answer (e.g., when a participant recognizes that Ukrainian *казка* (kazka) 'fairytale' as Estonian *muinasjutt* 'fairytale' etc.)
- 0.75 points: a correct definition presented in an incorrect grammatical form (e.g., Ukrainian *любляче* (lyublyache) 'loving' cf. Estonian *armastus* 'love' etc.)
- 0.5 points: almost correct meaning (e.g., *щодня* (schodnya) 'every day' as Estonian *päev* 'day' instead of correct *iga päev* 'every day')
- 0.25 points: a semantically related lexeme that fits the context but is incorrect (e.g., Ukrainian *сторінка* (storinka) 'page' as Estonian *sein* 'wall (on Facebook)')

– 0 points: a completely wrong answer (e.g., Ukrainian *розлучень* (rozluchen') ‘divorce’, genitive plural as Estonian *suhe* ‘relationship’) or no answer.

The last stage of our experiment was debriefing in order to collect the participants' comments and explanations and to detect the strategies they used. First, the participants were asked to describe their level of Ukrainian texts comprehension in their own words. Five participants decided to use percentages in order to describe their level of comprehension, i.e., “I understood 60% of the meaning of the texts”. Then the tasks for each text were discussed separately. The participants were asked to explain why they gave their definition for each word and to retell the story of each text. In the end, they were asked which text and which group of tasks (for individual words or meanings) was easier for them to understand. It allowed us to check the learnability effect since we randomized the order of the texts. The duration of the debriefing varied from 10 to 20 minutes, depending on each participant.

4. Results

4.1. Self-evaluated comprehension

After completing the tasks, all the participants were asked to describe their understanding of the Ukrainian texts in their own words². They reported a level of comprehension averaged at 62% (SD = 10.65). In general, the respondents did not expect to understand Ukrainian without previous exposure to it and were surprised by their results. The participants reported that they needed to read the text several times in order to understand it. One of the participants made a comment: “After the first reading, the level of understanding was 10-20%, and after the second time the comprehension grew up to 60-70%”. However, another participant said: “The understanding depended on how many times I read the text. The first sentence was clear from the beginning. After the first reading, I already understood 50% of the text's meaning”.

4.2. Measured actual comprehension

The actual level of comprehension of Ukrainian separate words and context was established to be 70.55% (SD = 11.19), with averages for context understanding reaching higher than averages for the understanding of separate words (83.98% (SD = 4.08) and 61.76% (SD = 8.01), understanding of context and separate words respectively). More specifically, success in the word recognition task was calculated separately for each group of words that participants received for definition (see section 3.2) and is presented in Table 1.

² 25 participants provided no comprehension estimates, and all the calculations in this subsection are based on responses by five participants.

Table 1

Level of success of different groups of words in the word recognition task

Name of the group of words	Number of words	Maximum number of points for 30 participants	Success score in points	Success rate in %	SD range
Cognates with the same meaning	36	1080 (36 x 30)	760.5	70.4%	7.57
Cognates with different meanings	12	360 (12 x 30)	193.75	53.82%	4.60
Unrelated words	7	210 (7 x 30)	64.75	30.83%	7.02
Mean score of understanding of separate words				61.76%	8.01

5. Analysis

The results show that the respondents with L1 Estonian were quite successful in understanding Ukrainian via their knowledge of Russian. Based on average percentages for self-reported text comprehension (62%) and measured success (70.55%), there was no significant discrepancy; however, the participants provided a slightly lower percentage for self-comprehension than the actual results showed. Furthermore, we will look more closely into the performance results of each separate group of words using the participants' comments and explanations. The last subsection will be dedicated to extra-linguistic factors.

5.1. Cognates with the same meaning

As expected, the success level of recognition of the words that are cognates and have the same meaning is the highest among other groups of words. In general, the comprehension of cognates was constructed on the objective similarity between Russian and Ukrainian. The participants' main strategy within this group of words was to find similarities with Russian and then to confirm their hypothesis with the context. Most of the results dealing with this group of words (see Table 1) were positive (70.4 %, see Table 1) and depended on the participants' proficiency in Russian, context, and other factors, according to the information provided by the participants during the debriefing (see Branets & Backus 2020 for a more detailed discussion of individual proficiency and test results).

Similarity ignored (with both positive and negative effects)

The following examples present the cases when the participants ignored the similarity even if it was obvious and instead turned to the context that in some cases was not helpful. For instance, when we review the answers on the Ukrainian word *життя* (zhyttya) 'life', we observe the following:

Table 2

Example 1. Similarity ignored between cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	Correct Estonian
<i>життя</i> zhyttya 'life'	<i>жизнь</i> zhyzn' 'life'	<i>ühiskond</i> 'society'	<i>elu</i> 'life'
		<i>elanike</i> 'of residents'	

Even though the Ukrainian word is very similar to the Russian *жизнь* (zhyzn') 'life', in the first case, the participant's explanation was as follows: "I did not look into similarities with Russian here and decided to get the meaning from the context and the word *ühiskond* 'society' perfectly fits the context". In another case, the participant took into consideration only the similarity with Russian word *жители* (zhiteli) 'residents' and interpreted it as *elanike* 'of residents', yet failed to provide the correct definition. Concerning the recognition of this particular word in general, only one participant left a blank space, and twenty gave the correct definition *elu* 'life'. The other seven participants used different grammatical forms of *elu* 'life': *eludes* 'in the lives', *elama* 'to live', *eludele* 'to the lives', *eludesse* 'into the lives', *в жизни* (*v zhizni*) 'in life', *elus* 'alive' (used twice).

The same tendency when the participants relied more on the context was observed with other words but with a positive effect. For instance, for the definition of the Ukrainian word *вчитель* (*vchytel'*) 'teacher', two participants chose close but not entirely correct answers based on the context. Instead of giving a definition as 'teacher', one of the participants wrote *õpetatud mees* 'learned men' which basically corresponds to the meaning of 'teacher'. The same happened with the Ukrainian lexeme *казка* (*kazka*) 'fairytale' in seven participants: it is very similar to the Russian *сказка* (*skazka*) 'fairytale' but was interpreted as *lugu* 'story' or *jutuke* 'short story'. This word was recognised correctly by 27 participants. In both examples *вчитель* (*vchytel'*) 'teacher' and *казка* (*kazka*) 'fairytale', the lexical meanings of the definitions were very close to the target meanings.

The following definitions were given based on the context rather than similarity by two participants who provided similar answers in Table 3.

Table 3

Example 2. Similarity ignored between cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>донька</i> don'ka 'daughter'	<i>дочка</i> dochka 'daughter'	<i>daam</i> 'lady'	<i>tütär</i> 'daughter'
		<i>tütär</i> 'daughter'	

In general, 26 participants provided the correct answer *tütär* 'daughter', two left an empty space, and two provided a totally incorrect meaning. Interestingly, out of 26 participants, two participants wrote two answers: *daam* 'lady' and *tütär* 'daughter'. The word *daam* 'lady' has a similar sound and meaning with the Russian *дама* (*dama*) 'lady' but has nothing to do with the Russian *дочка* (*dochka*) 'daughter'. These two participants explained in example 3 that, based on the context, they assumed that it should be a female and then arrived at the conclusion that it was 'daughter'.

Table 4

Example 3. Similarity ignored between cognates with the same meaning

"The Ukrainian <i>донька</i> (<i>don'ka</i>) 'daughter' is similar to the word <i>дочка</i> (<i>dochka</i>) 'daughter' in Russian but there is a possibility that it might mean something else, so I used the context to recognise it".

The level of exposure to Russian was indicated by the participants as one of the factors that helped them to understand the lexical items:

Table 5

Example 4. Similarity ignored between cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answer	correct Estonia
<i>тpивoгa</i> tryvoga 'anxiety', 'alarm'	<i>тpевoгa</i> trevoga 'anxiety', 'alarm'	<i>hoiatus</i> 'warning'	<i>ärevus, rahutus</i> 'anxiety'

The respondent provided a definition to the word based on the Russian song about the war *Тpевoгa*, *тpевoгa* (Trevoga, trevoga) 'Alarm, alarm' where the word *тpевoгa* (trevoga) had the meaning 'alarm'. However, in this particular context, the correct meaning was 'anxiety'. Five more participants interpreted this word as *häire* 'alarm'. In total, based on both similarities with the Russian word and the context, the lexeme was interpreted correctly only ten times (two times *mure* 'concern'; two times *ärevus* 'anxiety' and three times *тpевoгa*³ (trevoga) 'anxiety') by the respondents from the older group that had more exposure to Russian during the Soviet time.

The confusion caused by different inflections

When participants relied only on similarities, perceived or objective, between Russian and Ukrainian and could not understand the meaning of the words, did not implement any other strategies to identify the words, they often were not able to recognise the meaning of the words correctly. We observed that in most cases, the participants were challenged by the cognates in Russian and Ukrainian that have the same stem but different inflections. In such cases, these words became either unrecognisable for some participants (see Table 6) or were interpreted by words with other morphemes in Russian that have different meanings (see Table 7).

The Ukrainian item *щoвeчopa* (schovechora) has the component *щo-* (scho-) that means 'every' and stem *вeчopa* (vechora) that corresponds to the Russian *вeчep* (vecher) 'evening'. This word was reported by 10 participants as unknown and defined five times with completely wrong meanings, for instance, *пoдaвaннe* 'advice', *сüdametunnistus* 'conscience', *täiesti* 'completely', *сoвepшeннoe* (sovershennoe) 'perfect', *pesema* 'to wash'. However, in nine cases, this word was recognised correctly by the participants, and in six cases partially (only the meaning of the stem: Ukrainian *вeчopa* (vechora) 'evening' cf. Russian *вeчepa* (vechora) 'of evening', for instance *õhtuti* 'in the evenings', *õhtu* 'evening', *õhtul* 'in the evening').

³The participants were free to provide answers in the language they were comfortable with. Most of the participants (24) provided answers in Estonian, one in Russian, one participant provided answers in both English and Russian, three participants in Estonian and Russian, and one in Estonian and English.

Table 6

Example 1. The confusion caused by different inflections between cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
щовечора schovechora 'every evening'	каждый вечер kazhdyi vecher 'every evening'	каждый вечерь kazhdyi vecher' 'every evening'	iga(l) õhtu(l) 'every evening'
		каждый вечер kazhdyi vecher 'every evening'	
		igal õhtul 'every evening'	
		õhtuti 'in the evenings'	
		õhtu 'evening'	
		iga õhtu 'every evening'	
		õhtul 'in the evening'	
		nõuanne 'advice'	
		südametunnistus 'conscience'	
		täiesti 'completely'	
		совершенное sovershennoe 'perfect'	
		pesema 'to wash'	

The next example (Table 7) presents the case when the Ukrainian word *йшли* (jshly) 'went' that has a cognate in Russian *шли* (shli) 'went' was misinterpreted because of a slightly different form in Russian. It was confused with a similar sounding Russian word, derived from the same stem but with a different prefix: *нашли* (nashli) 'found'. It was reported that this definition was given due to the similarities with Russian.

Table 7

Example 2. The confusion caused by different inflections between cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answer	correct Estonian
йшли jshly 'went'	шли shli 'went'	otsisid 'looked for'	läksid 'went'

The Ukrainian word *сторінка* (storinka) 'page' appeared to be challenging for definition. Some participants that did not find similarities with the Russian *страница* (stranitsa) 'page', quite successfully used the context to derive the meaning.

Table 8

Example 3. The confusion caused by different inflections between cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
сторінка storinka 'page'	страничка stranichka 'page'	lehekülg, leht 'page'	lehekülg, leht 'site, page'
		sein 'wall (on Facebook)'	konto 'account'
		külg 'side'	
		lugu 'story'	

Even though the following versions of interpretation are not exactly correct, they would fit the context. More specifically, two participants defined this word as *sein* ‘wall’ and two as *konto* ‘account’ and explained that they were not able to find similarities with Russian and used the context. Both meanings suited well in the context (see examples 4 and 5 of Table 9).

Table 9

Examples 4–5. The confusion caused by different inflections between cognates with the same meaning

<p><i>Example 4</i> “I used the word <i>sein</i> ‘wall’ because in the next paragraph the statistics about Facebook was mentioned”.</p>
<p><i>Example 5</i> “The sentence started with ‘80% users’, and I assumed that the word means <i>konto</i> ‘account’”.</p>

On the contrary, two respondents defined it as *külg* ‘side’ and two as *lugu* ‘story’ by looking into similarities with the Russian *сторона* (*storona*) ‘side’ and *история* (*istoriya*) ‘story’. However, both suggestions were not correct, which consequently affected the general understanding of the text in a negative way. In total, only six respondents answered as *lehekülg*, *leht* ‘page’.

Inability to recognize cognates

When the participants were not aware of a cognate in Russian and were not able to use the context, they experienced problems with providing a correct definition:

Table 10

Example 1. Inability to recognise cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
ніяк ніяк ‘by no means’	никак никак ‘by no means’	<i>mitte kuidagi</i> ‘by no means’	<i>mitte kuidagi</i> ‘by no means’
		<i>kuidagi</i> ‘somehow’	
		<i>mitte</i> ‘no’, ‘not’	
		<i>mitte ükski</i> ‘no one’	
		<i>kunagi</i> ‘once’	
		<i>kuidagi</i> ‘somehow’	
		<i>mitte midagi</i> ‘nothing’	
		<i>mitte kedagi</i> ‘nobody’	

Twelve participants provided the correct answer *mitte kuidagi* ‘by no means’, three participants defined it as *kuidagi* ‘somehow’. The rest were challenged to find similarities with Russian as well as support from the context and derived different answers based on the assumptions as listed in Table 8, which are not correct.

One more example of such occurrence is the Ukrainian lexeme *протягом* (*protyagom*) ‘during’ that turned out to be the most difficult to define. Although it is a cognate with the Russian *на протяжении* (*na protyazhenii*) ‘during’, it is rare in everyday colloquial speech and mostly used in written genres. Our participants did not have much exposure to written genres, i. e. to media, fiction, Russian

internet sites, etc. Some assumptions were made that this word could mean *tõmme* ‘draw’ (noun) or *протягивать* (*protyagivat’*) ‘to stretch (out)’, based on the similarities with the Russian *тянуть* (*tyanut’*) ‘to pull’. Apparently, the participants recognised the stem (cf. *tõmbama* ‘to draw, to pull’), but here we deal with a conventionalized, grammaticalized metaphor in Russian/Ukrainian, the meaning of which is difficult to derive because the Estonian ‘during’ has a different underlying metaphor. The postposition *jooksul*, literally ‘in the run’, is derived from *jooks* ‘run’ (the allative case); similarly, *ajal* ‘at the time’ is derived from *aeg* ‘time’ (the allative case). One participant conveyed that his/her definition was based on the assonance with Russian *противно* (*protivno*) ‘disgusting’. Another respondent suggested the English *protect* because it sounds similar, but neither of these meanings was correct.

Table 11

Example 2. Inability to recognise cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>протягом</i> <i>protyagom</i> ‘during’	<i>на протяжении</i> <i>na</i> <i>protjazhenii</i> ‘during’	<i>tõmme</i> ‘draw’	<i>ajal, jooksul</i> ‘during’
		<i>vaenlane</i> ‘enemy’	
		<i>протягивать</i> <i>protyagivat’</i> ‘stretch’	
		<i>противный</i> <i>protivnyi</i> ‘disgusting’	
		<i>protect</i>	

Table 12 presents the case where the impact of similarity together with the context was positive.

Table 12

Example 3. Inability to recognise cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>важливого</i> <i>vazhlyvogo</i> ‘important’	<i>важного</i> <i>vazhnogo</i> ‘important’	<i>tähtis, oluline</i> ‘important’	<i>tähtis, oluline</i> ‘important’
		<i>olulisemat</i> ‘more important’	
		<i>kõige tähtsam</i> ‘most important’	

The Ukrainian word *важливий* (*vazhlyvyi*) ‘important’ was interpreted 20 times correctly. One participant recognised the word ‘important’ in a comparative form *olulisemat* ‘more important’ (partitive). The participant used partitive, an object case that corresponds to the accusative in Ukrainian, i.e., the grammatical form in which the word was presented in the text. Two more respondents identified it in the superlative form *kõige tähtsam* ‘most important’ due to the unfamiliar ending of *важливий* (*vazhlyvyi*) ‘important’. Interestingly, in our previous study, the participants with L1 Russian and Russian-Estonian simultaneous bilinguals

confused the meaning of this word with the paronym in Russian *вежливый* (vezhlivyi) ‘polite’ because the words look and sound alike. However, only one participant with L1 Estonian first wrote *вежливый* (vezhlivyi) ‘polite’ and then crossed it out and gave a definition *важный* (vazhnyi) ‘important’ due to the confirmation from the context. It shows the difference between cognitive processes and strategies that are applied by L1 and L2 language speakers.

In some cases the participants provided false answers due to the so-called false friends with Russian, as in Tables 13 and 14.

