

Languages of Moscow: Linguistic diversity in a metropolitan city



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יום שפה ותרבות רוסית באוניברסיטת תל אביב
יום חמישי, 15 במרץ 2018

День русского языка и культуры в Тель-Авивском университете
Четверг, 15 марта 2018 года

Plan of talk

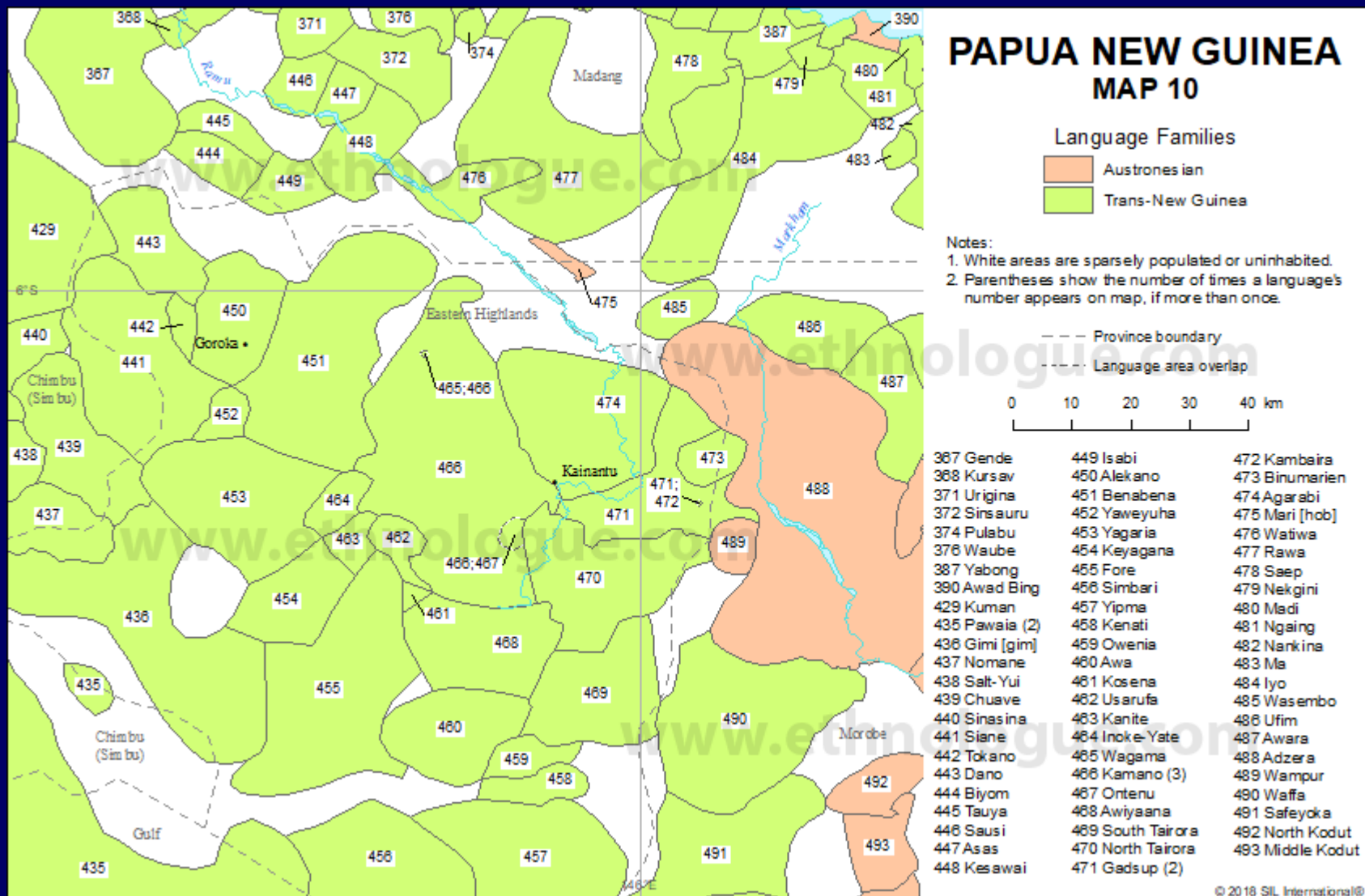


- Why study languages of a (metropolitan) city?
- Research questions
- Some preliminary answers

Why study languages of a city?



- Traditional view:
 - Languages are associated with fixed territories
 - Such territories are coherent
 - Language territories have fixed boundaries
- This is true, to an extent, with respect to rural settlement type



