

The North Caucasus Bilingualism and Language Identity

Vladimir Lazarev and Ludmila Pravikova
Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University

Introduction and overview

This paper is a survey of socio-linguistic realities of multilingualism evidenced in the North Caucasus over the past years after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the processes that occur within contradictory modern trends of globalization and language and culture revitalization. The article is having an informative character, presenting the current linguistic situation in the area of the North Caucasus, the multiethnic place situated in the southern part of the Russian Federation. A light is shed on the changing balance in the sphere of language maintenance, taking into consideration cultural and social aspects of the problem.

Language is the form of expression of personal, individual, and collective ethnocultural messages, the way a speaker self-identifies nationally, ethnically and linguistically and a means of maintaining economic and social order in a society. Many issues of everyday life are resolved through language use. The change of language identity brings about changes in the social and ethnocultural paradigm.

Bilingualism is a media of socialization of an individual, the means of a person's inclusion into the system of economic, legal, and status relationships in a multiethnic society. In the years after the dissolution of the USSR the North Caucasus peoples language identity has shifted together with the shifts in national and ethnic identity. The identity of self is based more today on one's knowledge of belongingness to the group (social identity), participation in culture (cultural identity) than possession of common language (language identity). Multilingualism and new language identities are the result of interplay of ethnic, geopolitical, economic, cultural, religious and other factors, being products of regional, national and global processes.

The study of multilingualism as a complex phenomenon, concerning variation at both individual and social levels, involves the investigation of problems of origin, competence, function, internal/external speaker identification, language ideology, rights and policies (Baker 1988, 2001, Baker & Jones 1998, Glyn 1972, Hoffman 1991, Hornberger 1988, Skutnabb-Kangas 1995, 1998, Spolsky 1988, Spolsky & Shohamy 2000).

The objectives of the paper are to focus multilingualism aspects, considering serious changes in language identity functioning within the frames of multiethnicity, various religious settings and linguistic diversity, to make some prognosis about the future development of Caucasian languages, brought about by the changing balance of political power and religious influence in the region, as well as encourage development of new policy agenda offering alternative approaches to problems of minority languages.

Sources of research and research methods. The following analysis is based on the study of the local press and a range of documents, direct observations of the authors, interviewing, various conversations with colleagues from all North Caucasian republics, as well as the use of the Internet resources. The figures applied in the research are taken from Russian Federation Yearly Statistics Book; the macro-statistical data are the results of previous 1989 Census, and 1994 Microcensus, the surveys undertaken in all the subjects of the North Caucasus and the Ethnologue.

The geopolitical and sociocultural background. The North Caucasus is located at the crossroads between Europe and Asia in the southern part of Russia and is inhabited by about 18 million of people. Structurally, the North Caucasus consists of seven national republics (Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygea, Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia and Dagestan) and three Russian areas (Stavropol territory, Krasnodar territory and Rostov oblast). With the high concentration of different nationalities and indigenous cultures in a comparatively small area, it is one of the most polyethnic

regions with uniquely different languages, religions and political orientations (Harris 1991, Saroyan 1997, Smeets 1994). The North Caucasus is a unique civilization space where Eastern and Western cultures organically meet, where the spiritual values of East and West are interwoven in a single Caucasian knot. The extraordinary religious, ethnic and linguistic diversity of the area creates an exclusive interaction of many factors that influence the status and development of national, ethnic and language identities.

Language underlies all life developments, and the life of big and small nations of the North Caucasus finds its reflection in the mirror of linguistic processes, taking place in society. At the same time, language is a powerful force, a tool for managing and manipulating public consciousness, and a resource for creative power of a nation. The use of language or languages is the expression of the will of a nation, a way of forming its mentality, social and economic domains of life; and the balance in the lingual sphere of the complicated multilingual polyphonicity of the North Caucasus is the prerequisite for lasting peace and prosperity.

Historically, the North Caucasus used to be the place with turbulent migration of population, on the one hand, and the islands of stability, on the other (Funch & Crag 1994, Tishkov, 1994, Wixman, 1984). This double nature of the North Caucasus is reflected in the conflict between the ideas of a cosmopolitan global state and small ethno-states or historic regions, for everybody wants “to think globally”, but “to live locally”, which means to enjoy all new economic assets of shared civilization in the society of consumption and comfort and preserve habitual practices of lifestyles as well. The lasting evolving round a core ethnos, civilization, culture, traditions and way of life assumed the codification of verbal and non-verbal routines and standards over the territory – the development of national principles, values and norms, language and cultural planning, spatial planning, national law enforcement. Nationalist tendencies with the national idea unattachable from common territory, culture and ethnical identity, strengthened after the dissolution of the Soviet Union, trigger a great deal of interethnic conflicts that cause a change in the linguistic situation of the North Caucasus.

