

Языки Москвы: языковое разнообразие мегаполиса

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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

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

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

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/



Languages of Moscow

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Languages of Moscow

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

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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

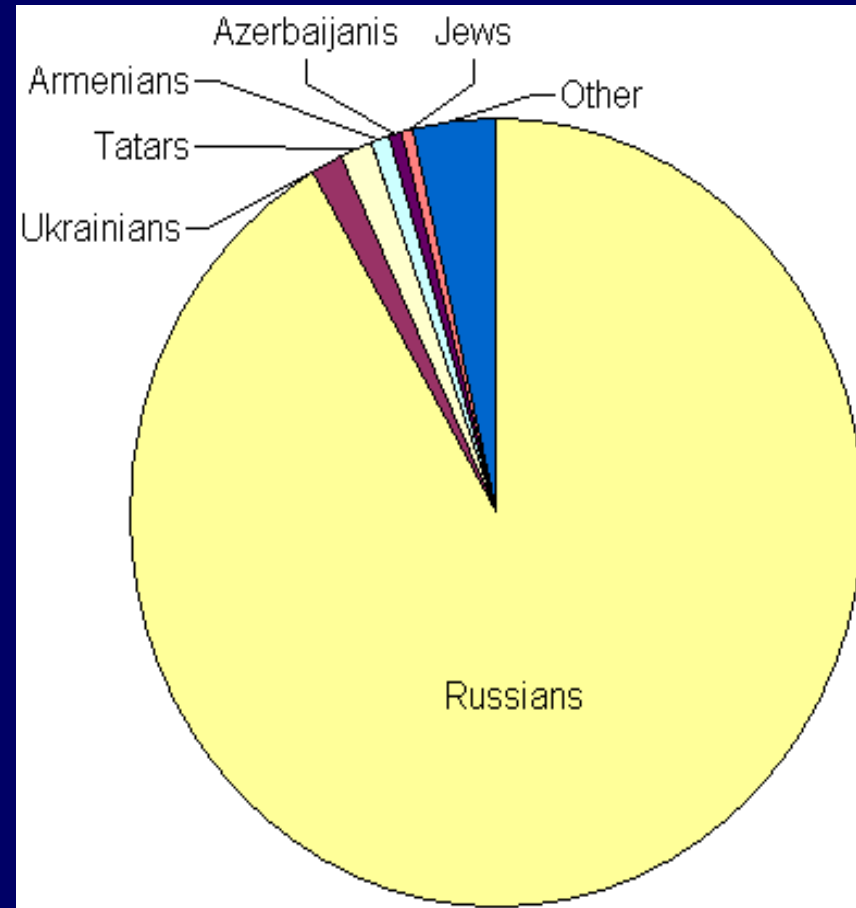


- Analysis of open sources
 - Census data
 - Government data
 - Various publications
- Quantitative methods
 - Questionnaires and polls
- Qualitative methods
 - In-depth interviews
 - Interviews with language experts