Table 13

Example 4. Inability to recognise cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>перевирити</i> perevirityu ‘to check’	<i>проверит</i> proverit’ ‘to check’	<i>tõlkima</i> ‘to translate’	<i>kontrollima</i> ‘to check’
		<i>pöörduda</i> ‘to turn to’	
		<i>ette valmistama</i> ‘to prepare’	
		<i>ümber pöörata</i> ‘to turn around’	
		<i>proovile panema</i> ‘to test’	

Only seven participants identified the word *перевирити* (perevirityu) ‘to check’ correctly. Based on the perceived similarities with several Russian words, three respondents confused this word with the Russian *перевести* (perevesti) ‘to translate’; one respondent with the Russian *приготовить* (prigotovit’) ‘to prepare’; two participants suggested the Russian *повернуться* (povernutsya) ‘to turn around’. Two participants recognised it as *pöörduda* ‘to turn to’ that is not correct but fits the context, and two more participants as *proovile panema* ‘to test, to challenge’ (correct definition).

In the same vein, the lexeme *віддам* (viddaty) ‘to give away’ was in many cases confused with the Russian *видеть* (videt’) ‘to see’.

Table 14

Example 5. Inability to recognise cognates with the same meaning

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>віддам</i> viddam ‘to give away’	<i>отдам</i> otdam ‘to give away’	<i>nägin</i> ‘(I) saw’	<i>annan ära</i> ‘(I) give away’
		<i>vaatama</i> ‘to look’	

The Ukrainian *віддам* (viddam) ‘(I) will give away’ was defined by seven participants as *nägema* ‘to see’ or *vaatama* ‘to look’ due to the perceived similarity with the Russian *видать* (vidat’), *видеть* (videt’) ‘to see’. At the same time, 16 respondents provided the correct answer as *annan ära* ‘(I will) give away’ based on the context.

5.2. Cognates with different meanings

This group presents less correct answers, as it includes cognates with different meanings or cognates that in Russian belong to different registers and are used with a different frequency than in Ukrainian. Within this group of words, more various strategies and factors came into play.

The positive role of context

Table 15 presents the Ukrainian word *мережа* (merezha) ‘network’ that has a cognate in Russian *мережка* (merezhka) ‘a technique used in embroidery’ with quite a different and rather specific meaning unknown even to many native speakers of Russian (unless they know something about embroidery). The chances that a B1 learner/user of Russian would have encountered this item are slim, so the respondents were unable to draw parallels with Russian:

Table 15

Example 1. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

Ukrainian	Russian	Estonian
<i>мережа</i> merezha ‘network’	<i>сет</i> set ‘network’	<i>võrgustik</i> ‘network’

20 participants understood the meaning correctly, based on the general knowledge about social media. Their explanations were as follows:

Table 16

Examples 2-5. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

<p><i>Example 2</i> “I understood <i>мережа</i> (merezha) ‘network’ as it reminded me the word <i>мир</i> (mir) ‘world’ and then since it was used together with Ukrainian word <i>соціальний</i> (sotsial’nyj) ‘social’ that is similar to Russian <i>социальный</i> (sotsial’nyj) ‘social’, I figured out that it is <i>võrgustik</i> ‘network’.”</p>
<p><i>Example 3</i> “I did not understand <i>мережа</i> (merezha) ‘network’ from the beginning, but somewhere at the end of the first paragraph because of the context I understood that it means <i>võrgustik</i> ‘network’.”</p>
<p><i>Example 4</i> “I did not know this word at first, but then I found some information in the text about an account and FB, and I assumed that it might be <i>võrgustik</i> ‘network’.”</p>
<p><i>Example 5</i> “I heard this word somewhere. I cannot remember where but I knew that it was <i>võrgustik</i> ‘network’.”</p>

Table 17 demonstrates how the context outweighs perceived similarity.

Table 17

Example 6. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>увійти</i> uvijty ‘to enter’	<i>войти</i> vojti ‘to enter’	<i>väljuma</i> ‘to leave’	<i>sissenema</i> ‘to enter’, ‘to log in’
		<i>ära minema</i> ‘to leave’	
		<i>sissenema</i> ‘to enter’, to log in’	
		<i>vaatama</i> ‘to look’	

Twelve participants confused *увійти* (uvijty) ‘to enter’, ‘to log in’ with the Russian *увидеть* (uvidet’), *видеть* (videt’) ‘to see’ because it sounded similar. Eight participants defined it as *väljuma* ‘to leave’, ‘to log out’ because of the Russian *выйти* (vyjti) ‘to leave’, ‘to exit’, ‘to log out’, and three participants gave a definition as *ära minna* ‘to go out, to leave’ due to the Russian *yümu* (ujti) ‘to leave’. In this example, the perceived similarity with Russian had a negative effect as only two participants provided the correct answer and were asked to explain their decision:

Table 18

Examples 7–8. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

<p><i>Example 7</i> “I wrote first <i>ära minema</i> ‘to go away, to leave’ because it was similar to the Russian <i>yüdu</i> (ujdi) ‘to go out, to leave’ but then I changed it to <i>sisenema</i> ‘to log in’ according to the context”.</p>
<p><i>Example 8</i> “I derived the meaning from the context as the next words were <i>в свій аккаунт</i> (v svij akkaunt) ‘into your account’”.</p>

In both examples 7 and 8 (Table 18), the context outweighed the perceived similarity with Russian. These two factors could be considered as competing. This requires more research because we cannot say in which case exactly the context and general knowledge appear more relevant than similarity.

The same process was observed with the Ukrainian word *очи* (ochi) ‘eyes’ that has a cognate in the archaic Russian *очи* (ochi) ‘eyes’ that is used only in limited contexts (poetic, high style etc.). A stylistically neutral lexeme is *глаза* (glaza) ‘eyes’ (see also the discussion in Branets et al. 2020: 19).

Table 19

Example 9. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

Ukrainian	Russian	answer	correct Estonian
<i>очи</i> ochi ‘eyes’	<i>глаза</i> glaza ‘eyes’	<i>silmad</i> ‘eyes’	<i>silmad</i> ‘eyes’

17 participants provided the correct definition. One participant provided the definition *очки* (ochki) ‘glasses’ based on linguistic similarity. Three participants mentioned that they knew this word from the well-known Russian song *Очи черные* (Ochi chernye) ‘black eyes’ and 14 mentioned that they turned to the Russian word *очки* (ochki) ‘glasses’ that has the same stem as the Ukrainian *очи* (ochi) ‘eyes’.

Table 20

Examples 10-11. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

<p><i>Example 10</i> “At first I wrote <i>prillid</i> ‘glasses’ but then I figured out that these are <i>silmad</i> ‘eyes’”.</p>
<p><i>Example 11</i> “I wrote <i>prillid</i> ‘glasses’ and it did not match the context, so I wrote <i>silmad</i> ‘eyes’”.</p>

In both examples 10 and 11 (Table 20), the participants were searching for confirmation from the context instead of relying on similarity.

In Table 21, the Ukrainian lexeme *чоботу* (choboty) ‘boots’ has a Russian cognate *чоботы* (choboty) that means a certain kind of boots and is used in regional varieties. Thus, the range of meanings and connotations in the two languages differ:

Table 21

Example 12. The positive role of the context between cognates with different meanings

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>чоботу</i> choboty ‘boots’	<i>ботинки</i> botinki ‘boots’	<i>saarad</i> ‘boots’	<i>saarad</i> ‘boots’

This word was defined correctly by 21 participants. Most of them derived the meaning from the context. Some explained their choice with the similarity to the Russian stem *бот-* (bot-) in the word *ботинки* (botinki) ‘boots’ that appeared similar but is not a cognate. However, this accidental similarity helped the participants to find the correct meaning.

Difficult instances where the context does not help

The next Table 22 represents the definition of the superlative from the Ukrainian word *великий* (velykij) ‘big’ that has a Russian cognate *великий* (velikii) ‘outstanding, great, famous’:

Table 22

Example 1. The difficult instance where the context did not help to recognise cognates with different meanings

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>величезна</i> velychezna ‘huge’	<i>огромная</i> ogromnaya ‘huge’	<i>suur</i> ‘big’	<i>tohutu</i> ‘huge’
		<i>suurendama</i> ‘to increase’	
		<i>ületahtsustatud</i> ‘overrated’	
		<i>võimsus</i> ‘power’	
		<i>suurenenud</i> ‘increased’, ‘augmented’	
		<i>suursugune</i> ‘majestic’	
		<i>palju</i> ‘many’	
		<i>enamus</i> ‘majority’	
		<i>suurus</i> ‘greatness’, ‘size’	

No one provided a correct definition for this word. Three participants recognised it as *suur* ‘big’, one as *suurendama* ‘to increase’ and one more as *ületahtsustatud* ‘overrated’ due to the similarity with the stem in the Russian *великий* (velikii) ‘outstanding, great, famous’, *увеличивать* (uvelichivat) ‘to increase’, *преувеличивать* (preuvelichivat) ‘to exaggerate’ respectively. One participant interpreted it as *võimsus* ‘power’, two as *suurenenud* ‘increased’, ‘augmented’ and one as *suursugune* ‘majestic’. The participant commented: “I was

familiar with this word from Russian fiction”. Apparently, these respondents were more exposed to Russian and were likely to have encountered this word. Three respondents assumed that it could mean *palju* ‘many’; one suggested *enamus* ‘majority’. They explained their choice as the assumption that it could be a part of a measurement component. Three more participants suggested *suurus* ‘greatness’, ‘size’, so the suggestion in its first meaning ‘greatness’ is not entirely wrong (but the part of speech is incorrect). The participants mentioned that they did not use the context to define this particular word.

In Table 23, the meaning of the Ukrainian *одержати* (*oderzhaty*) ‘receive’ was derived from the Russian cognate *держать* (*derzhat*) ‘to keep, to hold’ with a slightly different meaning. However, there is also a similar Russian lexeme *одержать* (*oderzhat*) ‘to receive’ (derived from the same stem), but it is used only in fixed expressions like *одержать верх* (*oderzhat’ verh*), *одержать победу* (*oderzhat’ pobedu*) ‘to win’, ‘to overcome’ that are more typical of written genres. Apparently, the participants had not been exposed to this false friend.

Table 23

Example 2. The difficult instance where the context did not help to recognise cognates with different meanings

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>одержати</i> <i>oderzhaty</i> ‘receive’	<i>получить</i> <i>poluchit’</i> ‘receive’	<i>saada</i> ‘to receive’	<i>saada</i> ‘receive’
		<i>omandama</i> ‘to acquire’	
		<i>võtta</i> ‘to take’	
		<i>hoidma</i> ‘to keep’, ‘to hold’	

Ten respondents understood this word correctly. Four participants identified it as *omandama* ‘to acquire’ and two participants as *võtta* ‘to take’ that is somewhat similar to *saada* ‘to receive’. Four participants gave a definition as *hoidma* ‘to keep’, ‘to hold’ because of similarities with the Russian *держать* (*derzhat*) ‘to keep’ that is not correct.

5.3. Unrelated words

When similarities with Russian were not available, participants applied different strategies in order to recognise the meanings of the words.

Context and knowledge of the world

In most cases, they were trying to understand the meaning from the context by using general knowledge of the world or assumptions. For instance, our next case presents the case when all the aforementioned strategies were implemented.

Most of the respondents found the meaning from the context: four respondents defined the word as *uurijad* ‘researchers’, eight participants as *teadlased* ‘scientists’, and one as *uurimus* ‘research’. In general, they explained that since this word was followed in the text by the verb *провели* (*provely*) ‘conducted’ that was

easily recognisable due to similarities with the Russian *провели* (proveli) ‘conducted’, they assumed that it should be either researchers or scientists who conduct the research or the research itself that could be conducted. One participant recognised it as *psühholoogid* ‘psychologists’ because the next paragraph was about relationships.

Table 24

Example 1. Context, knowledge of the world and unrelated words

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>фахівці</i> fachivtsi ‘experts’	<i>эксперты</i> eksperty ‘experts’	<i>psühholoogid</i> ‘psychologists’	<i>eksperdid</i> ‘experts’
		<i>faktid</i> ‘facts’	<i>asjatundjad</i> ‘experts’
		<i>uurijad</i> ‘researchers’	
		<i>teadlased</i> ‘scientists’	
		<i>uurimus</i> ‘research’	
		<i>ametniku</i> ‘official’ (noun)	

One participant defined it as *ametnik* ‘official’ (noun) because the Ukrainian word *фахівці* (fachivtsi) ‘experts’ resembled the German *das Fach* ‘speciality’ which is etymologically correct because *fach* (fach) ‘speciality’, ‘profession’ is a German borrowing in Ukrainian. So, according to this logic, an official is someone who deals with a particular specialty. Of course, the respondents would not necessarily know this, but here the parallel is correct. One more participant did not write an answer but, during the debriefing, shared the following (see Table 25).

Table 25

Example 2. Context, knowledge of the world and unrelated words

“It reminded me of the word <i>Fach</i> ‘specialty’ from German, but I was not sure if I could use it in this case”.
--

Two more participants relied on the similarities with the Russian *факты* (fakty) ‘facts’ or maybe also with the Estonian *faktid* ‘facts’, and consequently identified this word as *faktid* ‘facts’ that is incorrect.

Knowledge of other languages and meta-linguistic awareness

The previous example 2 in Table 22 demonstrates, in addition to other things, how knowledge of other languages may be useful, at least to some extent. According to the concept of foreign language mode (Selinker & Baumgartner-Cohen 1995), language learners of L3 rely more on their knowledge of L2 rather than on L1 when they have high proficiency in L2. In the Estonian-Russian-Ukrainian comprehension experiment, the direction of lexical transfer was L2 to L3 in most cases, as expected. There are rare cases of transfer from L1 to L3. When the participants were not familiar with the word in Russian and were unable to establish connections from the context, they turned to search for help in their L1:

Table 26

Example 1. Knowledge of other languages, meta-linguistic awareness and unrelated words

Ukrainian	Russian	answer	correct Estonian
<i>у колі</i> u koli ‘among’	<i>в кругу, среди</i> v krugu, sredi ‘among’	<i>koolis, в школе</i> v shkole ‘in school’	<i>hulgas, seas, keskel, vahel</i> ‘among’

Three participants answered that they found *у колі* (u koli) ‘among’ similar to Estonian *koolis* ‘in school’ and two participants indicated that it was similar to both Estonian *koolis* ‘in school’ and Russian *в школе* (v shkole) ‘in school’. In total, only eight participants provided the correct definition to this word from the context and structure of the sentence:

Table 27

Examples 2-3. Knowledge of other languages, meta-linguistic awareness and unrelated words

<i>Example 2</i> “I thought that it is <i>seas</i> ‘among’, like among the community of psychologists”.
<i>Example 3</i> “It fitted the context, as <i>seas</i> ‘among’ was the first word in the sentence and the next word was ‘psychologists’”.

Two participants recognised this word as *vahel* ‘between’, ‘among’ that is also correct. One of them reported in Table 28 below.

Table 28

Example 4. Knowledge of other languages, meta-linguistic awareness and unrelated words

“I understood it as <i>vahel</i> ‘between’, ‘among’, as it was applicable to the context”.
--

Table 29 represents the case when the meaning of the word was interpreted correctly only three times due to unrelated lexemes; however, due to their meta-linguistic awareness, all participants listed the correct part of speech, e. g. verb:

Table 29

Example 5. Knowledge of other languages, meta-linguistic awareness and unrelated words

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>запитує</i> zapytav ‘(s/he) asked’	<i>спросил</i> sprosila ‘(s/he) asked’	<i>meelde tuletama</i> ‘remind’	<i>küsis</i> ‘(s/he) asked’
		<i>mõtleb üle</i> ‘thinks over’	
		<i>vastas</i> ‘(s/he) replied’	
		<i>otsustas</i> ‘(s/he) decided’	
		<i>meenutas</i> ‘(s/he) recalled’	
		<i>mõtleva</i> ‘to think’	
		<i>ütles</i> ‘(s/he) said’	
		<i>andis nõu</i> ‘(s/he) gave advice’	
		<i>lisan</i> ‘(I) add’	

The word *zanutav* (*zapytav*) ‘asked’ was interpreted 12 times as *vastas* ‘replied’ and three times as *ütles* ‘said’. Even though the answer is not correct, it perfectly fits into the context, as well as the rest of the answers listed above.

One more example 6 (Table 30) is in line with the previous case:

Table 30

Example 6. Knowledge of other languages, meta-linguistic awareness and unrelated words

Ukrainian	Russian	answers	correct Estonian
<i>цікавий</i> tsikavyi ‘interesting’	<i>интересный</i> interesnyi ‘interesting’	<i>tähtis</i> ‘important’	<i>huvitav</i> ‘interesting’
		<i>oluline</i> ‘important’	
		<i>osaline</i> ‘partial’	
		<i>uus</i> ‘new’	

Only one participant defined this word correctly. Five respondents recognised that it should be an adjective and provided definitions according to their assumptions: *tähtis*, *oluline* ‘important’; *osaline* ‘partial’; *uus* ‘new’ that are incorrect. One participant commented: “I thought that it should be an adjective, and I found one that fits the context”. Another participant did not provide any definition but instead wrote ‘adjective’. In this case, the participants' strategy was first to establish which part of speech the word represented, and only then they formed their assumption about the meaning.