■ https://www.ethnologue.com/map/PG_10

Areal linguistics



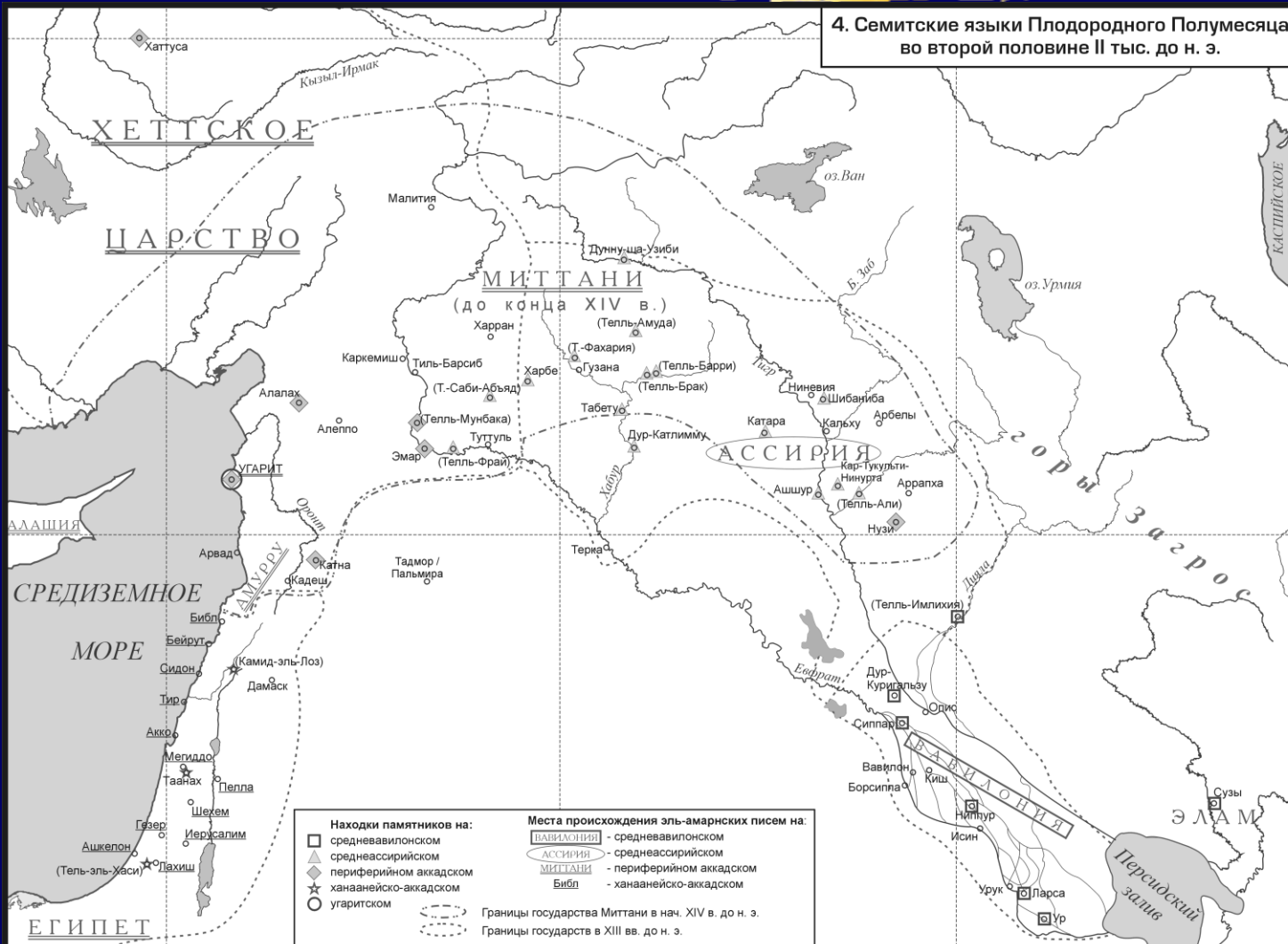
- Even in rural settlement, there are all kinds of boundary phenomena
 - Overlapping territories
 - Multilingualism
 - Code mixing
 - Language contact: borrowing of matter or pattern
 - Contact languages

However



- Rural settlement cannot be seen as the “default” anymore
- Cities
 - They appeared ca. 10 millennia ago
 - They used to be a marginal type of human settlement
- But now they account for over half of the world’s population
- According to UN, in 2016 54.5% lived in cities

Semitic languages of the Fertile Crescent, 3400 yrs BP



Y.B.Koryakov,
2009

Language in the cities



- In spite of their long history, cities still are seen as a “new” phenomenon
- At least judging by the thinking of linguists
 - who still largely view the rural type of settlement as the dominant one
- How languages survive in this new environment?

Urban linguistics



- City: another type of language area?
- Territories do not belong to particular languages
- No language boundaries at all

Urban linguistics



- Main issues
 - Which languages, and how many?
 - Functions of various languages
 - Language contact
 - Public policies



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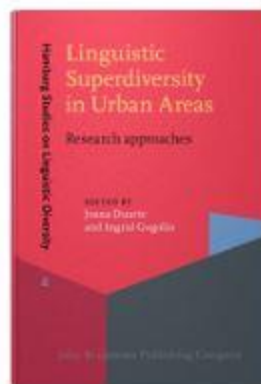
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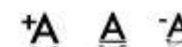
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The research cluster LiMA has come to an end, but the work continues! See the following links for more information:

Metropolitan cities: a special case



- Metropolitan city (megacity, metropolis): over 10 mln of population (UN)
- 2016: 31 megacities
 - Asia: 18
 - America: 7
 - Africa: 3
 - Europe: 3
 - Including Moscow

Largest cities (Wikipedia)