1. The North Caucasus linguistic situation

The linguistic situation is perceived as a model of social-functional distribution and hierarchy of languages that coexist within the limits of a given political-administrative unit or social-cultural area, as well as social and cultural practices applied in reference to these languages. The common set of features of linguistic situation comprises both quantitative and qualitative characteristics. Important factors are a number of languages in the region, the demographic power of languages, that is an amount of people who speak them, the functional power of languages, their functional correlation and a number of socially dominant languages. It includes depiction of structural and functional states of languages, classification of institutional and non-institutional settings of languages use, the historic causes for the given linguistic situation, language stances (linguistic orientations and preferences of language bearers, prestige of languages, language loyalty, the readiness to learn languages), economic, social, cultural, administrative, educational and other institutional resources and provision for languages functioning (i.e. the presence of language maintenance programs, dictionaries, textbooks, TV and radio programs, qualified teachers, governmental support), the traditions of writing, the presence of terminological systems and functional styles for respondent spheres of usage.

The prominent features of the North Caucasus language situation are as follows: linguistic diversity, high concentration of various languages in a small region, specificity of languages layout, multilingualism, non-coincidence in language, ethnic and geographical borders, the spread of the Russian language as a major factor for maintaining multilingualism, sociolinguistic variation of titular/non-titular languages, the existence of written/oral languages, and sensitiveness to the press of ethnopolitical, social, cultural, religious, educational and other influences on languages functioning.

1.1. Linguistic diversity

The linguistic picture of the North Caucasus is characterized by extreme languages diversity. This region is a cradle of more than 100 autochthonous and allochthonous ethnos that live in seven

republics (Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygea, Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia and Dagestan) and three Russian areas (Stavropol territory, Krasnodar territory and Rostov oblast).

The languages spoken in the area belong to different families: Ibero-Caucasian, Altaic and Indo-European. The Indo-European family is represented in the North Caucasus by five groups: 1) Slavic (Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian), 2) Germanic (German, Yiddish), 3) Hellenic (Greek), 4) Armenian (Armenian) and 5) Iranic (Osset, Tat, Kurd). The Altaic family is presented by three groups: 1) Turkish group – Western subgroup (Balkar, Karachay, Kumyk, Tatar, Bashkir), Central subgroup (Nogai), northern subgroup (Turkmen) and Southern subgroup (Azerbaijani, Derbend Turks); 2) Mongolian group (Kalmyk-Oirat) and 3) Korean-Japanese group (Korean). The Ibero-Caucasian family stands for three groups: a) Northeast Caucasian group (Agul, Akhvakh, Andi, Archi, Avar, Bagvalal, Bezhta (Kapuchi), Botlikh, Budukh, Chamalal, Dargwa, Ginukh, Godoberi, Hunzib, Karata, Khaidaq, Khinalug, Khvarshi, Kryz, Kubachi, Lak, Lezgi, Rutul, Tabassaran, Tindi, Tsakhur, Tsez (Dido), Udi); b) Northwest Caucasian group – Abkhaz (Abaza), Circassian (Adyge, Cherkess, Kabardian) and c) Central Caucasian (Nakh, Vaynakh) - Batsbi (Tsova Tush), Chechen and Ingush.

1.2. *The demographic power of the languages*

The North Caucasus is a multinational region. The main nationality of the region is Russian. The rest of the population is made up by local ethnic autochthonous and allochthonous groups. In all they represent over 100 nationalities and nations. The number of language speakers of particular languages in the North Caucasus differs from several millions to 200 people.

The ethnic composition of the North Caucasus is presented by nations, comprising several million people, for example, Russians [8,645,000], or medium-number population groups from hundreds thousand people (i.e., Chechen 828,994, Avar [556,000], Kabardian [373,173], Dargwa [365,000], Ingush [197,825], Adyge proper [116,234], Lak [112,100], Tabassaran [95,000], Balkar [71,000], Nogai [67,500]), and minority groups of less than 50,000 (e.i. Cherkess [46,272], Abaza [30,380], in Dagestan - Kaidaq [28,000], Agul [12,000], Rutul [12,000], Tsakhur [12,000], Andi [~9,000], Dido [~7,000], Kryz [~6,000], Udi [~6,000], Akhvakh [~5,000], Karata [~5,000], Tindi [~5,000], Chamalal [~4,000], Bezhta [~3,000], Botlikh [~3,000], Ghodoberi [~2,500], Archi [~1,000], Khvarshi [~1,000], or even Hunzib [~400], Hinukh [~200]). (The data used are from 1989 Census, the Ethnologue). Some of the languages are majority languages, some languages belong to minority languages. Many of the languages of the North Caucasus are included in the Red Book of the languages of Russia (1994). The number of minority languages is diminishing; some of them are indigenous and are threatened by language loss.