The participants were asked to define one lexical item that is an established common borrowing from English in Ukrainian, Russian, and Estonian and specific to social media.

Table 31

Example 7. Knowledge of other languages, meta-linguistic awareness and unrelated words

Ukrainian	English	Estonian
<i>лайкнути</i> laiknuty ‘to like (on social media)’	<i>to like</i>	<i>meeldima</i> , <i>laikima</i> (colloquial) ‘to like’, ‘to like (on social media)’

Only five participants did not recognise this word and commented: “I knew this word as it is international but maybe because it is written in Cyrillic, I did not recognize it”. However, when this word was read out loud, the listener’s perception skills were activated, and the word was recognised immediately. Naturally, the perception of items in another alphabet is slower. Thus, it might also be caused by the level of meta-linguistic awareness of the language structures.

5.4. The role of non-linguistic factors

Different extra-linguistic factors affected the success of comprehension. We have found numerous evidence from the participants' comments about the factors that helped them to cope with the task.

Exposure to Russian

In our previous study, we emphasized the importance of exposure to Russian based on the environment, professional activities, and individual level (Branets et al. 2020: 17–18, Branets & Bahtina accepted). During the feedback session, the participants reported that such factors enhance their comprehension of Ukrainian (see Table 32 below).

Table 32

Examples 1–2. Exposure to Russian

<p><i>Example 1</i> “Because I use Russian at work, it was easy for me to understand the text”.</p>
<p><i>Example 2</i> “I understood the texts very well because I use Russian quite often. I have many Russian friends”.</p>

Exposure to registers in Russian

Exposure to different registers such as colloquial and regional registers as well as to high language style is beneficial in comprehending Ukrainian texts. Examples in Tables 19 and 23 above belong to the cases when the exposure to archaisms and regional registers respectively foster the comprehension process. See below Table 33 with some more comments from the participants.

Table 33

Examples 1–3. Exposure to registers in Russian

<p><i>Example 1</i> “I recognised <i>хата</i> (chata) ‘house’ because I heard a poem and a song in Russian with this word”.</p>
<p><i>Example 2</i> “I understood <i>батько</i> (bat’ko) ‘father’ because of the word <i>батя</i> (batya) ‘father’”.</p>
<p><i>Example 3</i> “The word <i>батько</i> (bat’ko) ‘father’ is similar to <i>батюшка</i> (batyushka) ‘priest’”.</p>

Example 2 in Table 33 presents the case of the colloquialism *батя* (batya) ‘father’ that has different connotations (characteristic of uneducated speech or regional colloquial use, etc.) than the stylistically neutral *отец* (otets) ‘father’ (see also Branets et al. 2020: 18). In example 3 (Table 33), it resembles the colloquial name for orthodox priest *батюшка* (batyushka, could also have an archaic meaning of a father); common Standard Russian *священник* (svyaschennyk) ‘priest’.

General knowledge

Different types of familiarity with the texts were detected depending on the field of occupation and background, general knowledge of the topic, or some individual factors. For example, the text about social media was easier for some participants that knew this topic well than other texts the topic of which was less familiar. Likewise, some participants reported that fairytales were more predictable for them than social media.

Table 34

Examples 1-3. General knowledge

<i>Example 1</i> “It is more like a standard text that you can find on the Internet, so when you read about social networks, you can predict what might be said there”.
<i>Example 2</i> “In other texts, I used more similarities with Russian, but in the social media text I used more context that was closer to daily life like in everyday use”.
<i>Example 3</i> “Fairytales were more predictable for me: a standard beginning of the story, typical characters like an old man and his daughter here, the traditional development of the story and a happy ending made it easy to understand”.

Learnability

The emergent nature of language acquisition was taken into account for our experiment. According to the usage-based approach, the participants learn about form and meaning “in use” on a daily basis (Tomasello 2003). In our experiment, we have tested learnability by randomising the order of the texts and providing instructions about similarities and differences between Ukrainian and Russian (see more in Branets et al. 2020). We consider learnability as a general cognitive process of the development of explicit and implicit skills by participants. The respondents reported that they learned from one text to another, and in most cases, every next text was easier to understand (see Table 35).

Table 35

Examples 1-3. Learnability

<i>Example 1</i> “Repetitiveness of the words helped me to understand the third text best of all. Such words as <i>по-перше</i> (po-pershe) ‘first’ etc. were repetitive. I got used to Ukrainian and understood how I need to work to understand it”.
<i>Example 2</i> “I understood the third text best of all because I learned from the two previous ones”.
<i>Example 3</i> “If I read a few more texts in Ukrainian, I will be able to understand Ukrainian perfectly”.

M-factor

Every learned language affects the understanding of another language and the mechanism of comprehension in general. Thus, M-factor was distinguished as one of the predictors of comprehension (Jessner 2014, Verschik 2017). In addition, studies on crosslinguistic influence (CLI) have shown that every interlocutor's learned language has an impact on each other and might result in further language acquisition (Cenoz et al. 2001, 2003, Dewaele 1998). All our participants were multilingual and spoke at least three languages. The respondents provided the following comments in Table 36 below.

Table 36

Examples 1-2. M-factor

<p><i>Example 1</i> “I am quite good at languages, and since I have experience with different languages (for instance, I also speak Finnish), it is easier to find similarities between languages and in every new language that I know. More of these connections are available especially if the languages are similar or belong to the same language family”.</p>
<p><i>Example 2</i> “Finding similarities between Estonian and Finnish helped me to be creative in this task”.</p>

Metalinguistic awareness

Metalinguistic awareness presents the ability of participants to grasp language categories and grammatical forms (Blees & ten Thije 2016). Examples in Tables 29 and 30 present the cases of raised metalinguistic awareness and understanding of the language systems. Below is the comment from one participant in line with developed metalinguistic awareness:

Table 37

Example 1. Metalinguistic awareness

<p>“My main strategy was to find what part of speech the word belongs to by using my linguistic knowledge and context. Then I proceeded with the definitions”.</p>
--

Context

A study on the comprehension of Danish by Dutch speakers via their knowledge of German without previous exposure (Swarte et al. 2013: 153) has shown that the foreign language mode is smaller when words for the definition are placed in the context. In our study, we observed a tendency in the participants' strategies, namely, to turn more to the context when there are fewer similarities between Russian and Ukrainian. Generally speaking, the context played a key role and was a strong supporting factor to confirm the assumptions.

Language attitudes

Since 28 participants expressed positive attitudes and two participants were neutral towards Ukrainian, we were not able to test the role of language attitudes in our experiment.

6. Conclusions

The participants' comments in the debriefing interviews shed light on the comprehension process that is behind success results from the participants' perspective. We collected qualitative data on how the participants evaluate various factors and strategies that helped them to understand Ukrainian. Without the participants' explanations, we would not be able to determine how exactly objective and perceived similarity worked, nor to outline extra-linguistic predictors of success.

As expected, the similarity between various items in Ukrainian and Russian was both objective and perceived. In some cases, the participants were able to recognise the meaning of the words based only on similarity; however, when they were challenged by different inflections, false friends, cognates with a different meaning, unfamiliar words in Russian, etc., it turned out not to be enough to rely only on similarities. It became clear from the debriefing interviews that those who verified their assumptions on the basis of the context reached better results than those who did not. Also, in some cases, the context turned out to be more important than similarity.

At the same time, various extra-linguistic factors came into play. Exposure to Russian and frequency of use of Russian foster the comprehension of Ukrainian. Exposure to different registers and access to written registers, for instance, Russian fiction, colloquial Russian, significantly affected the comprehension success rate. General knowledge about specific domains or topics positively affected the performance results. The M-factor supported the participants in recognizing similarities between two languages via already existing RM experience in other language constellations. Raised metalinguistic awareness, or understanding a language system as such, contributed to the comprehension. Finally, the participants reported about their learning process when moving from one text to another by picking up different language items and developing more advanced strategies of understanding from one text to another. This is in line with our previous study (see Branets et al. 2020: 24) that demonstrated that the comprehension level of the last text was always higher, even though Ukrainian texts were presented in a different order among the participants.

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Acknowledgments

We are very grateful to all our respondents for their voluntary participation in the experiment. Much appreciation is owed to Daria Bahtina for her advice at various stages of this work. We would also like to express special thanks to David Millington for proofreading the article. We would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their useful critique and suggestions. All the remaining errors are ours.

The research project itself received no specific grant from any funding agency in the public, commercial, or not-for-profit sectors.

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Article history:

Received: 17 May 2021

Accepted: 19 October 2021

Bionotes:

Anna BRANETS, MA in Linguistics, PhD Student at the University of Tartu (Estonia). Her research interests comprise such topics as sociolinguistics, modes of communication, multilingualism, and receptive multilingualism, in particular, how speakers of Estonian with proficiency in Russian can understand Ukrainian.

Contact information:

University of Tartu

Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics

Jakobi 2, 50090 Tartu, Estonia

e-mail: anna.branets@ut.ee

ORCID: 0000-0002-7599-2169

Anna VERSCHIK, PhD, Professor of General Linguistics at Tallinn University (Estonia). Her research interests include such topics as Estonian-Russian language contacts, multilingualism on the internet, sociolinguistics in the Baltic countries, contacts of Yiddish in the Baltic area, and the sociolinguistic situation of post-Soviet countries in a comparative perspective.

Contact information:

Tallinn University, School of Humanities

Narva mnt 29, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia

e-mail: annave@tlu.ee

ORCID: 0000-0003-3989-0146

Сведения об авторах:

Анна БРАНЕЦ – магистр языкознания, аспирант Тартуского университета (Эстония). Сфера ее научных интересов включает социолингвистику, способы коммуникаций, многоязычие, рецептивное многоязычие, а именно как и насколько носители эстонского языка со знанием русского способны понимать украинский.

Контактная информация:

University of Tartu

Institute of Estonian and General Linguistics

Jakobi 2, 50090 Tartu, Estonia

e-mail: anna.branets@ut.ee

ORCID: 0000-0002-7599-2169

Анна ВЕРШИК (PhD) – профессор общего языкознания Таллинского университета (Эстония). Сфера ее научных интересов включает эстонско-русские языковые контакты, многоязычие в Интернете, социолингвистику в странах Балтии, контакты языка идиш в странах Балтии и социолингвистическую ситуацию в постсоветских странах в сравнительной перспективе.

Контактная информация:

Tallinn University, School of Humanities

Narva mnt 29, 10120 Tallinn, Estonia

e-mail: annave@tlu.ee

ORCID: 0000-0003-3989-0146



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1103-1125>

Research article

Russian language maintenance among multilingual teachers in Israeli educational settings

Galina PUTJATA

Goethe University Frankfurt
Frankfurt am Main, Germany

Abstract

The present paper focuses on language maintenance among multilingual teachers and presents a research project with Russian-Hebrew speakers on their ideas of language-related normality in educational settings. The main objective is to investigate the role of migration-related multilingual teachers within the ‘multilingual turn.’ The project approached the topic from three perspectives: the macro level of educational policies, the meso level of educational institutions, and the micro level of linguistic development. Data were collected through biographical interviews with 17 teachers and interpreted within the theoretical framework of language beliefs using the concepts of linguistic market, language awareness and language education policy as well as pedagogical competence. The results show the close interconnectedness of language beliefs on all the three levels. They also show that beliefs can experience a reconstruction. In order to challenge the monolingual idea of normality among teachers, an interwoven intervention on all the three levels is necessary: there is a need for education policy measures (macro level) that would anchor training on dealing with multilingualism (meso level) in regular teacher training and, in doing so, would draw on the existing migration-related multilingual practices of prospective teachers (micro level). This interaction between top-down (professionalization in dealing with multilingualism anchored in educational policy) and bottom-up (migration-related multilingual practices among prospective teachers) measures can enable a shift toward multilingualism as an idea of normality in educational contexts. This paper contributes to a better understanding of the formation, development and reconstruction of language-related idea of normality among teachers and discusses its methodological and theoretical implications.

Keywords: *multilingual turn, language beliefs, language maintenance, the Russian language, Israel, teacher education, multilingual teacher*

For citation:

Putjata, Galina. 2021. Russian language maintenance among multilingual teachers in Israeli educational settings. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1103–1125. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1103-1125>

Сохранение русского языка среди многоязычных учителей в израильской образовательной среде

Галина ПУТЯТА

Франкфуртский университет имени Иоганна Вольфганга Гёте
Франкфурт-на-Майне, Германия

Аннотация

Статья посвящена вопросам сохранения языка среди многоязычных преподавателей и представляет исследование, проведенное с русско-ивритоязычными учителями на предмет их представлений о языковой норме в образовательной среде. Основная цель заключалась в изучении роли учителей в условиях многоязычия. В проекте тема рассматривалась на трех уровнях: макроуровне образовательной политики, мезоуровне образовательных учреждений и микроуровне языкового развития. Данные были собраны посредством биографических интервью с 17 учителями и проанализированы на основании теории языковых убеждений с использованием таких понятий, как языковой рынок, языковое сознание и политика языкового образования, а также педагогическая профессиональная компетентность. Результаты исследования показали тесную взаимосвязь языковых убеждений на всех трех уровнях. Они также показывают, что убеждения могут подвергаться пересмотру. Для того чтобы преодолеть монолингвальную идею нормальности среди учителей, необходимо комплексное взаимодействие на всех трех уровнях: нужны меры на уровне образовательной политики (макроуровень), которые позволят закрепить обучение работе с многоязычием (мезоуровень) в рамках регулярной подготовки учителей, и при этом учитывать существующую многоязычную практику будущих учителей (микроуровень). Такое взаимодействие между мерами «сверху вниз» (профессионализация в области работы с многоязычием, закреплённая в образовательной политике) и «снизу вверх» (многоязычная практика будущих учителей, связанная с миграцией) может обеспечить смещение в сторону многоязычия как идеи нормы в образовательных контекстах. Результаты данного исследования способствуют лучшему пониманию формирования, развития и пересмотра идей языковых норм среди учителей и включает в себя обсуждение методологических и теоретических выводов, полученных в результате исследования.

Ключевые слова: *многоязычный подход в образовании, языковые убеждения, сохранение языка, русский язык, Израиль, педагогическое образование, многоязычные учителя*

Для цитирования:

Putjata G. Russian language maintenance among multilingual teachers in Israeli educational settings. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25. № 4. P. 1103–1125. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1103-1125>

1. Introduction: Multilingual societies and monolingual education systems

Multilingualism is a social reality. The exact number of children and adolescents who grow up multilingual is unknown and is not recorded statistically. Indirect indications can be found in statistics on the so-called migration background with numbers, for example in Germany, reaching up to 60% (BpB 2019: 40). These figures do not reflect the language constellations (languages of parents, siblings, common family languages) nor the actual linguistic practices of individuals. For pedagogical practice, these figures have a significant consequence: teachers and pupils bring various language varieties, sociolects, regiolects and different

linguistic registers as a basis for learning processes. This linguistic heterogeneity continues in the face of transnational mobility. Socioeconomically or politically motivated (“refugee migration”) or supported by internationalization funds such as Erasmus, this voluntary and involuntary mobility continues to shape societal multilingualism. In international discourse, this societal development has led researchers from different fields to further develop and broaden the focus to dimensions going beyond linguistic systems, using the terms ‘plurilingualism’ and ‘superdiversity’ (Creese & Blackledge 2018, García & Otheguy 2020).

At the same time, most education systems are nation-state oriented and, consequently, national language oriented (Brizić & Hufnagl 2016, Krüger-Potratz 2013, Cummins 2010). This monolingual orientation is at odds with the linguistic heterogeneity presented. On the one hand, this discrepancy leads to the disadvantage of all those who deviate from the dominant societal norm and affects the educational success of children who grow up multilingual. This also has consequences for their linguistic development: multilingualism, how it emerges and how it develops, depends significantly on how society deals with languages (Irvine & Gal 2000, Schmid 2010). The monolingual orientation of educational institutions shapes individual linguistic development and can lead to language rejection in multilingual children and adults (Lanza 2007). On the other hand, monolingual orientations also affect teachers: when they expect to teach a homogeneous monolingual learners’ group, multilingualism comes to be seen as a deviation from the norm and, thus, a challenge in everyday teaching practice (Becker-Mrotzek et al. 2012, Huxel 2018, Mary & Young 2018).