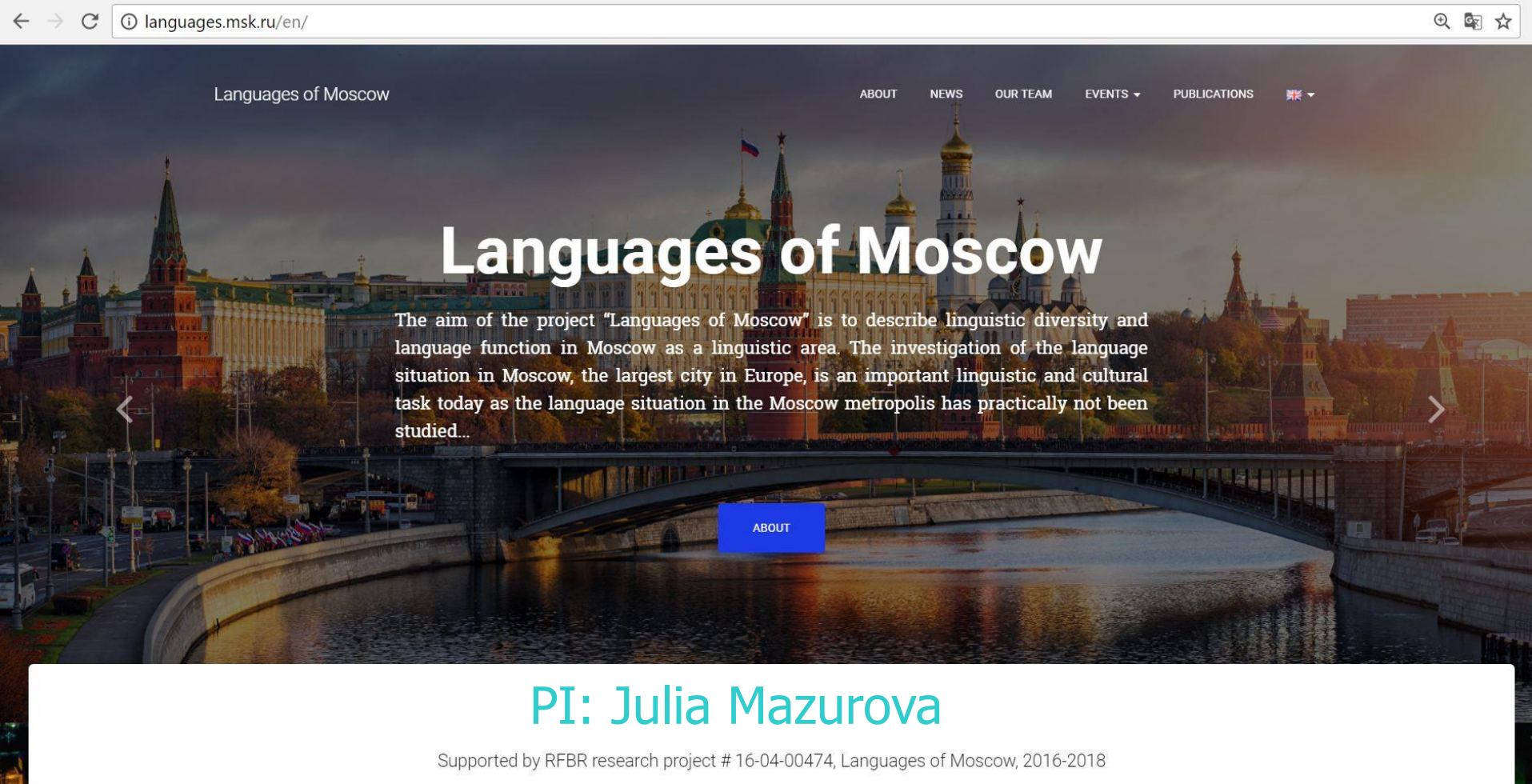
City	Population		
	<u>City proper</u>	<u>Urban area</u>	<u>Metropolitan area</u>
<u>Shanghai</u>	24,256,800	23,416,000	34,750,000
<u>Karachi</u>	23,500,000	25,400,000	25,400,000
<u>Beijing</u>	21,516,000	21,009,000	21,148,000
<u>São Paulo</u>	11,895,893	20,365,000	36,842,102
<u>Dhaka</u>	16,970,105	15,669,000	18,305,671
<u>Delhi</u>	16,787,941	24,998,000	21,753,486
<u>Lagos</u>	16,060,303	13,123,000	21,000,000
<u>Istanbul</u>	14,657,000	15,328,000	16,703,000
<u>Tokyo</u>	13,513,734	37,843,000	36,923,000
<u>Mumbai</u>	12,478,447	17,712,000	20,748,395
<u>Moscow</u>	[11] 12,197,596	[15] 16,170,000	[18] 16,800,000

Language situations in metropolitan cities



- Traditional orientation towards monolingualism
 - In the educational system
 - In the common perception
 - Even in the thinking of linguists
- In fact, a complex network of languages, multilingualism, language contacts

https://languages.msk.ru/



The aim of the project "Languages of Moscow" is to describe linguistic diversity and language function in Moscow as a linguistic area. The investigation of the language situation in Moscow, the largest city in Europe, is an important linguistic and cultural task today as the language situation in the Moscow metropolis has practically not been studied...

ABOUT

PI: Julia Mazurova

Supported by RFBR research project # 16-04-00474, Languages of Moscow, 2016-2018

Languages of Moscow: issues



- Factual issues
 - What languages are represented among the permanent population and temporary migrants?
 - Number of speakers, at least for larger languages
 - Are there preferred areas for particular ethnic/linguistic groups?