1.3. *The languages territorial mosaic*

Spatial location, or territoriality is of great importance in language issues (Nelde, Norman & Colin 1992). The distribution of languages on the locale of seven republics and three Russian territories of the North Caucasus is not regulated by systemic principles. The types of languages layout are different with regard to forms of their geographical diffusion, coexistence/neighborhood and concentration. We might distinguish the following patterns types: 'across' (dispersed, scattered), 'patchwork', 'salad', adjacent coordinate monolinguality, linguistic enclaves, 'divided'. The languages of the North Caucasus are dispersed across the territory in their own specific way.

'Scattered/dispersed' pattern - Some majority languages are spoken across all administrative-territorial units. These languages are spread across almost all the subjects of the North Caucasus: Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Armenian, German, Greek, Jewish, Tatar, Gypsy. Most of them belong to Indo-European family, only some are Turkic languages. These languages are intensely utilized by the majority of population in household, mostly by ethnic speakers, but the Russian language is spoken in institutional and non-institutional spheres all over the North Caucasus as the language of interethnic contacts and language of business and official communication.

'Patchwork' pattern - These languages rub shoulders, occupying separate geographical areas, as it is in some spots in Dagestan, Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, *with a small territory overlap*. So Karachay is spoken on separate territories of Karachay-Cherkessia, the neighboring peoples speak

Cherkess or Nogai, and on the borderline of their compact settlements people speak both languages and are bilingual.

'Salad' pattern – A mixture of different languages with no territory directly tied to a particular language: the situation, in general, in Stavropol region, Krasnodar region and Rostov oblast. In most Russian speaking regions there is big linguistic diversity: people of different nationalities live by small ethnic groups and speak their own language, usually only in their household, alongside with Russian, and their neighbors speak another language, etc. They live a close life within their communities and hence they do not speak any other language but their mother tongue and Russian.

'Linguistic enclaves' pattern – the type of isolated location of a language in a closed territory inside another territory (For instance, the Nogai language in Stavropol territory, Adyge in Krasnodar territory).

'Divided' pattern - Some of the languages of the North Caucasus are located on the territories of adjacent North Caucasus republics (ex. Kabarda-Cherkess – two republics), either included in the Russian Federation (Dagestan – Russia) or in the external states (ex. Dagestan-Azerbaijan).

1.4. The languages administrative-territorial outlay

Ethnic administrative unities of seven republics of Karachay-Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, Adygea, Chechnya, Ingushetia, North Ossetia and Dagestan are featured by high concentration of linguistically diverse ethnoses, and in the Russian areas of Stavropol territory, Krasnodar territory and Rostov oblast there are big amounts of different nationalities besides Russians and lesser degree of assimilation and integration of population.

The administrative-territorial units of the North Caucasus use the following languages as *state languages*: Karachay-Cherkessia (5 languages) – Abaza, Karachay, Cherkess, Nogai, Russian; Kabardino-Balkaria (3 languages) - Kabardian, Balkar, Russian; North Ossetia (2 languages) – Osset, Russian; Adygea (2 languages) - Adyge, Russian; Dagestan (14 languages) - Avar, Chechen, Dargwa, Kumyk, Lak, Lezgin, Nogai Tabassaran, Tat, Agul, Azerbaijani, Rutul, Tzakur, Russian; Chechnya (2 languages) – Chechen, Russian; Ingushetia (2 languages) – Inguish, Russian. The Russian language is the state language across all the territories of the Russian Federation. From about 60 autochthonous peoples of the North Caucasus only eight ethnoses have their own states: Adyges, Karachays, Cherkesses, Kabardians, Balkars, Ossets, Inguishes and Chechens.

The complex ethnic layout with the administrative-territorial units that have boundaries separating ethnic communities, the 'glorious' heritage of the rule-and-divide policy of the pre-revolutionary Russia and Soviet regimes, has led to the disastrous situation in the North Caucasus, when *language, ethnic and religious borders do not coincide* with each other, thus forming the basis for social tension and identities clashes.

Some languages that are titular languages in some subjects of the North Caucasus, still locate in other subjects of the North Caucasus, for example, Cherkess, Kabardian, Nogai, Inguish, Osset, Abaza, Adyge, Lacks, Tabassaran, Dargwa, Osset in Stavropol territory, Adyge – in Krasnodar territory, Chechen in Karachay–Cherkessia, Kabardino-Balkaria, North Ossetia, Stavropol territory, etc.

The languages which are titular languages of other countries are widely spoken across the subjects of the North Caucasus, as well as the Russian Federation, i.e. Ukrainian, Belorussian, Armenian, German, Greek, Turkish, Turkmen, Korean, Tatar, Bashkir, Azerbaijani and others.