Worldwide, researchers from various disciplines have been calling for a shift towards multilingualism as an idea that belongs to normality. In the field of multilingualism and education, this call is justified with psycholinguistic and socio-political arguments about cognitive and linguistic transfer, the importance of all linguistic resources in learning processes, the valorisation of the deficit perspective on linguistic minorities, the use of migration-related resources, and equal participation as a principle of democratic society (Conteh & Meier 2014, García & Wei 2014, Meier 2017, May 2019).

Over the past decade, data from empirical classroom and school research support the psycholinguistic and socio-political arguments described above. Studies show that the implementation of migration-related multilingualism proves positive for the learning of all the pupils. This is evidenced by findings on multilingual literacy activities (Gawlitzeck 2013, Melo-Pfeifer & Helmchen 2018, Oomen-Welke 2013), studies on methods of teaching multilingualism in foreign language classrooms (Bonnet & Siemund 2018, Fernández Amman et al. 2015, Hu 2018, Candelier et al. 2012), and also on the productive use of family languages in mathematics and science classrooms (Gantefort & Sánchez Oroquieta 2015, Gürsoy & Roll 2018, Prediger & Özdil 2011). Finally, studies on classroom interaction complement these findings (Duarte 2016).

These psycholinguistic and socio-political arguments, complemented by the findings of empirical classroom and school development research, form the basis

for the “multilingual turn” (Meier 2017) that has meanwhile been requested internationally – a shift towards linguistic heterogeneity as a feature of normality in educational contexts. Yet, despite the above theoretical discourses, scientific arguments, proven effective methods at the classroom level and school development concepts at the structural level, teachers in many countries continue to align to a monolingual norm (Huxel 2018 for Germany, Gkaintartzi et al. 2015 for Greece, Mary & Young 2018 for France, Pulinx & van Avermaet 2015 for Belgium).

The question remains: how can these monolingual ideas of normality be challenged? A key role in this process has been attributed, in political discourse, to immigrant teachers as experts in dealing with linguistic and cultural diversity. This perspective has led policy actors around the world to call for a more diverse teaching body (CNN Wire Staff 2010, Ingersoll & May 2016, BReg 2015). To date, however, there is little empirical evidence showing support for these expectations (for a current overview see Goltsev et al. 2021).

The paper addresses this research goal by examining the perspectives of migration-related multilingual teachers on language-related notions of normality in educational contexts. The data draw on the research project “Language biographies of migration-related multilingual teachers”¹, which approaches this central question from different perspectives: the macro-level of educational policy, the meso-level of educational institutions, and the micro-level of multilingual development and self-positioning. I will first introduce this multi-perspective approach in the theoretical framework on language beliefs (Section 2) and give a brief literature overview on educational policies as well as migration-related multilingual teachers. The research project itself draws on field research in Israel. The reasons for this choice, as well as the methodology of biographical interviews with Russian-Hebrew speakers, are explained in the context section followed by the presentation of five sub-studies with underlying research questions in (Section 3). Finally, I will present the central findings of the studies (Section 4) before discussing their implications for multilingualism research (Section 5).

2. Theoretical framework: Language beliefs in education

The theoretical basis for the study of language beliefs in educational contexts derives from a consideration of ideas about language from educational, psycholinguistic and sociolinguistic perspectives.

2.1. Language beliefs and their emergence on micro-, meso- and macrolevel

Language beliefs were first considered for the present project from the pedagogical perspective. Already in the 1990s, Pajares described beliefs as a part

¹ The project was conducted between 2014 and 2019 by the author. The field research in Israel took place between July and September 2015 with the support of the Ernst Ludwig Ehrlich Studienwerk, and data analysis was funded by Department 06 of the Westfälische Wilhelms-University of Münster.

of pedagogical competence and as a “messy construct” (Pajares 1992: 327), and until today this concept remains vaguely defined. According to Baumert and Kunter (2006), in the competence-oriented view on teachers’ professionalism, beliefs form one of the three core components of pedagogical competence: knowledge, action strategies, and beliefs. Knowledge is described as a cognitive component — the professional, pedagogical, and methodological knowledge that teachers possess. Action strategies describe the pedagogical ability – the action practices directed to pupils. These two components are primarily objective. Beliefs, on the other hand, are subjective and differ substantially from content, pedagogical or methodological knowledge. They are based on normative conceptions rather than on. These ideas are affectively loaded and contain a judgmental component. At the same time, they are considered to be true and provide structure to profession-related action (Reusser et al. 2011).

Since language beliefs shape pedagogical action, it is all the more important to consider their emergence and development. For this purpose, in addition to the competence-oriented professional perspective, I also included findings from sociolinguistics in the project. In these disciplines, the concept describes ideas “about the world, and the relationships between objects of social significance: e.g., judgements of standard language varieties tending to be associated with high-status jobs” (Garrett 2010: 23).

These ideas about languages and their role in the lives of multilinguals are reflected at the micro-level of individual speakers. In psycholinguistic research, language beliefs are used to describe the emergence of language attitudes. Since the 1960s, language attitudes have been considered as an individual affective-motivational factor in language production and perception (cf. Garrett 2010). Studies on motivation in second language acquisition and acculturation ((Schumann 1978) drew on these findings and developed concepts, such as the language ego (Guiora et al. 1972) or the affective filter (Krashen 1987), to explain individual differences in acquisition processes through attitude differences. Moreover, for some years now, neuroscientific work has been investigating how emotions affect language acquisition processes, pointing to qualitative differences in language processing and storage (Pavlenko 2007b, see for an overview Putjata 2014, 132–143). Sociological studies also frequently make use of immigrants’ language attitudes to describe linguistic integration processes (Prashizky & Remennick 2015).

In psycholinguistic research, language attitudes are understood as an internal characteristic of a person that develops before migration and determines (language) integration behaviour. Representatives of sociolinguistics reject this position as untenable in view of the complexity of multilingual societies and the processes of transnational mobility. Language beliefs, according to this discourse, are only constructed and produced in interaction. In contrast to the psychological view, they are not understood as a source of linguistic practices, but as their product; consequently, they are not an internal psychological (and thus individual), but a

social phenomenon (Bucholtz & Hall 2005, Pavlenko & Blackledge 2004). Thus, it is not primarily individual language attitudes that are causal of certain behaviour patterns. On the contrary, linguistic attitudes emerge only in interaction and as a product of social evaluation. In sociolinguistic language ideology research, a distinction is made between the concept of discursive language ideologies and cognitive language attitudes (Spitzmüller & Warnke 2011).

According to findings on language policy, these discursive language ideologies are in turn the product of socio-economic conditions and are shaped by the macro-level of language policy. Language and education policies determine and regulate language use in public institutions of education (Spolsky 2017) and can affect the micro level of individual linguistic practices (Lanza 2007). At the meso level, they determine the language ideologies that prevail in educational contexts. At the same time, however, public discourse shapes language policies, so that language policy functions as an agent of public discourse. Hence, languages function as symbols of social organization and are constitutive of power hierarchies. In this process, social meaning is assigned to linguistic varieties in certain contexts by declaring some linguistic forms as norm, while others are classified as inferior (Blommaert 2010, Roth et al. 2018, Putjata 2018b for an overview).

The institution of school plays a particular role in this process. Here, according to Bourdieu (1990), individuals experience the value of their linguistic products: knowledge of a legitimate linguistic form is rewarded, while the use of other forms (minority languages or substandard varieties) is sanctioned. Grades and certificates showing knowledge of legitimate languages function as capital and are considered a decisive criterion for access to school or university studies (Fürstenau & Gomolla 2011). Due to its social and epistemic function for educational processes, language determines scholastic and professional success. Yet, which languages are assigned which capital value is defined by the groups with the largest capital volume, so that language beliefs are circulated and reproduced in schools (Fürstenau & Gomolla 2011).

In the pedagogical perspective presented at the beginning, language beliefs shape linguistic notions of normality. Against the background of their significance for pedagogical action, and ultimately for the educational biography of migration-related multilingual children, the question arises as to how this reproduction of power relations can be challenged. This question will be explored in the following sections.

2.2. Challenging language beliefs: The role of educational policies

The possibilities of challenging the reproduction of power relations are discussed in research across disciplines (Menken & Garcia 2010), as language beliefs prevalent in schools are shaped by societal language ideologies. These, in turn, are the product of language policy at the macro level (Spolsky 2017). Consequently, language policies are necessary in order to initiate transformational processes concerning the linguistic profiles of the school (Shohamy 2010).

Numerous overt and covert top-down and bottom-up mechanisms are at work here and can constrain or facilitate implementation. Teachers play an important role as actors at the interface between top-down policies and de facto language practices (Shohamy 2010). In the model of school as linguistic market (Bourdieu 1990), teachers also function as ideology brokers who circulate language ideologies (see Blommaert 2010, Putjata 2017a, Yelenevskaya & Protassova 2021 for an overview).

Shohamy (2010) criticizes the fact that laws are often initiated by groups with power, bypassing those who ultimately have to implement them in practice, and argues for the active involvement of teachers in this process. This would, in turn, require teachers to see themselves as active actors of educational processes. In research on Language Awareness, the need for a “sensitivity to and conscious awareness of the nature of language and its role in human life based on knowledge, values and a deeper understanding of the complexities of living and learning in multiple languages” (Donmall 1985) is well established (Association for Language Awareness 2021).

2.3. Challenging language beliefs II:

The role of migration-related multilingual teachers

The language awareness discussed in the last section is presumed to be paramount among migration-related multilingual teachers. In terms of multilingualism, multilingual teachers are expected to have a number of potential advantages for the multilingual practices in everyday teaching outlined in Section 1. At the instructional level, their inclusion in team teaching and coordinated literacy instruction is a fundamental prerequisite for numerous approaches. The studies already outlined, for example in mathematics, foreign language, and literacy didactics, confirm the positive impact of multilingual practices on learning processes. Multilingual teachers would consequently be potentially able to build on children's existing linguistic resources, and thus support linguistic and cognitive transfer as well as subject learning and language education in literacy activities (see arguments in Section 1). Within the outlined theoretical framework of language beliefs, migration-related multilingual teachers have a particular role on the schools' language profiles. As ideology brokers who circulate language ideologies (see Section 2.1), they themselves represent a powerful social group. In their feedback on minority languages, they could become agents for change, challenging dominant linguistic practices and circulating multilingual language ideologies (Bräu et al. 2013, Lengyel & Rosen 2015, Georgi et al. 2011). Finally, at the intersection of top-down and bottom-up processes in terms of language education policy (Hino 2021), they can drive educational policies to empower migration-related multilingualism by contributing as de facto policy makers to the legitimization of minority languages in everyday communication (see Section 2.1).

3. Studies with Russian-Hebrew speaking multilingual teachers

So far, there is little or no empirical evidence to support these assumptions discussed above. Only a few studies focus on multilingualism and find monolingual orientations in multilingual teachers' practices (Panagiotopoulou & Rosen 2016). However, the underlying beliefs behind these practices remain unclear. Consequently, the project described here aimed to reconstruct the development of multilingual teachers' language beliefs over the course of their educational and professional careers. To do so, I conducted five sub-studies that analysed linguistic development and self-positioning as well as the construction of identity in different (mono- and multilingual) educational contexts. In what follows, I will present these studies focusing on their contextual framework, data collection and evaluation.

3.1. Contextual framework and research questions

The studies presented here draw on the research project “Language biographies of multilingual teachers in Israel”. This context was chosen because of Israel's long history of migration and its particular educational policies.

Like many other countries, Israel sees itself as an immigration society. However, while in many countries this self-image did not develop until the beginning of the new century, the entire history of Israel is based on immigration. As with many of these countries, Israel's language policy was shaped by homogenization efforts (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999). As part of a nation-building process, the Hebrew language became an important instrument of identity formation. To this end, the language of the Holy Scriptures, which until then had only been intended for religious contexts, was declared the language of the state, and its legitimacy was secured in formal and informal situations. “Ivri, daber ivrit!” [Hebrews, speak Hebrew!] – in the spirit of this language ideology, Hebrew language became the criterion of loyalty to the State of Israel and the only language of communication for everyone shortly after immigration (Ben Rafael 1994). This language regime of Israel shaped argumentation regarding the integration of new immigrants: national unity is based on monolingualism, and learning Hebrew is the *conditio sine qua non* for integration. The result of preserving other languages was to weaken national identity (Shohamy 2008).

This socio-political discourse underwent a radical change in the 1990s, when immigration from the (post)Soviet Union and North Africa increased Israel's population by 20%. As a result, for the first time Israel positioned itself in political discourse as a migration society with an urgent need for change in the education system (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999). In response to the rapid increase in the number of pupils and the growing linguistic diversity, “new immigrant teachers” were to be integrated into the regular school system. The resulting education policy measure “New Immigrant Teacher Absorption” became part of the socio-political discourse and was promoted by the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Professional Absorption. The law was implemented through a series of explicit measures: the ministries secured funding, and a new degree program was implemented. New

immigrant teachers and academics interested in pedagogical work were to complete a one-year qualification course in the Israeli school system, with 20 hours on school subjects and their associated didactic practices (with teachers' home languages as a possible subject). An intensive 20h-course in Hebrew language complemented the course. At the end, the teachers completed a one-year mentoring program sponsored by the Ministry of Education (Levenberg et al. 2013, Berger 2001, Horowitz 2003, Remennick 2002).

A few years later, the Ministry emphasized the importance of preserving the linguistic resources of the arriving population. In doing so, it publicly positioned the earlier policy of linguistic assimilation as an “unfortunate loss of the potential of early immigrant languages” and promised “efforts to correct this” (Spolsky & Shohamy 1999). In 1995, with the declaration of the “New Language Education Policy,” new immigrant pupils were encouraged to learn Hebrew and to preserve the languages they spoke at home at the same time. The implementation led to more explicit measures, including the introduction of Russian and French as a second foreign language (after English) and Ladino, Amharic, Yiddish, Spanish or German as an option from the fifth grade. New immigrant pupils were also to receive additional support in family languages to ensure the further development of academic competencies (Muchnik et al. 2016). This, in turn, increased the need for teachers who would be able to teach these advanced language courses and created the conditions for the professional integration of adult migrants as teachers (see further Putjata 2018c).

Given the theoretical framework of school as a linguistic market presented in Section 2, the importance of educational policies and migration-related multilingual teachers, these changes provided an appropriate research context and offered the basis for the five sub-studies with Russian-Hebrew speakers. The following questions guided the research:

Study 1: To what extent have speakers of Russian perceived differences in educational contexts? How has their self-perception as migrant-related multilinguals developed in these different educational contexts? (Putjata 2017b).

Study 2: (How) did such a macro sociological shift shape linguistic development and the formation of linguistic identity construction among young multilinguals? (Putjata 2018b).

Study 3: How did newly immigrant teachers perceive their own role in the Israeli education system? To what extent did they notice differences in language status and how did their own perceptions of migration-related multilingualism develop in these contexts? (Putjata 2018c).

Study 4: To what extent did pupils perceive (newly) immigrant teachers? What role did they play in pupils' perceptions of themselves as migration-related multilinguals in the new imagined community? (Putjata 2017a).

Study 5: How do migration-related multilingual teachers perceive the multilingualism of their pupils today and how has this perception developed in the course of their own life and professional biography? How do they describe dealing with multilingualism in their own teaching practice? (Putjata 2018a).

3.2. Data Collection

During the fieldwork in summer 2015, I collected a total of 17 language biographies and 11 expert interviews. The expert interviews served to capture the educational policies and implementation measures, while language biographies allowed access to individual perspectives of migration-related multilinguals who had experienced the Israeli educational context as pupils or teachers during the socio-political changes.

3.2.1. Interviews with experts

In order to capture the organizational measures for policy implementation, I interviewed people who are considered experts in this field. This group included scholars who had researched and scientifically accompanied the measures or who had themselves been involved in the implementation. These interviews gave me the first access to the field. I contacted the experts in advance per e-mails, based on my literature research in the field of language, education and migration: for example, Gabriel Horenczyk on the professional integration of teachers, Marina Niznik on language policy, Larissa Remennick on capital in migration and Mila Schwartz on multilingualism in educational contexts. Subsequently, I was able to reach further experts via the snowball principle, so that I conducted a total of 11 interviews. These interviews provided an important basis for accessing educational policy documents as well as learning about actual implementation. For example, Marina Niznik and colleagues undertook a very detailed analysis of educational policies implementing the languages of (recent) immigrants (Muchnik et al. 2016) and Larissa Remennick compared the professional integration of Russian-speaking teachers in different countries (Remennick 2002). What was missing from this body of research, according to these interviews, was the perspective of the individuals themselves who experienced the Israeli education system in these processes of change. For this reason, I based my publications on their existing work and focused on collecting language biographical interviews in the rest of the field research.