- Functional issues
 - Maintenance of minority languages
 - Functional distribution among the languages
 - Functioning of minority languages in the public space and the media
 - Ethnic languages vs. foreign languages

Languages of Moscow: issues



- Language contact
 - What kinds of multilingualism are found?
 - How Russian affects minority languages?
 - Forms of contact Russian
 - Contacts between minority languages

- Practical issues
 - Public education and ethnic languages
 - Policies regarding linguistic adaptation and education
 - Learning foreign languages

Methods

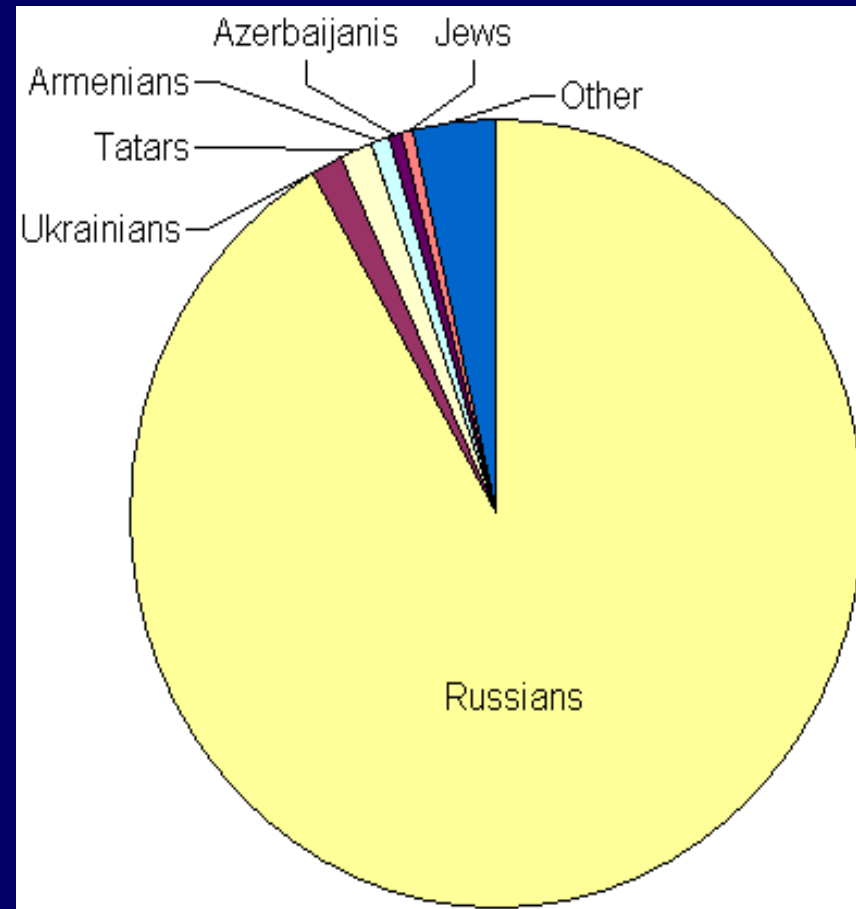


- Analysis of open sources
 - Census data
 - Government data
 - Various publications
- Quantitative methods
 - Questionnaires and polls
- Qualitative methods
 - In-depth interviews
 - Interviews with language experts

General demographics

Total Moscow population:
11.503.501 (2010 census)