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%

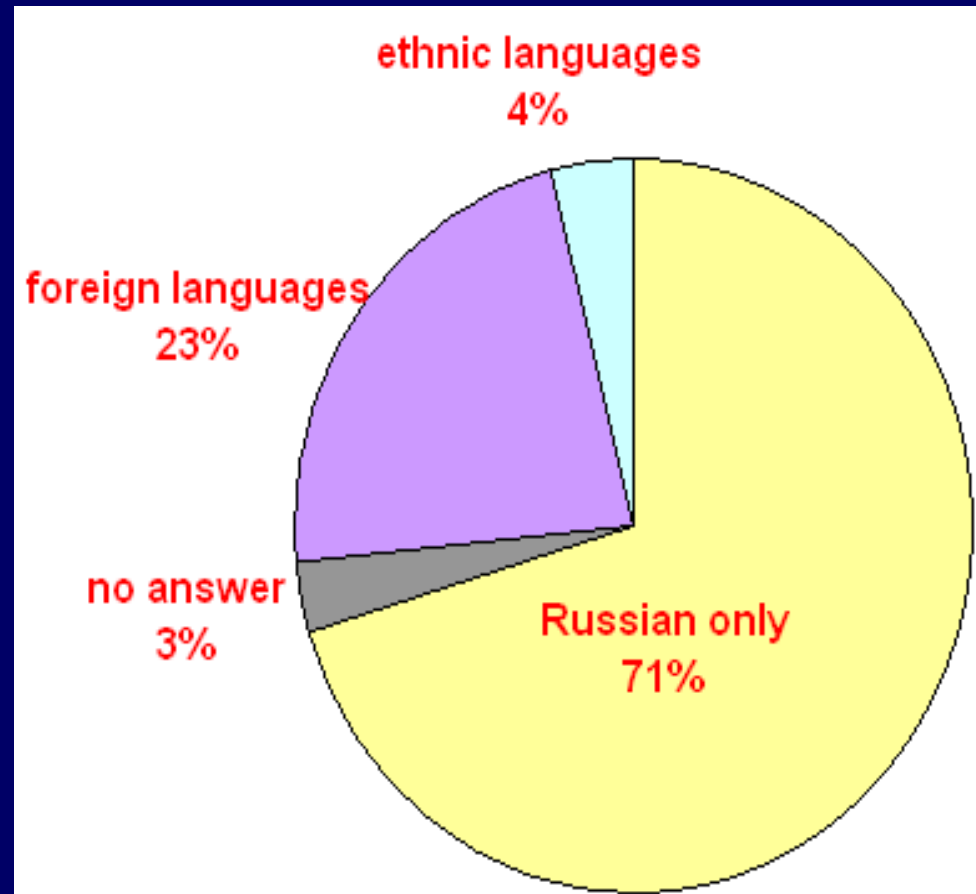


History

	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



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

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

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

Preserving identity



Interview excerpt 1: with the headmaster (original in Russian: 11.34 - 13.15)

H: (...) we have **concerts, we have Georgian dances, songs**. That is we preserve everything, our culture, absolutely everything, history, we **make every effort to maximally preserve everything** (...) and do you know what generation we are getting? Already Russified children **whose parents want their children to preserve this**, so they are completely Moscovites.

DZ: That means they are fluent speakers of Russian...


H: Yes, who even don't know...Georgians who don't know the Georgian language, and thus we now try, so to say, to integrate our culture into them.

Interview excerpt 2: Group interview with Maya (teacher of the Georgian language) and Givi (teacher of the Russian language) (pseudonyms) 25:12 – 25:21

Givi: (...) In Russian schools, Georgian students unfortunately lose their roots, traditions, I've got a student in the 11th grade, Tamaz, I ask him: "Tamaz, do you speak the language? (Georgian, DZ) "No", "Do you know the Georgian culture?" "No", "Are you Georgian?" I ask him "Yes". You see it's the parents' fault. (...)

Here, they know that we take care of them.

Georgian teacher: ethnic language, culture, religion.



Group interview with Maya (teacher of the Georgian language) and Givi (teacher of the Russian language)

Interview expt 3 (00:12-00:46)

DZ: What's the main role, the main function of a teacher in the school with an etho-cultural component?

Maya: You know what's the main role here? Children **must know their culture, religion, their past**, and that they must **be brought up as in Georgia**.

DZ: Uhuh.

Maya: Despite the fact that we're in Russia, it's a totally different country, different traditions let's say, **but our faith, the most important is that it's the same** (Orthodox Christianity, DZ)

DZ: Uhuh, I see.

Role of the 'ethnic' teacher



Many roles to perform

- **Integration patterns:** active attempts are made not only **to teach the newcomers Russian** but also integrate them as soon as possible to the Russian system of education, **to maintain & develop simultaneously the ethno-cultural component.**

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!