3.2.2. Language biographical interviews

Data were collected through narrative interviews focusing on language biographies (Franceschini 2002): respondents were asked to reflect openly on what languages they spoke, with whom, and when, and how this had changed over the course of their lives. This instrument was chosen because language biographies provide access to individual speakers' perspectives on their language lives: by reconstructing their own language biographies, individuals not only reveal their subjective theories about language acquisition or use, but also reflect on their perceived role in the society (ibid), with certain languages proving useful or hindering them. In doing so, they orient themselves to the prevailing language hierarchy, whereby certain positions are assigned to certain groups of speakers. Thus, they are always positioning themselves and others (Auer & Dirim 2003,

König 2018). It was precisely this allocation, the construction of certain roles for speakers of different languages in a society and the expression of language status as negotiated on the linguistic market, that was the focus of my studies.

I conducted the interviews personally. As a Russian speaker who had immigrated to Germany in the 1990s under similar circumstances, I shared the migration experience from the dissolved Soviet Union. I refer to the economic and social changes in the former CIS states as similar circumstances. This experience laid the necessary common ground for the interviews. This basis was further extended by the common languages: Russian as the official state language of the Soviet Union was completed in many interview conversations by English and Hebrew. For biographical research, this shared migration history represented a potential advantage, as it produced a particular sense of closeness due to the common language and socialization experiences (Agha 2007). In addition, when I first made contact, I introduced myself as a teacher and now a lecturer in the field of teacher education. This also provided common ground in terms of professional experience. With this shared horizon of experience, I attempted to overcome the power asymmetry in the research context. At the same time, the different contexts – Germany and Israel – allowed me to assure the necessary distance from the research field and to conduct interviews with authentic questions on the education system in Israel.

3.2.3. Participants

To recruit participants, I reached out to individuals in rural and urban areas of Israel through social media and academic networks. The most important criterion was the profession of the participants: they all had to be migration-related multilinguals and currently working as teachers in the Israeli education system. This allowed me to interview individuals who had completed their entire educational biography, from kindergarten to professional training in Israel, as well as multilinguals who encountered the Israeli educational context at an advanced age, with an international teaching diploma. The resulting data corpus included interviews with 17 individuals who emigrated from the Soviet Union between 1990 and 2000. This group was selected because it constituted the largest minority in Israel at the time of the data collection, with 17.6% (see Central Bureau of Statistics 2015). External factors shared by these immigrants were the collapse of the Soviet Union and changes in Israel's linguistic educational landscape in the 1990s. At the time of immigration, participants were between 2 and 41 years old. Thirteen of them were children and adolescents themselves at the time of the educational changes and reported on their experiences as pupils. Four of them had already graduated and encountered the education system as teachers. At the time of the interview, they had been working in the education system for between 1 and 20 years.

3.3. Data analysis

The audio-recorded data were transcribed and analysed by three independent researchers following a theory-guided coding. The basic approach was guided by qualitative content analysis according to Mayring (2010) as well as the

reconstruction of the discursive construction of experiences (Pavlenko 2007a). New theories emerged in the course of data analysis, arrived at deductively from considering the corpus. These theories were verified and reapplied to the material. This approach led to the elaboration of the theoretical framework on language beliefs presented in Section 2.

Thus, I first examined the “New Language Education Policy” in schools from the perspective of the multilinguals themselves, guided by theory and oriented towards Bourdieu's economy of linguistic exchange (1990). At the same time, the first perusal of the data showed that the educational policy changes had a significant role for personality development in terms of constructed linguistic identity. For this reason, in the second study I examined how the macro sociological processes of change in Israel shaped the linguistic identity construction among multilinguals. The theoretical basis for this was provided by Anderson's (1991) concept of imagined community. This second study showed, among other things, that multilingual teachers played a prominent role in the personality development of their pupils. Subsequently, in the third study, I re-examined all data with regard to the role of multilingual teachers in the process of identity construction. The coding of the data was guided by Anderson's concept of imagined community and the state of research on immigrant teachers. For the teachers to function as role models, however, the teachers themselves must have developed a perception of multilingualism as normality, as the findings confirm. This, in turn, was shown by initial analyses from the data with multilinguals who had already migrated to Israel in possession of a teaching diploma. For this reason, further data were used with teachers who had arrived in Israel in their adult years. These data were re-examined in the fourth sub-study, against the background of research on downward social mobility in migration contexts, drawing on the theory of “capital in migration” (Remennick 2002). Finally, in the fifth and last study, I used typology-building methods to analyze language-related notions of normality among migration-related multilingual teachers in Israel.

4. Selected findings and open questions

As outlined in the last section, five sub-studies emerged from the research project, investigating the following aspects: the emergence of pupils' language beliefs in different educational contexts (Study 1); processes of linguistic identity construction among multilinguals as a consequence of macro-sociological change (Study 2); the access of newly immigrated teachers to schools as a working field (Study 3); the significance of their presence in the education system (Study 4); and the described handling of multilingualism in their own pedagogical practice (Study 5). This design was chosen because of the close interconnectedness of language beliefs at the different levels. In order to understand the source of migrant multilingual teachers' pedagogical practices, the underlying language beliefs and how they are shaped must be reconstructed from a sociolinguistic and sociological perspective. The following section will provide selected findings on individual

biographical experiences as well as on language beliefs, their emergence and development in different settings.

- A person's migration background does not provide any information about his or her actual multilingual practices. Even existing individual multilingualism does not provide an indication of the perception of multilingualism as capital in Bourdieu's sense of the economy of linguistic exchange (see Bourdieu 1998 in Section 2). A major role in the formation of this perception is played by the way in which multilingualism is dealt with in the education system. This is shown by the study on the 'New Language Education Policy' with multilinguals in Israel who experienced different educational contexts. Participants who experienced a monolingual setting reproduce it in their current lives. Participants who have experienced their family language as institutionalized perceive multilingualism as an asset today. However, this perception is not static and closed. The third group shows that this perception can also change. However, this change requires educational policy measures that implement migration-related multilingualism in the curriculum of the education system and declare it an institutionalized cultural capital (Study 1, Putjata 2017b).

- A special role in this process is played by the indexical function, the meaning assigned by this educational policy measure to the respective languages in the sense of Blommaert (2005, see Section 2). This is shown by the study that reconstructs language attitudes in the process of identity construction. Interviewees who experienced a monolingual environment after migration recall the desire to fit in as the reason for their new "more Hebrew" names, and the decision to speak Hebrew exclusively with the family. The state language is assigned an integrative function as significant for participation in education and society. Consequently, integration in society means discarding everything that is hindering, including their family language, Russian. Multilinguals who were socialized after the shift in socio-political discourse report positive feedback regarding their knowledge of the family language. Implemented in the curricula, language was assigned more than just an identity function, which is reflected in the participants' self-perception: they now understand multilingualism as an important resource in life and are eager to pass the Russian language on to their children. These participants did not experience speaking Russian as a contradiction to equal participation, and see themselves as legitimate members of a multilingual community (Study 2, Putjata 2018b).

- A significant part of the formation of this imagined community (Anderson 1991) as a multilingual society was contributed to by immigrant teachers who multilingual Israelis themselves had in their school years. Without being asked about it, immigrant teachers were mentioned in many of these interviews. The study reconstructing their role shows that they were important for pupils' self-positioning as immigrant multilinguals in the new society: as part of the imagined community and for the legitimacy of Russian language in informal situations (see ideology brokering in Section 2). "My teacher had an accent too." As children and

adolescents, they did not experience accented pronunciation among authority figures as a hindrance and consequently perceived themselves as legitimate members of a linguistically heterogeneous society (Study 3, Putjata 2017a).

- However, this presupposed that the teachers themselves function as multilingual brokers (Blommaert 2005), that is, that they themselves perceive multilingualism – and the use of the Russian language in particular – as legitimate. However, this perception can only develop if newly immigrated teachers experience access to the working field of school as a type of inclusion through interdependence, and if the linguistic resources they bring with them are understood as capital. This is shown by the study that investigates the access and self-positioning of newly immigrated teachers within the linguistic market of the school. Newly immigrated teachers are able to transform the school's linguistic market by circulating multilingual ideology. Educational policies such as “New Immigrant Teacher Absorption” are a basic prerequisite for this transformation. Political intervention for the professional integration of immigrant teachers represents an official statement in the discourse of educational policy. Implemented through diploma recognition, teacher training, and mentoring programs, it contributes to a change in the discourse around immigrants and their social status, historically afforded minority status in the eyes of society. At the same time, professional integration has positioned teachers not as immigrants in need of help, but as experts at eye level. As self-confident multilinguals, they become *de facto* policy makers in the language market of the school, in the sense of Shohamy's (2010, see Section 2) theory on language policy making (Study 4, Putjata 2018c).

- All of the participants in the four presented sub-studies are themselves working as teachers in Israel today. Their own (described) dealings with linguistically heterogeneous groups and their perception of multilingualism were the focus of the fifth study on the emergence and development of language beliefs in the course of educational and professional biographies. This study shows that even if teachers are multilingual, even if they perceive and use multilingualism as a resource for themselves and society, this is not reflected in their described pedagogical actions. These results underline the importance of explicit professionalization in dealing with multilingualism in classroom (Study 5, Putjata 2018a).

This presentation of the main findings is highly simplified and invites a number of challenges, which I address in more detail in publications on the research. For example, the first study with pupils revealed that not all interviewees who attended school after 1995 experienced the changes in the school system. They do not recall languages other than Hebrew playing a role in interactions with teachers or in the curriculum, which raises questions about the role of different actors in policy implementation. Other studies confirm that the language education reform in Israel was implemented rather inconsistently and that the process took longer in some schools (Shohamy 2010). Another challenge that emerged in the interviews

concerned the language classes and materials offered in the family languages. Participants who had moved to Israel as children found the institutionalized Russian language classes too difficult. The academic language register seems to be too challenging for students who only experienced the language in everyday life without ever having learned to read and write it. This finding raises further research issues directed at specific intervention: the development and study of new tools, textbooks, curricula, and teacher training adapted to the new needs of multilinguals in migration contexts.

Furthermore, the findings question the extent to which the perceived positive response to family languages can be interpreted as a general valorisation of migration-related multilingualism. Rather, the data in Israel suggest that Russian experienced a revaluation, while this is not the case for Amharic – the language of Ethiopian immigrants. Other studies on language policy in Israel confirm that Amharic as a family language has not been implemented in the regular school system (Shohamy 2010, Muchnik et al. 2016). Ethiopian pupils are described as generally less talented, which is more indicative of a restructuring of the linguistic market: Russian has gained a higher status, while other languages have lost in status.

This observation is confirmed by findings with teachers who were re-professionalized in Israel: as presented in the narratives about the “New Immigrant Teacher Absorption” course, respondents only remembered fellow teachers from the Soviet Union, France, and the United States, although migration in the 1990s also included many people from North Africa. Based on these data, it is possible to assume that the latter minority group did not participate in the program. This suggests that there was no increased acceptance of multilingual teachers by the education system in general, but rather a restructuring of the linguistic market: this would suggest that while the language hierarchy changed (with the upgrading of Russian), the problem as such remained – the production and reproduction of social power relations in schools.

5. Discussion and Conclusion: Multilingualism as an idea of normality in educational settings

The five presented studies show the close interconnectedness of language beliefs on the three levels – the micro level of language development and positioning practices, the meso level of educational contexts, and the macro level of educational policy. However, they also show that language beliefs related to linguistic homogeneity at school can experience a reconstruction. In response to the overarching research question, “How can the monolingual idea of normality be challenged among teachers?”, the research project shows that there is a need for interwoven intervention on all three levels: *education policy measures* (macro level) are needed that would anchor *training on dealing with multilingualism* (meso level) in regular teacher training and, in doing so, would draw on the existing

migration-related multilingual practices of prospective teachers (micro level). This interaction between top-down (professionalization in dealing with multilingualism anchored in educational policy) and bottom-up (migration-related multilingual practices among prospective teachers) measures can enable a shift toward multilingualism as an idea of normality in educational contexts. In the following section, I will summarize these findings and their significance for multilingual practice and research.

Multilingual teachers can be an example for multilingualism in educational contexts and an important resource for change in the linguistic market of the school. The studies show the interconnectedness of the three levels. The perception of multilingualism as capital on the micro level depends to a large extent on one's own biographical experience with migration-related multilingualism. The migration background, as such, does not result per se in multilingualism and even existing multilingualism does not automatically lead to its perception as a resource. As reconstructed in the language biographies, this development is the result of political dealings with multilingualism on the macro level, as reflected on the linguistic market of educational institutions on the meso level. Past experience with multilingualism plays a significant role in this process. When multilingualism is experienced as a prerequisite and medium for learning processes and educational success, teachers reproduce this perception in their own pedagogical practice with linguistically heterogeneous pupil groups.

For already trained teachers who migrate as adults, the development of language beliefs depends on their access to the labour and education market and on the role that is politically assigned to the languages they speak. The possibility of professional integration with recognition of existing pedagogical and linguistic resources leads teachers to perceive their migration-related multilingualism as an asset. The situation is similar for teachers who grew up multilingual as children or adolescents. The way society approaches multilingualism shapes their current language beliefs. Teachers who have experienced the use of Russian as legitimate in everyday interaction and as capital for learning and educational success understand migration-related multilingualism as a significant resource for their pupils and for society as a whole. In a context where only the state language is accepted, teachers develop beliefs that reproduce the social status of multilingualism as a deviation from the norm, and see the multilingualism of their pupils as insignificant or even as a hindrance.

However, these beliefs are not monolithic constructs that, once formed, remain stable. They are fluid and open to change. These findings highlight the need to develop further didactic methods that include biographical analysis and take them up as a reflexive moment for all participants in teacher education. This should take place not in additional programs, but in regular teacher training. The constructive implementation of migration-related multilingualism in teacher professionalization leads to their integration as equals and the reconstruction of self-perception in

migration-related multilingual teachers. In terms of socio-political discourse, it enables equal participation that recognizes existing resources and makes them socially relevant. Applied to teachers and professionals, these findings show that dealing professionally with multilingualism in a migration society is the task of all teachers. However, the existing teachers' migration-related resources should be addressed in the process of developing this professionalism. The ability to deal with linguistic diversity should not only be a desirable outcome, but rather should be included as an important prerequisite for all future teachers.

Finally, on the methodological level, the multi-perspective analysis shows the need to approach multilingualism and education in a migration society in an intertwined way. Psychological foundations for cognitive and linguistic learning processes need to be further investigated with a focus on multilingual practices (e.g., translanguaging or code-switching) in the classroom; this level needs to be complemented by further socio-political research on hegemonic dynamics of language(s); furthermore, corresponding concepts and methods of multilingual classroom and school development, as well as their transfer into mainstream education, would need to be further investigated. Here, interdisciplinary and multimethod approaches are also necessary in order to capture linguistic practices in educational contexts.

The present paper contributes to the research on the language maintenance of post-Soviet immigrants. Yet, in the light of ever-increasing transnational and global mobility, the significance of the multilingual turn in teacher education and practice extends far beyond individual language development. Both multilingualism and teacher education, as well as their interaction are critical aspects in issues of equal opportunities, educational equality and social cohesion. Thus, from a wider perspective, this topic will always be framed by questions of language-responsible teaching and equality in education.

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Acknowledgements

I thank Ksenija Gumenik and Liana Kotliar for assistance with data evaluation. I am also grateful to Helena Olfert and two anonymous reviewers for comments on an earlier version of the paper. Any remaining errors and inconsistencies are mine alone.

Disclosure statement

There is no potential conflict of interest to report.

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Article history:

Received: 14 May 2021

Accepted: 19 October 2021

Bionote:

Galina PUTJATA is Professor for literacy and migration-related multilingualism at the Department of Education of the Goethe University Frankfurt (Germany). She obtained her PhD on multilingual development at University of Dresden and Université du Québec à Montréal. She further conducted research on multilingualism, migration and education at the universities of Münster, Landau and Flensburg. Her current research interests are: language and education trajectories in the context of transnationalisation, school development with a focus on language education and multilingualism, and professionalization in dealing with linguistic diversity.

Contact information:

Department for Educational Research
Goethe University Frankfurt
Theodor-W-Adorno-Platz 6
60629 Frankfurt, Germany
e-mail: putjata@em.uni-frankfurt.de
ORCID: 0000-0001-7745-3508

Сведения об авторе:

Галина ПУТЯТА – профессор кафедры грамотности и многоязычия в условиях миграции во Франкфуртском университете имени Гёте (Германия). Она защитила докторскую диссертацию по многоязычному развитию в Дрезденском университете и Университете Квебека в Монреале. Впоследствии она исследовала вопросы многоязычия, миграции и образования в университетах Мюнстера, Ландау и Фленсбурга. В настоящее время ее научными интересами являются: языковые практики в условиях транснационализации, исследование многоязычия в области школьного и учебного развития, а также профессиональная подготовка в работе с языковым разнообразием.