1. Russians: 92 %
2. Ukrainians: 1,42%
3. Tatars: 1,38 %
4. Armenians: 0,98%
5. Azerbaijanis: 0,53%
6. Jews: 0,49%

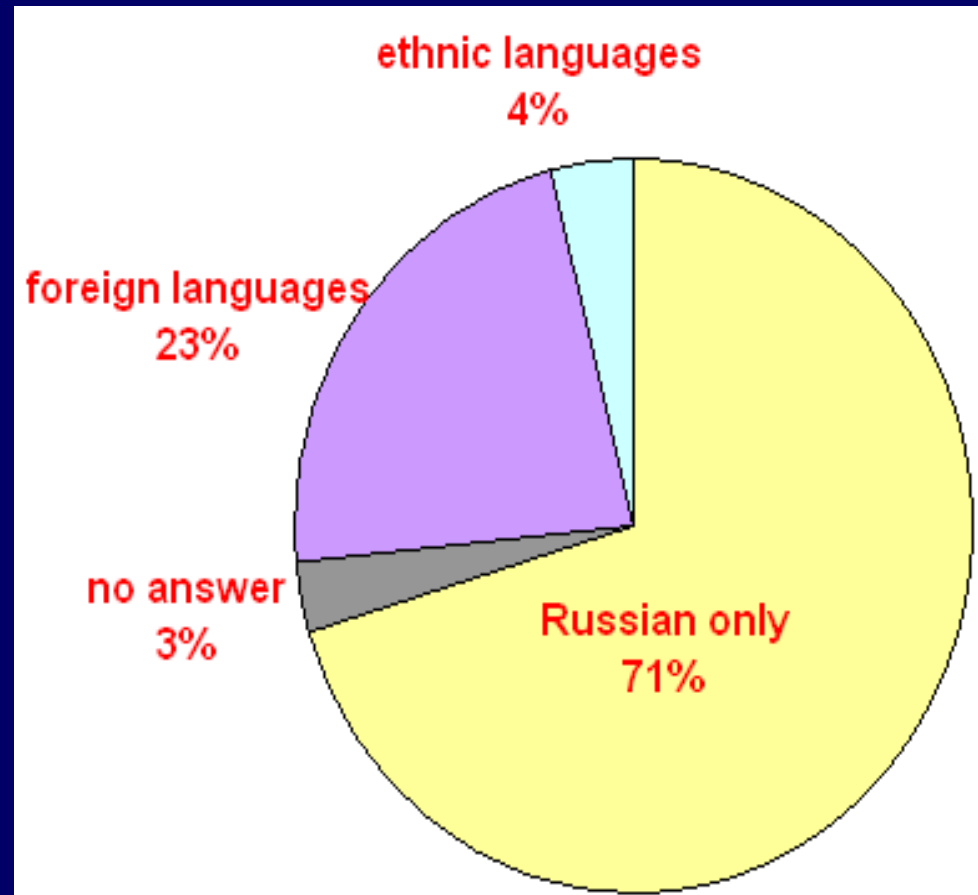


History

	2	3	4
1897	Germans	Polish	Jews
1926	Jews	Tatars	Ukrainians
1939	Jews	Ukrainians	Tatars
1959	Jews	Ukrainians	Tatars
1979	Jews	Ukrainians	Tatars
1989	Ukrainians	Jews	Tatars
2002	Ukrainians	Tatars	Armenians
2010	Ukrainians	Tatars	Armenians

Language statistics (Census 2010)

- 3% (353,026) gave no answer to any of language questions
- 99.7% speak Russian
 - ???
- 26% (2,927,120) speak other language(s)
 - foreign languages – 22%
 - ethnic languages – 3.7%, or 405,000
- 182 languages listed in the census for Moscow



Mother tongue



- Tricky term
- Members of many ethnic groups indicate their ethnic language as mother tongue, even though they speak it neither as L1 or as L2

	Tatars	Armenians	Tajiks
L1+L2	39.6%	50%	40.7%
MT	49.7%	60.4%	96.3%

Jewish languages (censuses)

■ Yiddish:

- 1897: 1st largest non-Slavic language in Russia, but very few (5070) in Moscow
- 1926: 2nd largest language in Moscow – 44,623, 2.2% (or 34% of all Jews in Moscow)
- 2010: spoken only by 501 (219 as mother tongue), 1% of all Jews in Moscow (53,111)

■ Hebrew

- 2010: 5917 (1633 as MT)

■ “Jewish”

- 2010: 1228 (1567 as MT)

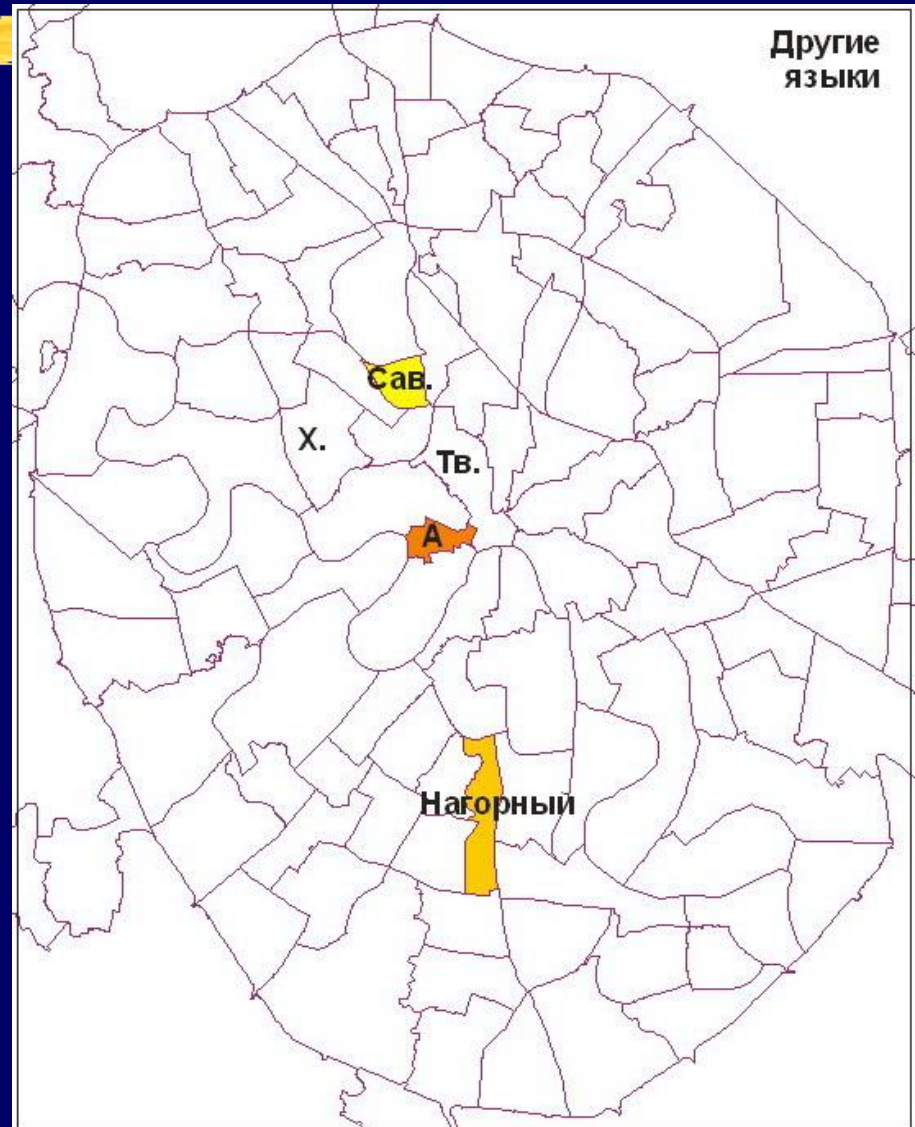
Other interesting languages (census 2010, Koryakov 2017: 34)