Контактная информация:

Department for Educational Research
Goethe University Frankfurt
Theodor-W-Adorno-Platz 6
60629 Frankfurt, Germany
e-mail: putjata@em.uni-frankfurt.de
ORCID: 0000-0001-7745-3508



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1126-1135>

Book review

**Review of Andrea C. Schalley & Susana A. Eisenclas (eds.).
2020. *Handbook of Home Language Maintenance
and Development: Social and Affective Factors*.
Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 978-1-5015-1689-4**

Innara A. GUSEYNOVA

Moscow State Linguistic University
Moscow, Russia

For citation:

Guseynova, Innara A. 2021. Review of Andrea C. Schalley & Susana A. Eisenclas (eds.). 2020. *Handbook of Home Language Maintenance and Development: Social and Affective Factors*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1126–1135. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1126-1135>

Рецензия

**Рецензия на книгу
Andrea C. Schalley & Susana A. Eisenclas (eds.). 2020.
*Handbook of Home Language Maintenance and Development:
Social and Affective Factors*. Berlin/Boston:
Walter de Gruyter. ISBN 978-1-5015-1689-4**

И.А. ГУСЕЙНОВА

Московский государственный лингвистический университет
Москва, Россия

Для цитирования:

Guseynova I.A. Review of Andrea C. Schalley & Susana A. Eisenclas (eds.). 2020. *Handbook of Home Language Maintenance and Development: Social and Affective Factors*. Berlin/Boston: Walter de Gruyter. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25, № 4. P. 1126–1135. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1126-1135>

The book is devoted to current issues of Applied Linguistics, which are discussed across different domains. The main idea of such investigations is the following: now is the time to implement scientific results including language and contemporary communication theories in real life. The same concerns Applied Linguistics, which is aimed at “the solving of real world problems with language

and communication” (p. V). The analysis, descriptions and solutions delivered by Applied Linguistics can be integrated in everyday life and be effective in social and institutional spheres. The book illuminates strategies, which are efficient for home language maintenance and development. It consists of four parts. Each part addresses sociolinguistic topics and relevant problems of everyday communication and language use.

Part 1 entitled “Terminologies and methodologies” comprises the analysis of the concept “home language” and terms used for describing this phenomenon; the description of different factors which influence language maintenance and development of home language; and the discussion of methodological approaches applied through the investigation of home languages. Part 2 “Bilingual speakers and their families” is devoted to the “FLP” concept – Family Language Policy in bilingual and multilingual families with migrant backgrounds, in families living in communities and in families fully integrated into institutional and social life. Part 3 “Grassroot initiatives” focuses on the local initiatives executed in communities by applying different tools, e.g. social media, Internet resources, language schools capacities, power and authority of communities. Part 4, “The role of society”, highlights two institutional aspects: social justice and inclusiveness, on the one hand, and the role of formal education, on the other hand.

The analysis is carried out on macro, meso and micro levels. The macro level allows the authors to describe the language situation on an institutional level with a high extent of abstraction. The micro level analysis is concentrated on the peculiarities of individuals who are members of small social groups (families). “The meso level – sits amidst the macro and micro levels” (p. 3). Language situations are illustrated by the results of surveys and monitorings executed in different countries and communities, as well as in different family types.

In the chapter “Social and affective factors in home language maintenance and development: Setting the scene,” Andrea C. Schalley and Susana A. Eisenclas discuss the differences between the terms *minority language* – *mother tongue* – *heritage language* – *home language* (p. 4) from an interdisciplinary perspective. The social and affective factors define the usage of the above mentioned terms, and their implementation depends on the scientific field and approaches of researchers. In this handbook, the term *home language* is employed because it represents “relative neutrality on social and affective factors in language maintenance and development” (pp. 4–5). Home language is characterized as a majority language spoken at home and by community members. The handbook also describes heritage language emphasizing that the term is applied in cases when it is necessary to illustrate the intergenerational aspect. According to the handbook, language maintenance can be defined as a couple of measurements taken in families and communities to support the usage of home languages.

The chapter “Making sense of *home language* and related concepts” by Susana A. Eisenclas and Andrea C. Schalley is devoted to the examination of the concept of bilingualism from the geographical and ideological perspectives. Whereas the authors employ two notions – ‘bilingual’ and ‘multilingual’, the term *bilingualism*

is applied as the “umbrella term” (p. 19). It is stressed that languages give access to new knowledge and the lack of linguistic knowledge can “prevent students from achieving their full potential” (p. 18). In the context of the dichotomy between *majority* and *minority* languages, it is necessary to note that a lack of language support on an institutional level fails to guarantee sustainability of minority languages and equal access to educational services. The term *mother tongue* is also taken into account, but it is emphasized that *mother tongue* includes diverse aspects, and the language used at home can differ from the language of the child’s mother. “Heritage language” is normally applied to speakers who originally came from other countries. Heritage languages are used at home for daily communication between representatives of different generations, usually in addition to the mainstream language. In academic use, there are some new abbreviations: “CALD, culturally and linguistically diverse backgrounds/communities (which includes all communities except Anglo-Saxon); LBOTE, language background other than English; and EAL/D, English as an additional language or dialect” (p. 28). As far as *home language* is concerned, this term is related to bilingual families and denotes the language of communication between all family members. The term *home language* “has no ideological underpinning, in contrast to many other terms used in the field of educational research” (p. 34).

In the chapter “Researching social and affective factors in home language maintenance and development: A methodology overview,” Päivi Juvonen, Susana A. Eisenclas, Tim Roberts and Andrea C. Schalley discuss methods which are relevant to home language research: a single-method is used for the quantitative or qualitative studies; a mixed-method, which is also called “mixed qualitative-quantitative” method (p. 39), is applied for interdisciplinary purposes. The authors argue that the most popular methods are *interview* and *survey*. For studies executed on a micro level, the useful methods are observation, interview and focus group method. On a meso level, preference is given to interviews, surveys, observation, testing, etc. The macro level requires text analysis, including ethnographic interviews, fieldnotes, linguistic landscaping, surveys, etc. All data collection methods can be combined according to the main goal of the research.

Another sociolinguistic topic is related to the *family* phenomenon. It is a complex term, as there are different types of families. The same applies to children. For example, there are biological children, adopted children, etc. In such a context, several sociolinguistic factors must be taken into consideration, for example if those are migrant or non-migrant families, if parents speak the same or different languages, if the speakers are living in communities or in multilingual milieus, etc. But it is to underline that data collection is executed at micro, meso and macro levels. For example, the meso level provides an opportunity to investigate a “larger social unit – the community” (p. 43), and families are traditionally investigated at a micro level. Nowadays it is also crucial to take into account the parameters of community. Not only do we speak about geographical, but also about virtual communities. The macro level allows us to research bodies of authority “such as representatives of schools or municipalities” (p. 46) and also the value systems,

ideologies, which are relevant to the whole society. Bodies of authority reflect the needs of most representatives of society, including needs of individuals, social groups, children, migrants, etc. All data should be carefully managed, because the figures form the foundation for institutional decisions of language policy makers.

In Part 2, two topics are presented: self-conceptions and affective reactions, and Family Language Policy itself, but the researchers (Annick De Houwer, Yeşim Sevinç, Amelia Tseng, and Judith Purkarthofer) lay emphasis on bilingual situations in different types of families.

In the chapter “Harmonious Bilingualism: Well-being for families in bilingual settings,” Annick De Houwer describes “harmonious bilingualism” (p. 63). It is possible to establish it if there is no negative influence of external and internal factors on Family Language Policy (FLP). The author provides examples which illustrate the situation of equal use of two languages at home and in the educational sphere. At the same time, the author underlines that a change of linguistic environment can cause a lack of verbal communication at home and at school. Insufficient social attention to “linguistic diversity” (p. 65) can cause misunderstandings between representatives of different cultures located in the same area. Moreover, in the institutional and educational sphere, children speaking a home language which is not the societal language are confronted with social and ethnic conflicts, so they are to be seen as “victims of peer aggression in classrooms” (p. 68). Such a situation can be avoided by means of teaching children to speak the societal language. That is the reason why it is necessary to establish harmonious bilingualism and to give children a chance to join the “high quality second language instruction program” (p. 69). It is also mentioned that children who speak the societal language at home sometimes suffer as a result of emotional distance, because they cannot bond with other family members: “they would no longer be able to communicate with grandparents and other relatives” (p. 72). Surveys carried out in bilingual families showed that most mothers are satisfied if children are taught both the home and societal language. It is advantageous for children because in this case they do not suffer from misunderstandings in the institutional sphere and can avoid emotional distance in their families.

The chapter “Anxiety as a negative emotion in home language maintenance and development” by Yeşim Sevinç analyzes the factors generating and stimulating negative emotions of family members representing different generations – grandparents, parents and children. One of the factors is related to the fact that parents and grandparents speak a home language while children use a societal language at home, or children do not have sufficient knowledge of heritage or home languages. In such circumstances, children feel constant emotional pressure, which can also have a negative impact on their language proficiency. The children feel intimidated, get speech fright, speech anxiety, etc., and “bilingual children may ultimately avoid using the language about which they feel anxious” (p. 98). It is also mentioned that such situations are typical for transnational families.

In the chapter “Identity in home-language maintenance,” Amelia Tseng demonstrates the identity problem in transnational families. Identity can be

constructed on social, emotional, communication and other levels, but in any case “language is an important index of ethnocultural identity” (p. 110). Home and heritage languages play a pivotal role in creating ethnocultural identity and also facilitate communication between all family members. Home-language maintenance creates the social and linguistic framework for children and their further bilingual education.

The chapter “Intergenerational challenges: Of handing down languages, passing on practices, and bringing multilingual speakers into being” by Judith Purkarthofer covers the institutional steps which should be taken to integrate qualified multilingual speakers into community schools, courses and into an education system. Multilingual speakers focused on children’s language acquisition contribute to intergenerational interaction and take part in transmitting regional minority languages, languages of migration and diasporic communities.

In the chapter “Family language policy: Foundations, theoretical perspectives and critical approaches,” Elizabeth Lanza and Rafael Lomeu Gomes provide examples of Family Language Policy (FLP) existing across different areas and regions. Their methodological approaches are illustrated by the results of different surveys. FLP is considered to be a part of language policy, which helps to preserve home and heritage languages, their norms and rules. The FLP is presented as a system of measurement and includes the following steps: “1. Classic diary studies by linguist parents. 2. Bilingual language acquisition studies focused on central psycholinguistic questions. 3. A turn to a more sociolinguistic approach: the establishment of FLP as a field of inquiry. 4. A turn to include a more diverse range of family types, languages and contexts. 5. A focus on globally dispersed, transnational, multilingual populations, and ever-greater heterogeneity and adaptability in research methods” (p. 155). The authors argue that it is very important to avoid situations when children speak neither home and heritage, nor societal languages. In addition, it is emphasized that home language development and maintenance is an integral part of “family language policies and practices” (p. 168).

The chapter “Factors influencing family language policy” by Xiao Lan Curdt-Christiansen and Jing Huang addresses the identity factor, as well as cultural, economic, political and other internal and external factors, which should be taken into consideration because they affect families and their everyday life. It is stressed that internal factors play a substantial role because each of them is connected with family policy and practices. The “emotional factor” (p. 177) is used for heritage language maintenance and for intergenerational communication. The “identity factor” (p. 177) is crucial for keeping “ethnolinguistic origin of the family” (p. 177). “Cultural factor refers to cultural practices and social norms” (p. 177). “Parental impact beliefs” (p. 178) influence the choice of the parents if they educate children in a home language or the children are taught both in home and societal languages. “Child agency” (p. 178) is seen as a power: children play a role of decision makers, they make choices if they learn home and / or societal languages. It is also emphasised that there are many positive examples of bilingual development in the families and in the educational sphere.

In the chapter “Strategies and practices of home language maintenance,” Mila Schwartz highlights the interaction between parents and children in a sociolinguistic context. Parents are considered to be “minority language teachers” (p. 197). It is important to equip the parents with tools which are relevant for home language maintenance on a high level. Strategies and their annotations developed by different researchers are presented in a table (pp. 201–204). Parents, for example, can take the “design of home language environment” strategy (p. 205). It includes joint book reading, joint use of devices intended for language learning, etc. One of the suggested family practices is “goal-directed code-switching” (p. 206). It is based on pragmatic language use in different communicative situations. It helps children to cross language barriers. The language practices are also summarized in a table on pp. 207–210. The author also indicates that many practices and strategies are initiated by family members.

The chapter “Child agency and home language maintenance” by Cassie Smith-Christmas demonstrates the role of children in family language policy. Children are considered to be agents using home language as a tool for connecting generations. At the same time, it is argued that children make their contribution by their bilingualism, which is essential for them. Otherwise, if the children do not speak the societal language, they can be excluded from educational, social and professional life in the future.

In the chapter “Future prospects and visions for family language policy research,” Åsa Palvianen gives her vision of family language management. The author argues that the language management system should include both family members’ experiences and children’s perspectives: “focus on child agency” (p. 238), interviews with parents, peculiarities of child-parents interaction, consideration of ethnographic factors, etc. But the most important thing is to use communication technologies which help “to mediate, coordinate and synchronise the daily lives of individually networked family members” (p. 241). Potential research questions are listed in a table on p. 245.

Part 3 describes local experiences of different communities using institutional, educational and cultural tools for home language maintenance.

In the chapter “Social media and the use of technology in home language maintenance,” Sabine Little discusses the term “family digital literacy” (p. 257) and focuses on the usage of the “technology and social media in multilingual families” (p. 257). Online games can motivate children to language learning. According to the empirical data, “82% of children had generic interest in online or mobile games” (p. 258). For further integration of children into social life, it is important to equip them with information delivered by social media. In such a situation, children get an opportunity to develop their “cultural and social capital” (Bourdieu 1986), e. g. language capital. For educational purposes, all the sources, such as TV, films, DVDs, YouTube and so on, are of great use. Moreover, Sabine Little underlines the potential of “online vocabulary games” (p. 265) which can be integrated into language learning process. The above-mentioned tools help to tune the atmosphere at home, so that all family members could be involved into the language acquisition process on a regular basis.

In the chapter “Transnational grassroots language planning in the era of mobility and the Internet,” Anikó Hatoss attempts to demonstrate the potential of the Internet and its resources which could help all family members to maintain home and societal languages because nowadays people “are local and global at the same time” (Canagarajan 2005). Internet technologies help to create different spaces, for example, mediascapes, technoscapes, financescapes, ideoscapes, etc. All types of spaces are supposed to be multilingual, whereas languages give access to all scapes and provide an opportunity to construct a multilingual cyberspace.

The chapter “Community language schools” by Janica Nordstrom describes the experience and consequent policy of community language schools delivering educational services not only in a societal language, but also in a home language. The author emphasises the role of community members, parent-volunteers, charities and non-government foundations in solving the problems related to language diversity, heritage languages, migration and host communities (p. 295). Joint efforts contribute to the realization of language policy on local and global levels and protect children from social and institutional injustice. Community language schools develop curricula teaching and pedagogy taking into account local and global changes helping to build up a system which correlates with other institutions and, as a result, home languages are neither marginalized nor excluded from the institutional sphere.

Elisabeth Mayer, Liliana Sánchez, José Camacho and Carolina Rodríguez Alza cover the best practices of local language initiatives based on Indigenous communities in the chapter “The drivers of home language maintenance and development in indigenous communities.” It is argued that minority languages “have different degrees of legal recognition” (p. 315). In case the minority language is recognised on an institutional level, it can be seen as “a vehicle for ethnic cultures and economic considerations” (p. 316). Local initiatives are illustrated by measurement taken in different countries to ensure equal human rights, on the one hand, and to maintain minority languages, on the other hand.

In Part 4 the topic “Social justice and inclusiveness” is analyzed by Anthony J. Liddicoat, Nathan Albury, E. Annamalai, Tove Skutnabb-Kangas, Gregory A. Cheatham and Sumin Lim. All the authors pay attention to language policy on macro and meso levels stressing the advantages of linguistic diversity. The maintenance of home languages gives a chance to observe human rights in families, as well as in the institutional sphere, thus ensuring equal access to all education institutions.

In the chapter “Language policy and planning for language maintenance: The macro and meso levels,” Anthony J. Liddicoat gives an overview of language maintenance in educational institutions. First of all, the usage of the two terms – *language planning* and *language policy* – is well-grounded. It is underlined that both terms are applied “to emphasise different aspects of action around language” (p. 337). The author distinguishes two types of language policy and planning (LPP): the first type suggests language status and functions of language varieties, whereas the second type refers to “language-in-education” (p. 339), and its use in teaching

and learning processes. LPP can be applied on macro and meso levels. On a macro-level, LPP is realised through language communities which are provided with resources needed for language maintenance. On a meso level, LPP is supported by different organisations, including “individual schools, media and other language- and literacy-related services” (pp. 345—346). Media are also involved in LPP realization making it possible to establish a minority language and cultural groups interested in developing and maintaining it.

The chapter “Language attitudes and ideologies on linguistic diversity” by Nathan Albury discusses the role of ideologies and attitudes in local initiatives because they can be applied as a tool for regulating the “linguistic diversity on macro and micro level” (p. 359). Ideologies and attitudes pave the way for two strategies. The first strategy is geared towards heritage language learning, whereas the other one is oriented towards bilingual education. This is the reason why ideologies and attitudes are considered to be a pivotal regulating mechanism.

In the chapter “Social justice and inclusiveness through linguistic human rights in education,” E. Annamalai and Tove Skutnabb-Kangas analyse the role of education. The authors claim that a lack of equal access to an educational system can lead to the “marginalisation of people” (p. 377) and violation of human rights. In this context, minority groups can be seen as vulnerable social groups because they are “minoritised” (p. 378). To avoid such a situation, institutional (laws, conventions, acts etc.) and regional (regional human rights issues) tools should be implemented. Thus, people can choose one or more languages from the institutionally approved “language repertoire” (p. 385) because “every person must have a choice to use his/her language repertoire for the purposes he/she considers beneficial to him/her” (p. 385). To escape “self-exclusion by the minorities,” it is necessary to develop a rational language policy. Such a policy is in line with the “multilingual education” concept (p. 388), which substantiates developing two language education programmes.

The chapter “Disabilities and home language maintenance: Myths, models of disability, and equity” by Gregory A. Cheatham and Sumin Lim is devoted to problems related to students who are not capable enough to learn both home and societal languages. In such a situation, some learners “stop speaking their home language in favor of the dominant language” (p. 402). Some parents discourage their children from speaking and learning a home language because, from their point of view, “bilingualism causes or contributes to developmental problems” (p. 403). Some teachers suppose that students have low motivation to second language acquisition. The solution of the problems indicated above is connected with the development of a special social model of disability which can cover sensitive social groups, including minority social identities. Such a social model of disability can be useful for home language maintenance, as well as for educational institutions.

The second topic “Formal education” is presented by Kutlay Yağmur, Latisha Mary and Andrea Young and by BethAnne Paulsrud.

In the chapter “Models of formal education and minority language teaching across countries,” Kutlay Yağmur analyses and describes models related to

experiences existing in different countries. It is posited that policy makers decide which languages will be taught in education institutions. “Formal education models are mostly based on the national priorities of nation-states” (p. 425), and national circumstances impact the policy makers’ decisions. At the same time, the concept of multilingual policies is a challenge for education institutions. Institutions have to take into account the current linguistic situation and opt between “rationalized language regime and multilingual regime” (p. 427). Such decisions concerning minority language are arrived at according to nine parameters: target groups, arguments, objectives, evaluation, minimal enrolment, curricular status, funding, teaching materials and teacher qualifications (pp. 433–436).

The chapter “Teachers’ beliefs and attitudes towards home languages maintenance and their effects” by Latisha Mary and Andrea Young focuses on the ways children accept values and cultural heritage related to their home language. At the same time, the role of teachers and their beliefs in education and learning process is underlined. It is necessary to take into account children’s peculiarities and psychological characteristics. Also very important are parents’ beliefs, their attitude to home language, and practices applied in everyday life. The same characteristics apply to teachers, i. e. their education, relation to cultural heritage, language diversity, etc. In conclusion, the authors state that “language ideologies and beliefs about language are extremely powerful forces” (p. 456), as they determine language policy on local and global levels.

In the chapter “The mainstream classroom and home language maintenance,” BethAnne Paulsrud studies the co-existence of mainstream and home languages in educational institutions. It is asserted that teachers, due to the increase in migration flows and students’ mobility on all education levels, are confronted with linguistic diversity in classrooms. In such circumstances, classroom management is particularly challenging. A majority language can prove to be a solution, because it is officially admitted as the language of education and learning. That said, majority language proficiency can follow no definite pattern, so it is necessary to develop a technology which can help in such a linguistic situation. Paulsrud argues that it is reasonable to implement a pedagogic technology called “translanguaging” (p. 467). This technology provides an opportunity of using home language resources by teaching a majority language. Such a technology requires specific teacher training geared towards handling different languages in the learning process. In conclusion, it is emphasized that “home language maintenance may be managed and supported in the mainstream classroom” (p. 476), yet it calls for teachers training programmes and courses.

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Book review history:

Received: 15 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionote:

Innara A. GUSEYNOVA (PhD) is Professor & Vice Rector at Moscow State Linguistic University (MSLU). She is the author of over 150 academic papers, including two monographs and works published in English and German, in the fields of intercultural, professional and marketing communication, institutional communication, applied linguistics, linguistic education, theory of teaching foreign languages and interpretation, and German studies.

Contact information:

Vice Rector's Office, Moscow State Linguistic University

38, Ostozhenka, Moscow, 119034, Russian Federation

e-mail: guseynova@linguanet.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-6544-699X

Сведения об авторе:

Иннара Алиевна ГУСЕЙНОВА – доктор филологических наук, профессор, проректор Московского государственного лингвистического университета (МГЛУ). Автор более 150 публикаций, двух монографий и статей, опубликованных на английском и немецком языках. Область научных интересов – межкультурная коммуникация, профессиональная и маркетинговая коммуникация, институциональная коммуникация, прикладная лингвистика, лингвистическое образование, теория преподавания иностранных языков, межъязыковая коммуникация, германистика.

Контактная информация:

Московский государственный лингвистический университет

Россия, 119034, Москва, ул. Остоженка, д. 38, стр. 1

e-mail: guseynova@linguanet.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-6544-699X



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1136-1142>

Book review

**Review of Sonia Wilson. 2020. *Family Language Policy: Children's Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan.
ISBN 978-3-030-52437-1 (eBook)**

Anik NANDI

Leiden University
Leiden, The Netherlands

For citation:

Nandi, Anik. 2021. Review of Sonia Wilson. 2020. *Family Language Policy: Children's Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan. *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1136–1142. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1136-1142>

Рецензия

**Рецензия на книгу
Sonia Wilson. 2020. *Family Language Policy: Children's Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan.
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Аник НАНДИ

Лейденский университет
Лейден, Нидерланды

Для цитирования:

Nandi A. Review of Sonia Wilson. 2020. *Family Language Policy: Children's Perspectives*. Palgrave Macmillan. *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25, № 4. P. 1136–1142. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1136-1142>

The family has long been considered by sociolinguists as an important construct for intergenerational transmission. Although research on multilingual families is now an ingrained domain of inquiry within social sciences, *Family Language Policy* (henceforth, FLP) emerged as an independent field only in the past two decades. Initially centred on psycholinguistic aspects of children's language learning, this line of research took a sociolinguistic turn when Lanza (2004), using the tools of discourse analysis, confirmed that parental decisions and strategies often influence young children's bilingual outcomes. Drawing on the Spolskyian (2004) framework that understands language policy as an intersection

between ideologies, planning and practices, it rapidly became an important field in minority language research taking into account caregivers' visible and invisible language planning measures and literacy-related practices at home to control the family's language ecology (Nandi 2018). Whereas early FLP scholarship centred primarily on the caregivers' role, researchers have increasingly come to appreciate the importance of children's agency by investigating their perceptions about parental language governance and explained how children's experiences in a range of contexts outside the home, such as the school, playground, extracurricular activities and peer groups mediate family's linguistic outcome. However, the emotional wellbeing and experiences of bi(multi)lingual children growing up with linguistically different parents received diminished attention from FLP researchers. Building on the home language practices among French and English transnational families, Wilson in her thought-provoking book spotlights on the school-age heritage language (hence, HL) speakers elaborating on their linguistic lived experiences through a range of original research methods. In the context of migration, HL refers to the language(s) spoken in the home and familial contexts.

This book is the result of a three-year-long investigation. One of the crucial aspects of this monograph is its distinctive structure. Crafted in a systematic manner, this concise (209 pages) but compact volume commences with a Preface outlining its principal objective to shift "the focus away from optimising children's bilingual proficiency, towards understanding what is really happening within transnational families" (p. ix). The volume is divided into five asymmetrically distributed chapters followed by an Appendix section involving the examples of *Picture Items for Language Scenarios* and *Facial Expression Visual Stimuli* used by the author during the interviews with children. Finally, it culminates with an index offering an alphabetical roadmap of topics discussed.

In Chapter 1, "Heritage Speakers, FLP and Emotional Challenges," Wilson sets out to sketch a sociolinguistic scene where the affiliates of an intermarriage family "interact and establish language patterns" (p. 1). While discussing their family dynamics, the author underscores the key challenges these parents come across when one of them is inborn of the host country, prompting an unequal power distribution between the competing languages at home because of the anonymous presence of the dominant language in the exterior. Since there is no consensus among FLP scholars about the definition of "family," Wilson limits her study to "a traditional nuclear family structure" and admits that this "may not be representative of other family settings such as same sex unions or adoptive families" (p. 2).

The following section offers a chronological overview of FLP research based on Spolsky's paradigm of what family members perceive about language(s) (ideology), what they plan to do with language(s) (management) and what they actually do (practice) with regard to home language maintenance. There is a noteworthy discussion on these components in this chapter touching upon several key debates around FLP such as whether the caregivers should speak in only one language at home, whether each parent should speak his/her own language

(one parent, one language or OPOL strategy) or “incorporate the majority language and translanguaging into their practices” (p. 6). Ideologies are pivotal to any language policy. Since bilingual parents tend to transmit their ideologies through their language choices in interaction, parental ideologies in transnational homes “are closely linked to their beliefs about parenting” (p. 14).

Wilson starts the next section by defining what it means to be a heritage language speaker. Although the term ‘community language’ is often used as a generic term to refer to all non-indigenous languages in the UK, most of which are spoken by immigrant communities, whether long-established or recent (Wei 2018), the author restricts it only for the first-generation migrants and reserves the term HL for second-generation migrants who grew up “acquiring both the minority and majority languages and generally become dominant in the majority language” (p. 16). In the UK geopolitical situation, due to the absence of an overarching institutional language policy towards these languages, HL learning often takes place outside mainstream schooling, sometimes through supplementary or community schools that are often supported on a voluntary basis through a range of grassroots level efforts including community organisations, charities or particular religious groupings (Carruthers & Nandi 2021). Drawing on various international experiences, the discussion then focuses on the competence levels of HL speakers. The next three subsections look at the HL-speaking “children’s emotional, psychological and relational experiences of bilingualism” (p. 17). The final section establishes a connection between FLP and the subjective well-being of family members in transcultural homes. Wilson admits at the outset that well-being is a complex phenomenon to define as it involves various facets of an individual’s evaluation of their lived experiences. While using De Houwer’s (2013) *Harmonious Bilingual Development* framework to understand well-being of heritage-language-speaking families, Wilson concludes that it is difficult to become absolutely neutral about everyone’s language choices in the home, and contesting ideologies between family members may create situations of tension, thus impacting negatively on the transnational family’s well-being. De Houwer finds the solution in “a child’s ability to actively use the HL as the key to achieving harmony within the multilingual family” (p. 27). However, the author finds this argument discriminatory towards children since it will make them somewhat accountable for family’s emotional challenges. The section concludes with a reminder that the key objective of the investigation is to “addresses the lack of literature on children’s perspectives” (p. 30).

Chapter 2 reports on the research methods used in this study. Since the intention is to analyse individual agency within the FLP, Wilson uses a multiple case study approach. This line of research is considered useful for policy assessment as various cases collectively stipulate patterns of good practice during the implementation of a specific policy or programme providing examples of the policy impact on the ground (Keddie 2006). The study adopts a qualitative research design involving a wide range of data collection tools, such as “semi-structured face-to-

face interviews, email interviews, recorded observations of family interactions (self-recording in one case) and language portraits” (p. 44). The author notes that the current study is part of a larger body of research comprising an online survey (n = 164) where parents from twenty-two French complementary schools around the UK participated. Six families who already took part in the survey were selected as representative case studies. Geographically, they are located in three regions of England including London, South-East England and the West Midlands. Whilst the French parents took part in the face-to-face interviews, their monolingual English-speaking counterparts, according to the researcher, were “too inept to discuss bilingual parenting” (p. 45), therefore, email interviews were conducted with this demographic. To access information from the children, the author used a variety of ingenious and original research tools such as semi-structured interviews with visual stimuli and language portraits. Whereas the interviews offered insights on their ideological positioning towards caregivers’ language management and everyday language practices, language portraits were useful to understand “each young participant’s unique interplay between family, bilingualism and cultural identity” (p. 48). Audio recorded observations from five families (one self-recorded) were also used to validate the claims made during the interviews. Notably, family’s self-recorded data is increasingly getting popular in FLP research since it considers the observations of the participants whose lives are being affected by an intervention or result of the research (see Curdt-Christiansen 2016, Nandi 2017). Thematic analysis was deployed as the medium of data interpretation.

Having discussed the theoretical and methodological assumptions in the first two chapters, Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 present an analysis of the collected data. The wealth of the data offered here will certainly impress the reader. For instance, Chapter 3, “Childhood Experiences of FLP: 6 Case Studies of French Heritage Speakers in England,” which is also the longest chapter (94 pages) of this book, offers an extensive account “of family’s language practices, parental language management style and methods, and parental language ideologies” (p. 57). Fictitious names have been used to protect the real identity of the respondents. The case examples are divided into various subsections helping the readers to follow the narrative. In addition to the discussion on family members’ ideologies, management and practices, each case involves a variety of ancillary components, such as ‘Observed Language Practices & Management,’ ‘Parental Expectations of Children’s HL Proficiency,’ ‘Non-French Parent’s Approach to Bilingual Childrearing,’ ‘Parental Perception of Children’s Attitude’ and ‘Children’s Attitude Towards the HL and Parental Language Management’ offering a comprehensive overview of individual family’s language ecology. What I particularly missed in this chapter is a section on conclusion cross-referencing between the different case studies presented. It somehow ends abruptly with a quote from the sixth case study. Moreover, the analysis in this chapter sometimes lacks a critical voice due to its descriptive style.

Chapter 4, “Fostering Harmonious Bilingual Development through Family Language Policy,” underlines “the role of language attitudes and preferences in childhood bilingualism and highlight the holistic and individual nature of young heritage speakers’ bilingual experiences” (p. 153). This short chapter (18 pages) is distributed between four sections presenting the key themes that appeared in the case studies discussed in the previous chapter. Building on the participants’ deposition, the first section titled ‘Discussing Family Language Policy with Children’ underlines that the heritage-language-speaking parents who often adopt the role of custodians over their children’s everyday language conduct towards the minority language, are unaware of their real feelings about these top-down decisions. Therefore, for a harmonious FLP, Wilson argues that the “conversations about parental language planning [are] all the more necessary” in the family (p. 154). The following two sections focus on young HL speakers’ attitudes concerning the HL, their language preferences and individual experiences. The data discussed here demonstrates that children as young as six retain a clear awareness of caregivers’ language planning strategies. Even though some young HL speakers articulate that their parents’ strict FLP sometimes make them feel “annoyed,” “sad” or “angry,” they are aware of its emotional significance for the French-speaking parent. All the eight children studied also maintain a positive attitude towards their HL and family’s bilingualism. While searching for explanations for such positive attitudes, the author argues that French being offered as a modern foreign language in British schools, may influence this behaviour. The final section examines the impact of “imposing” HL-centred FLPs on children. Since each family has its own norms for language use, children’s bilingual experiences are also diverse. Wilson notes that strict practices such as prohibiting the use of English while talking to a minority-language parent may provoke negative emotions among children leading to a reduced or minimal communication between them (p. 167). Moreover, parental assumptions about creating the home as a secure place for bilingualism and minority language maintenance, as many FLP studies emphasise including this one, may fail dramatically once the children start making their own language choices. Hence, the author calls for more subtle and flexible attitudes towards HL management from parents to avoid “a conflictual bilingual development” (p. 169).

Chapter 5, “Conclusion,” which is also the shortest chapter (5 pages), not only summarises the main findings but reflects upon its wider implications. The author revisits the main research questions and centres the discussion around the emotional consequences of certain FLPs on children growing up in transnational homes. While discussing the implications of this investigation, Wilson cautiously reminds the reader that the eight case studies presented here should not be seen as representative to permit generalisation to other situations. Nonetheless, they provided valuable insights into children’s linguistic lived experiences in transcultural homes, whether or not they reflect the general experiences of all HL-speaking youngsters.

In my opinion, the weakest link of this monograph is its analysis part which remains mostly descriptive throughout. For instance, the British parents in this

study labelled their children’s bilingual experience as something “natural” (p. 153), which directly links it to the ideology of linguistic naturalism (Armstrong 2014: 576). Although there are some discussions around ideologies in connection with the data, the concept is rarely problematised. Siblings often play a significant role in influencing children’s language choices at home. A further discussion on sibling’s agency is expected while studying bilingual children’s experiences in FLP. Despite the above observations, a particular compliment should be directed to the author. This book is indisputably an excellent contribution to the contemporary FLP literature, particularly in the context of transnational families where one of the parents is a native speaker of the dominant language. Moreover, within FLP as a growing field, much remains to be explored including the configuration of the notion of ‘family’ itself. Research in this field has drawn extensively from Western/Northern theoretical frameworks. Therefore, it is high time for FLP researchers to see beyond the westernised paradigm of family as a “nuclear” domain (p. 2). What remains invisible from this perspective, are the realities that have existed and continue to emerge outside the Euro-American settings, particularly in the contexts of the Global South. To understand these dynamics, more cross-disciplinary research comparing the contexts of Global North and South are required.