- Languages spoken:
 - Latin – 5648
 - Esperanto – 180
 - Kerek – 3
 - Daghestani – 1840
 - Turkic – 250
 - Belgian – 42
 - Pakistani – 37
 - Nigerian – 29
 - Bantu – 3

Non-Russian languages (census 2010), Koryakov 2017: 37-38

- 125 districts
- Three districts have exceptionally large share of speakers
 - Arbat – 11%
 - Nagornyj – 7.3%
 - Savelovskij – 6.9%
- Foreign languages
 - Moscow – 22.7%
 - Xoroshevskij – 72%
 - Arbat – 71%
 - Tverskoj – 53%



Assessment based on a school questionnaire



- Sociolinguistic questionnaire distributed in six Moscow schools (2017)
 - Organized by Olga Sinyova
- 24 questions on gender, age, origin, ethnicity, area, parents, language use, language proficiency
- Respondents: 8 to 17 yrs old
- 1643 questionnaires analysed in 2018

Mother tongue

Mother tongue	Number	Percentage
Russian	1096	66.7
Armenian	135	8.2
Azerbaijani	80	4.9
Tajik	45	2.7
Uzbek	40	2.4
Kyrgyz	22	1.3
Ukrainian	22	1.3
Tatar	15	0.9
Jewish	13	0.8
Moldavian	10	0.6
Afghani	9	0.5
Vietnamese	6	0.4
Hebrew	5	0.3
TOTAL	1643	100

Conclusions from the questionnaire



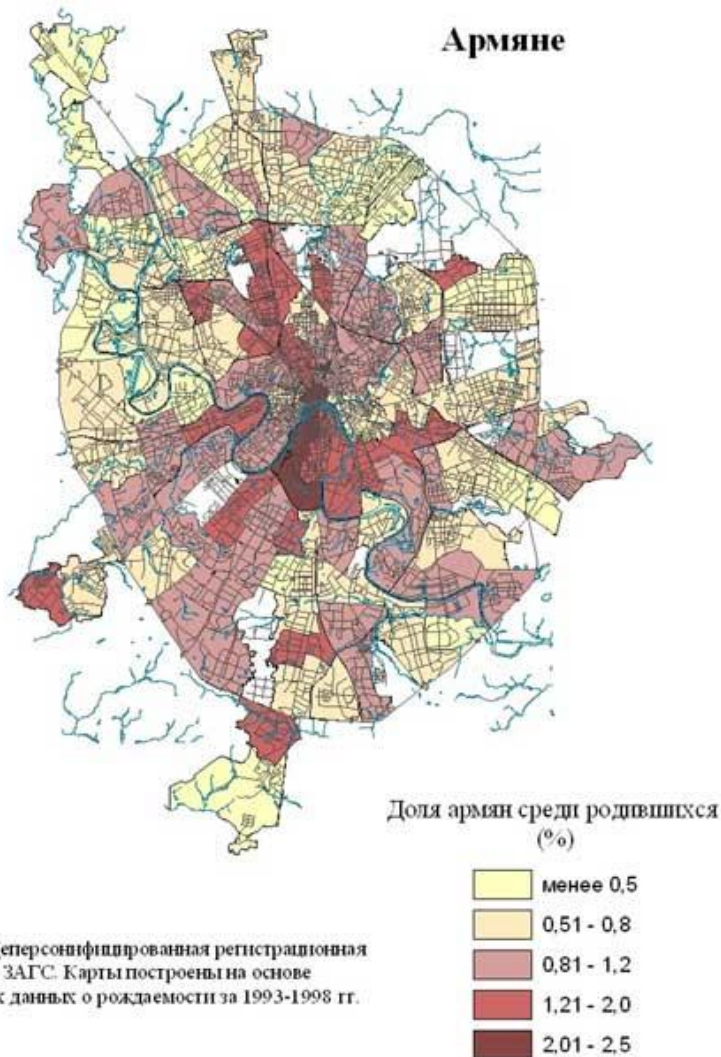
- The 2010 census data do not represent the emergent situation
- In our sample, speakers of Russian as the mother tongue only represent 2/3 of the youth population
 - But there may be bias towards schools with a larger share of migrant children
- Speakers of the languages of Transcaucasia, Central Asia and Ukraine-Moldova account for 21% of the Moscow youth
- Speakers of Armenian and Azerbaijani are far ahead of the census leaders (Tatar and Ukrainian)
 - For Armenian, the difference is eightfold!
- The questionnaire also contains data on parents, so more comprehensive information can be obtained
- We may be able to evaluate the results of the 2020 census as more or less objective

Ethnic districts in Moscow?