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Book review history:

Received: 20 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionote:

Anik NANDI (PhD) is a Visiting Researcher at the Leiden University Centre for Linguistics (LUCL), The Netherlands. In 2013–2017 he took part in the COST project *New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe* and in 2020–2024 in the COST project *Language in the Human-Machine Era*. Nandi specialises in language policy and literacy practices in multilingual societies. He has published extensively in English, Spanish, Galician and Bengali in several national and international journals.

Contact information:

Praza da Universidade, 4, Santiago de Compostela, 15782, A Coruña, Spain

e-mail: a.nandi@hum.leidenuniv.nl

ORCID: 0000-0001-8254-6637

Сведения об авторе:

Аник НАНДИ (PhD) – приглашенный научный сотрудник Центра лингвистики Лейденского университета, Нидерланды. Участник Европейских COST проектов “New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges” (2013–2017 гг.) и “Language in the Human-Machine Era” (2020–2024 гг.). Специализируется на языковой политике и распространении грамотности в многоязычном обществе. Много публикуется на английском, испанском, галисийском и бенгальском языках в журналах национального и международного уровня.

Контактная информация:

Praza da Universidade, 4, Santiago de Compostela, 15782, A Coruña, Spain

e-mail: a.nandi@hum.leidenuniv.nl

ORCID: 0000-0001-8254-6637



DOI: <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1143-1149>

Book review

**Review of Svetlana Moskvitcheva & Alain Viaut (eds.). 2019.
*Minority Languages from Western Europe and Russia.
Comparative Approaches and Categorical Configurations.*
Switzerland, Springer. ISBN 978-3-030-24339-5**

Oksana I. ALEKSANDROVA

Peoples' Friendship University of Russia
Moscow, Russia

For citation:

Aleksandrova, Oksana I. 2021. Review of Svetlana Moskvitcheva & Alain Viaut (eds.). 2019. *Minority Languages from Western Europe and Russia. Comparative Approaches and Categorical Configurations.* *Russian Journal of Linguistics* 25 (4). 1143–1149. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1143-1149>

Рецензия

**Рецензия на монографию
Svetlana Moskvitcheva & Alain Viaut (eds.). 2019.
*Minority Languages from Western Europe and Russia.
Comparative Approaches and Categorical Configurations.*
Switzerland, Springer. ISBN 978-3-030-24339-5**

О.И. АЛЕКСАНДРОВА

Российский университет дружбы народов
Москва, Россия

Для цитирования:

Aleksandrova O.I. Review of Svetlana Moskvitcheva & Alain Viaut (eds.). 2019. *Minority Languages from Western Europe and Russia. Comparative Approaches and Categorical Configurations.* *Russian Journal of Linguistics*. 2021. Vol. 25, № 4. P. 1143–1149. <https://doi.org/10.22363/2687-0088-2021-25-4-1143-1149>

The book “Minority Languages from Western Europe and Russia. Comparative Approaches and Categorical Configurations” is part of a long-term multidisciplinary study coordinated in Bordeaux and conducted by an international group of researchers. The research is based on a wide range of data from Canada to China, with the main focus on Europe and Russia. The principle objective of the research is to categorize minority languages in terms of their status and

characteristics in order to avoid ambiguities and misunderstandings among the actors of language policies in different countries and regions (p. 6).

The problem of minorities and their languages, in fact, is still crucial in the new millennium with its context of globalization. Language policy is a powerful tool for the distribution of power, and minority groups suffering from their marginal position in nation states may derive advantage from current global balancing mechanisms (Wright 2016). It is impossible to regulate language policies unless the contours of notions of minority situations are defined and specified, as well as links of language, ethnicity, identity, society and territory.

The research question raised in the book becomes explicit as soon as the terms applied to minority languages in different countries are compared: “linguistic minority” (*minoranza linguistica*, in Italy), “native language” (*rodnoj jazyk*, in Russia), “lesser-used language” (European Bureau for Lesser-Used Languages), “immigration language,” non-territorial language, and so on. To categorize notions relating to minority languages, the authors use a multidisciplinary and comparative approach combining a wide range of semantic analysis methods, such as componential analysis, prototype theory, propositional conception, associative method, etc.

Taking “minority language” as an umbrella term and a macro-notion (p. 3), the authors identify four major common semantic components, namely statistical, legal, territorial, and historical semes. Every semantic feature defined clarifies criteria relating to the notion of minority language. Thus, the statistical seme shows a minority to majority ratio at the state or infra-state level; the legal seme reveals the factual and legal status attached to the language (p. 3); the territorial seme is linked with the correspondence of a minority language to a given territory or to a community; and the historical seme is connected both to the origin and the territory, presupposing stability in diachrony (*ibid*). Specification of these four semes allows the author to describe the process of minoritization and to define a language as a minority one. These methodological foundations are highlighted in the book’s introduction and become fundamental for the description of minority languages in the other chapters of the book.

The volume starts with a chapter entitled “An Introduction to Comparing Categorizations of Minority Languages,” written by Svetlana Moskvitcheva and Alain Viaut. The introduction describes the critical understanding of the term ‘minority language’ as a macro-notion covering other notions such as “minoritized language,” accounting for the nature of the minority character via the historical-and-political context (p. 3). The introduction also discusses epistemological data of the research and its methodology. With regard to the first of these, the authors explain that the notions used to describe minority languages derive from a range of different discursive practices. These notions are based on diverse communicative data and are thus considered as having an “oscillating structure” (p. 5) formed by “different actors, epochs and situations.” They are constituents of a general framework for comparing approaches to different systems. The authors adopt Bakhtin’s ideas of the decentered structure of society (Bakhtin 2012) and claim that

the categories of minority languages are of a discursive nature. Basing their comments on a socio-ideological conception of discourse, they argue that the instability of sub-categories of minority languages results from complex processes of ideological and historical change, as well as from attitudes of various actors. This idea recurs in different parts and chapters of the book.

The volume consists of three parts: each combining three to four thematically related chapters by different authors from different countries and institutions.

Part 1 presents a comparative approach to minority languages as constituting a legal, linguistic and social entity, based on a perspective of European experience. The first chapter entitled “Reflections on a Multidisciplinary Approach to ‘Minority Languages’ as a Legal Object in Europe: the Categorization of Regional and Minority Languages under the Charter” by Olivier Dubos and Victor Gusset explores the question of legalizing the sociolinguistic categorization of minority languages by the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages of the Council of Europe. Protection of languages entails protection of their speakers. Based on the idea that the law must be applied to facts that are defined by concepts, the authors show that the process of categorization of minority languages is of primary importance and does not admit inaccuracies. Discussing the terms of regional or minority languages defined in Article 1 of the European Charter, the authors examine the scope of excluded and protected languages and reveal problems in interpretation of these terms, taking into account their “historicity”, “territoriality” and “traditionality” (Viaut 2014). They argue for the necessity of involvement of sociolinguistic expertise in the conception and application of legal rules on minority languages.

The second chapter, “Reflection on a Multidisciplinary Approach to “Minority Languages” as a Linguistic Object in Europe” by Alain Viaut, reveals the complexity of the notion “minority language,” appealing both to law and social reality. According to the author, complexity is conditioned by the dynamics of the quantitative situation and by language dominance, which alters the practical, instrumental and symbolically significant functions of languages. The dynamics of the territory (in terms of historical settlement) influence the quantity of language speakers via social and political intricacies, such as political change, shifting of frontiers, language planning and revitalization, minorization processes and so on. The final part of this chapter describes the most salient characteristics of minority languages, such as the fragility of the contractual link between actual or potential speakers and their linguistic expression (p. 29), and the possible significance of a spontaneous link between speakers and language variety. It discusses glottopolitical procedures launched by the concerned linguistic groups and supported by state or sub-state authorities, whose occasional dispersal contributes to a fragmented or imprecise perception of minority status. Another factor is the tension implicit in situations that the language representatives face, and the necessity for protective and promotional measures in order to attach social, communicational and generally significant functions to a minority language. The analysis demonstrates that the minority language, as a complex object, requires a multidisciplinary approach

combining linguistics, macrosociolinguistics, political sciences, psycholinguistics and didactics.

The third chapter, “The Epistemological Significance of Comparative Social and Scientific Approaches to Minority Languages in France and Spain” by Christian Lagarde, extends the idea of the importance of sociolinguistic experience in devising linguistic policies, demonstrating this in a comparative study of French and Spanish language situations, in the light of the current politico-cultural context. Focusing on the legal concepts that characterize the plurality of languages in existing constitutional texts in France and Spain, as well as in other legal documents, the author establishes a critical typology of the most commonly encountered terms showing their officiality, number and political or apolitical type in France and Spain. Comparative analysis reveals differences in political tendencies towards centralization or decentralization, and strong interdependency among sociolinguistic, socio-cultural, socio-economic, socio-political and legal-linguistic dimensions.

Part 2 focuses on the naming of minority languages in Russia and the former Soviet Union from the west to the east, comparing this with the language situation in China. Starting from a deep theoretical analysis of the key sociolinguistic categories, it reveals differences in understanding and interpretation of minority languages in official and non-official discourses, their status and speakers' attitudes towards them. This part of the book is especially topical, in the light of the launch of the Program for the Preservation and Revitalization of the Languages of Russia that is being prepared by the Institute of Linguistics of the Russian Academy of Sciences (Kibrik 2021).

The chapter entitled “Prototypical Notions of Minority Languages in the Soviet Union and Russia: ‘Native Language’ (rodnoi yazyk) and ‘National Language’ (natsional'nyi yazyk)” by Svetlana Moskvitcheva discusses the dynamics and context of two key sociolinguistic categories as well as their place in the system of categories of minority languages in the former Soviet Union. Two notions, “native language” and “national language” from the highly developed Russian terminology of language categorization, are chosen mainly because of their widespread prevalence and high frequency in official and non-official discourses over the last hundred years. Using definitions from explanatory dictionaries of the Russian language and a “Dictionary of Sociolinguistic Terms” (Mihalchenko 2006), as well as a corpus, Russian Web 2011 (ruTenTen11) built via the Sketch Engine program, the author analyzes the semantic structures and semantic changes over the 20th century in legal, public and academic discourses and explains reasons for the coexistence of these closely related but different categories.

The chapter by Tatiana Agranat, “The Categorization of the Languages in Ingria and the Language Loyalty of their Native Speakers,” concerns the comparative study of the categorization of three closely related minority languages: Votic, Ingrian and Finnish located in the western area of the European part of Russia. It is claimed that, despite the difference of their categorization in different historical periods, all the three languages are currently considered indigenous. Though the conditions of their existence are similar, the attitudes of these languages' native speakers differ. Based

on the results of a sociolinguistic survey, the author demonstrates three specific attitudes: 1) an idealization of Votes towards their native language, despite the fact that it is not transferred to younger generations anymore; 2) both positive and negative evaluative attitudes among Ingrians, and 3) a strongly instrumental attitude with positive evaluative loyalty among Ingrian Finns.

The next chapter, “Categorization of Minor Pamir Languages in Tajikistan” by Leyli Dodykhudoeva, presents categories of the varieties of Iranian languages in Tajikistan and reveals new tendencies in attitudes of indigenous ethnic minorities towards their mother tongues. Presenting a nomenclature of language status, the author analyzes the language policy and dynamics of the language situation in the Republic of Tajikistan and the place of Pamir languages in the overall language picture. It appears that designations used for Pamir languages in legal, scholarly and media discourses become sources for a specific nomenclature for minority languages in Western Pamir, including collective nominations, such as 'Father's tongue', 'ancestor's tongue', 'our language', etc. (p. 95), as well as providing terms for categories of endangered language. The author claims that a more rigorous terminology for minority languages in Tajikistan, and more thorough language planning, that includes legal identification of functions of Tajik and other languages including minority Pamir, is required.

The final chapter of the second part of the book, “From Nominations of Socio-Ethnic Groups to Categorization of Minority Languages in China: Semantic Analysis” (p. 99) by Xue Li, continues the discussion of the idea of language categorization introduced in the previous chapters. The linguistic material of this chapter which concerns the Chinese language space extends the context of the book as a whole and allows for the identification of new parameters for sociolinguistic categorization. Analyzing the semantics of Chinese nominations of languages and categories of social and ethnic groups as well as their correlations, the author highlights parameters for language categorization that focus on language policy and the social status of languages. The study not only demonstrates the linguistic diversity of minority languages in China, but also highlights contradictions of the language policy of “promoting Putonghua” and the social need to protect dialects as a part of traditional Chinese culture.

Part 3 discusses a typology of migration and diaspora languages in different language situations. This is an attempt to analyse the difficulties involved in determining the statuses of such languages and attitudes towards them among their native speakers.

The chapter “Typology of Migration Languages and Linguistic Representations in a Bicultural Situation” by Antoine Pascaud constitutes a theoretical basis for the further research of migration languages presented in this chapter. The author classifies languages in migration situations, taking into account different levels of biculturalism as well as types of communities, including diasporas and transnational migrants. Distinguishing between transnational community languages and diaspora languages, and languages in diaspora, following Marie-Christine Varol (1994), the author combines the criteria of

majority – minority – official – minored, and identifies twelve types of migration languages. This theoretically constructed typology is exemplified by data from the author's survey of linguistic representations carried out in 2014, among three immigrant communities of European origin in the Bordeaux agglomeration. The mixture of inductive and deductive methods makes the typology convincing, and the work contributes to the categorization of minority languages, crucial for understanding language situations and language planning in general.

The next chapter, “Social and political status of “nonclassical” diasporas on the territory of the ex-USSR” by Ekaterina Nedopekina, is a description of six language cases in old diasporas in the Russian Federation and some territories of the USSR, namely Greeks, Jews, Koreans, Chinese, Germans and Gypsies. Reviewing some definitions of the notion 'diaspora', the author lists its main features and discusses six ethnic groups considered as atypical diasporas and their languages from the perspective of their status, levels of use and necessity of preservation.

The last chapter by Marina Kutsaeva entitled “Categorization of the Chuvash Language in the Chuvash Republic and beyond” (p. 149) presents research into a particular minority language. It discusses a modern type of territorialization of migration and minority languages, describes situations of internal labor migration and examines speakers' language loyalty and their recognition of an ethnic language as a native one. Analyzing legal documents, data of censuses and results of a survey with the participation of 100 Chuvash, the author explains some reasons for the misinterpretation, and ambiguity, of the term ‘native language’. In legal documents, it refers mainly to a mother tongue, whereas minority groups tend to understand it as an ethnic language, a language of the early years and a language of the homeland. This chapter also provides a detailed analysis of the current status of the Chuvash language and data relevant for the construction of a common typology of minority languages.

In conclusion, the collective monograph under review is important research contributing to the understanding of sociolinguistic aspects and language policy, since it defines the main principles for determining the status of minority languages, a necessary first step for their preservation and revitalization. A wide range of case studies conducted in different regions and collected in the book reveals not only specifics of minority situations, but also similar issues in their definition and self-determination, which makes it possible to get closer to building a general typology of minority languages.

The book can be recommended to researchers working in the field of sociolinguistics, political linguistics, linguistic contactology, sociology, migrationology, culturology, etc. It may also represent a valuable resource for those who are interested in the future of endangered languages and cultures.

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Acknowledgements

This paper has been supported by the RUDN University Strategic Academic Leadership Program, research project № 056113-0-000.

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Book review history:

Received: 02 May 2021

Accepted: 20 October 2021

Bionote:

Oksana I. ALEKSANDROVA, PhD, is Associate Professor of General and Russian Linguistics Department of the RUDN University, Vice Dean for Research. Her research interests include discourse analysis, semantics and semiotics, comparative linguistics and sociolinguistics. She has authored and co-authored over 50 publications, including three collective monographs.

Contact information:

Peoples' Friendship University of Russia

6, Miklukho-Maklaya, Moscow, 117198, Russia

e-mail: alexandrova-oi@rudn.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-7246-4109

Сведения об авторе:

Оксана Ивановна АЛЕКСАНДРОВА — доцент кафедры общего и русского языкознания, заместитель декана филологического факультета по научной работе. В сферу ее научных интересов входят дискурс-анализ, семантика, семиотика, сравнительное языкознание и социолингвистика. Она является автором и соавтором более 50 публикаций, в том числе трех коллективных монографий.

Контактная информация:

Российский университет дружбы народов

Россия, 117198, Москва, Миклухо-Маклая, 6

e-mail: alexandrova-oi@rudn.ru

ORCID: 0000-0002-7246-4109