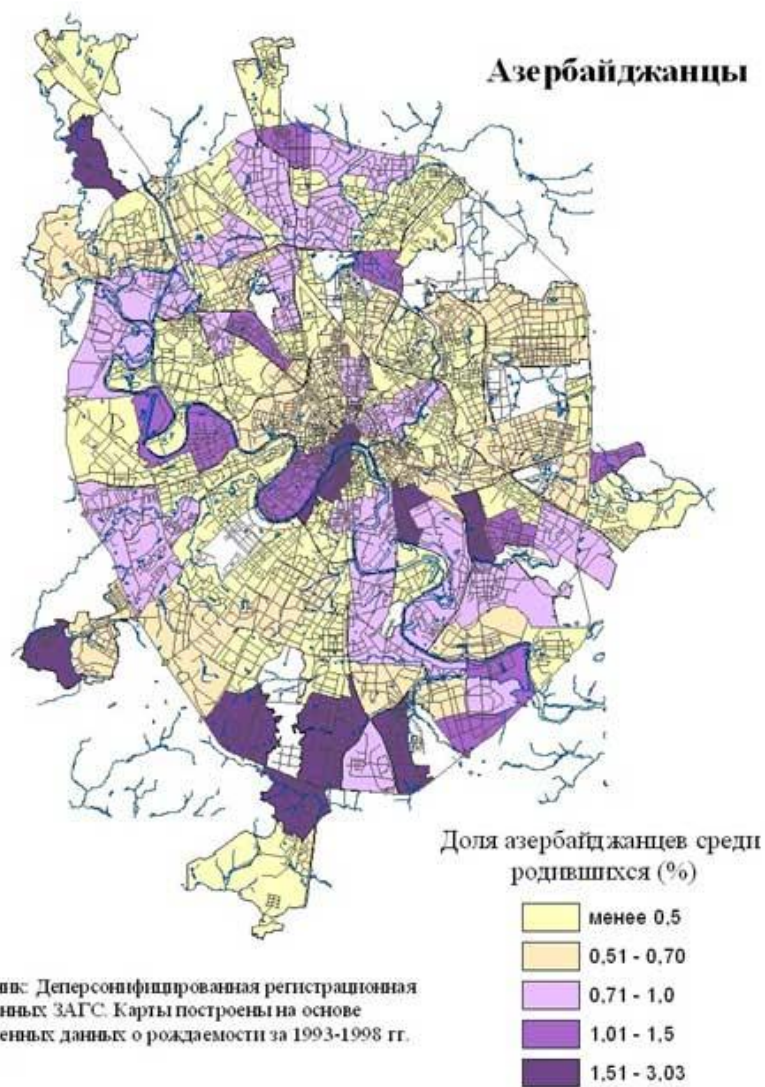


- No reliable information
- Tentative assessment:
 - In the 1990s and 2000s there were some limited developments in that direction
 - But the situation never reached the “Chinatown” stage
 - Now the Moscow government applies conscious efforts against such trends

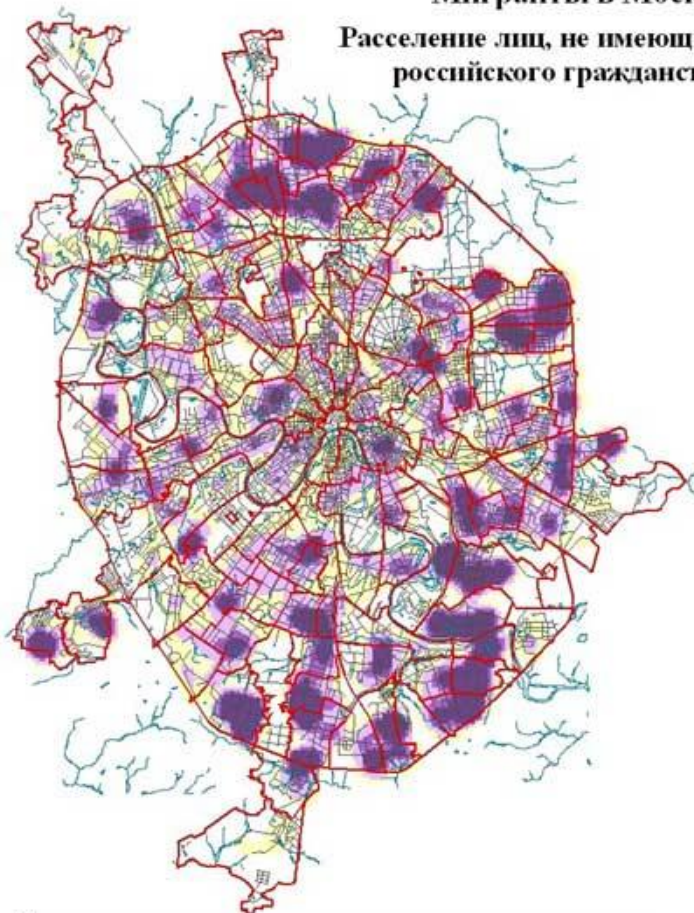
Современные особенности расселения этнических групп в Москве



Современные особенности расселения этнических групп в Москве



Мигранты в Москве Расселение лиц, не имеющих российского гражданства



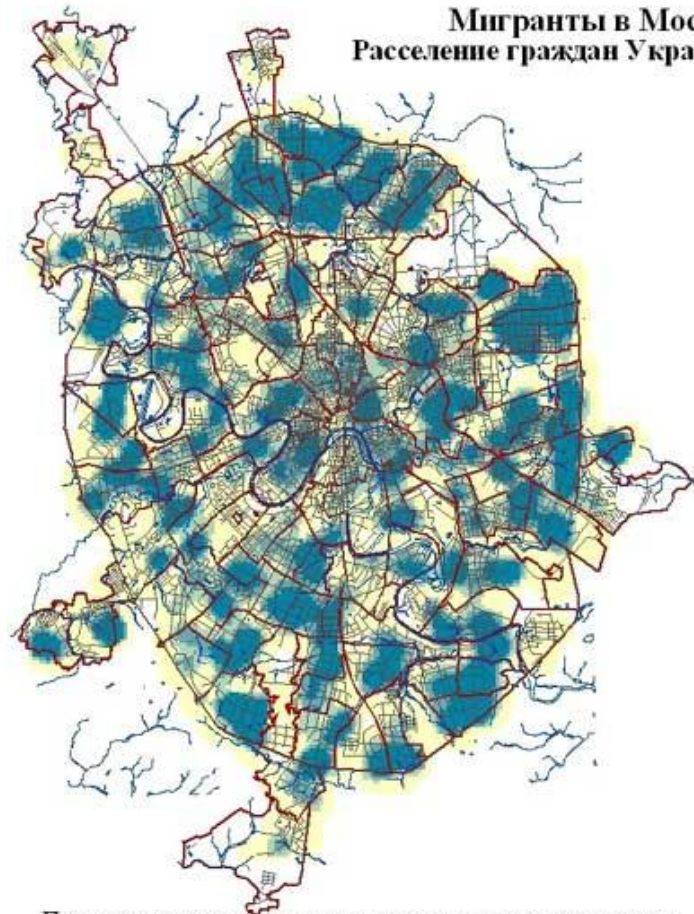
Пространственная интерполяция данных о местах проживания
в Москве лиц, не имеющих российского гражданства (N = 9 500 адресов)

Сравнительная плотность



Источник: Деперсонифицированная регистрационная
база данных ЗАГС за 1993-2003 гг. Карты построены на основе данных
о рождаемости за 1999-2003 гг.

Мигранты в Москве Расселение граждан Украины



Пространственная интерполяция данных о местах проживания
в Москве граждан Украины (N = 9 500 адресов)

Сравнительная плотность



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Additional points



- Many illegal immigrants, particularly from China and Vietnam
 - They are apprehensive regarding contacts with researchers
- There are numerous groups that live in Moscow in encapsulated communities and have almost no contact with Russians and with Russian
 - Indians
 - Filipinos
- We need questionnaires in languages other than Russian
- And interviewers who belong to these communities

Maintenance of minority languages



	1902	1926	1959	2010
Large old minority group: Tatars	98.1%	95.8%	77.4%	39.6%
Small old minority group: Assyrians	100%			29.8%
New minority group: Uzbeks				82.7%

Functions of minority languages




- Kutsaeva 2017
- Chuvash
 - Turkic language in the middle Volga area
 - Overall number of speakers – 1.043 mln (census 2010)
 - Number of Chuvashes in Moscow – 14.3 thousand (census 2010)
- Active bilingualism: 54% to 84% across age groups
- Functions:
 - Emblematic
 - Phatic
 - Conspiratory
 -
- Chuvash is considered “mother tongue” even if unspoken
- Children living in the Moscow area influence the language of their grandparents in Chuvash villages over summer vacations

Writing in minority languages: public space and media



- A survey in Romanova 2017
- Printed and electronic media
 - Mostly in Russian
 - In other languages: English, German, French, Italian, Armenian
- Web sites
 - Not just Russian: Polish, German
 - To some extent Georgian, Armenian, Kazakh
- Electronic advertisement boards
 - Languages of Central Asia
 - Much code mixing

Migrants' languages: hidden diversity



- Baranova 2017
- The Central Asian ethnolect of Russian: common traits in speakers of Tajik, Uzbek, Kyrgyz
 - Срочно планшет продаю SANSUNG Оригонал комплект полный 2 камера симкарта 4 флеш карта до 120 Гиг симка вставляется как телефон работает встроенный телевизор музыка кино видео клип цена 6 тыс рубль уступлю магазине 14 тыс руб стоит
- Code mixing
 - Комната берилет, жана уч кызга койка места бар, метро коломенская метрого 8/9 минута пешком квартира жаны, комнаталары кенен эки санузел бар, бардык шарттары бар таза тынч

Contact Russian



- Mazurova 2017: interference in the Russian speech of Georgian schoolchildren
- Phonetics
 - No adaptation of vowels to palatalized consonants
 - Difficulties in pronouncing palatalized consonants
 - Glottalized consonants
 - Uvulars instead of velars
- Grammar
 - Use of prepositions
 - Gender agreement
 - Stem alternation
- Lexicon
- Georgian ethnolect?

Public education in ethnic languages



- Public schools with an “ethnocultural component”
 - Georgian
 - Lithuanian
 - Tatar
 - Jewish
 -
- Beginning from 2016, this component is not official anymore
- In some instances private schools were established

Official policy of the Moscow government



- Oriented towards adaptation
 - Strategy 2025 adopted in 2016
- Efforts towards teaching Russian to migrants
- These efforts are not quite systematic
 - In particular, government structures are not aware of activities on migrant linguistic adaptation undertaken in the Peoples' Friendship University of Russia (RUDN)
 - Migrants officially include only five major groups: Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kyrgyzs, Ukrainians and Moldavians
- No efforts towards maintenance of minority languages

General conclusions



- City, and in particular a metropolitan city, is a special kind of language area
 - Clearer external boundaries, unclear internal boundaries
- Metropolitan cities form complex networks of languages, multilingualism, language contacts
 - Our knowledge of these phenomena is extremely limited
- Census information is incomplete and outdated
 - Moscow is a lot more multilingual than the 2010 census results suggest
- Minority languages are generally in decline; little organized effort for supporting them
- Minority languages are of low visibility in the public space
 - But there are hidden realms in which they are actually used
- A variety of contact phenomena: ethnic Russian etc.
- Official policy is directed at adaptation and assimilation

Urban linguistics is a new and fascinating field of research



- Спасибо за внимание!
- תודה על תשומת הלב