A number of languages of the North Caucasus are distributed over other subjects of the Russian Federation as linguistic enclaves or occasional diffusion, i.e. Chechen, Balkar (intercountry diaspora languages) or are strewn in the former Soviet Union Republics or outside world (external diaspora languages), i.e. Chechen (Kazakhstan, Kirgystan), Tat (Azerbaijan and Iran), Kurd (Armenia, Georgia, Central Asia, Turkey, Iraq), Karachay (Kazakhstan, Syria, Turkey, USA, Central Asia, Middle Asia).

As a whole, on the administrative-territorial units of the North Caucasus the following bulks of languages are spoken (we mention only essential):

1. *Karachayi-Cherkessia* – Abaza, Karachay, Cherkess, Nogai, Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Greek, German, Yiddish, Osset, Gypsy, Bulgarian, Balkar, Kabardian, Chechen, Bashkir, Georgian
2. *Kabardino-Balkaria* – Kabardian, Balkar, Russian, Greek, Yiddish, Korean, Turkish, Chechen

3. *North Ossetia* – Osset, Russian, Armenian, Inguish, Ukrainian, Greek, German, Yiddish, Kurdish, Kumyk, Korean, Azerbaijani, Adyge, Chechen, Belorussian, Georgian, Kabardian, Tatar, Gypsy, some Dagestani languages

4. *Adygea* – Adyge, Russian, Armenian, Ukrainian, Greek, Belorussian, German, Yiddish, Kurdish, Korean, Azerbaijani, Gypsy

5. *Dagestan* – Agul, Akhvakh, Andi, Archi, Avar, Bagvalal, Bezhitá (Kapuchi), Botlikh, Budukh, Chamalal, Dargwa, Ginukh, Godoberi, Hunzib, Karata, Khaidaq, Khinalug, Khwarshi, Kryz, Kubachi, Lak, Lezgi, Rutul, Tabassaran, Tindi, Tsakhur, Tsez (Dido), Udi, Chechen, Kumyk, Nogai, Tat, Russian, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Yiddish, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Korean, German, Osset

6. *Chechnya* – Chechen, Russian, Inguish, Armenian, Kumyk

7. *Inguшетia* – Inguish, Russian, Chechen, Kumyk

8. *Stavropol territory* – Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Polish, Armenian, Greek, German, Moldavian, Gypsy, Yiddish, Osset, Bulgarian, Balkar, Karachay, Nogai, Kumyk, Tatar, Korean, Turkmen, Azerbaijani, Turkish, Udmurdt, Abaza, Adyge, Cherkess, Kabardian, Chechen, Inguish, Georgian, Kumyk, Avar, Dargwa, Lezgin, Bashkir, Tabassaran, Lak, Mordva, Tat

9. *Krasnodar territory* – Russian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Armenian, Greek, German, Yiddish, Kurdish, Korean, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Adyge, Gypsy, Assyrian

10. *Rostov oblast* – Russian, Ukrainian, Armenian, Greek, German, Gypsy, Yiddish, Korean, Turkish, Azerbaijani, Adyge, Assyrian, Georgian, some Dagestani languages

Stavropol territory is mostly linguistically heterogeneous: it is a place of habitat of about 40 big ethnic allochthonous and autochthonous groups. In the rest two Russian territories there are less ethnic languages spoken by big groups. The most linguistically diverse ethnic republic is Dagestan, with about 50 local languages; many of them are indigenous. After conflicts and wars in Chechnya, the most linguistically homogeneous republics are Chechen Republic and Inguish Republic that have only local speakers, with insignificant amounts of speakers of other languages. The title population is in majority in Chechnya – about 97%, Inguшетia – 90%, North Ossetia – 58,3%, Dagestan – 59%, Kabardino-Balkaria – about 58% (Kabardian – 48,2%, Balkar – 9,4%), Karachay-Cherkessia – about 52% [Karachay – 32%, Cherkess – 9,7, Abaza – 6,6%, Nogai – 3,25%]. In Adygea the title population constitutes 22,1%.

Since Census (1989), after the dissolution of the USSR, the demographic and, therefore, linguistic situation in the North Caucasus has changed dramatically, due to a number of political and cultural innovations, as well as to the demolishing of traditional ways of life of ethnoses of the area (Bgazhnokov 2000, Kirkwood 1997). The balance in the sphere of bi-/multilingualism has changed immensely because of the massive exodus of the Russian population from the North Caucasus territories. A number of social, economic, political, religious, cultural, environmental, educational and other causes have reduced biodiversity of the North Caucasus and caused migration processes at large, thus changing the multilingualism state in the region.

1.5. *The Russian language as a basic language for intercultural verbal exchange*

The use of the Russian language in the North Caucasus might be analyzed from the perspective of linguistic hegemony. The Russian language occupies a special place in the North Caucasus, as the language of international and interethnic communication. It is a kind of auxiliary national language of contact, the language of intercommunication between the multiplicities of peoples of the North Caucasus. The majority of population use Russian, but only for the half of it it is a mother-tongue. The problem of the russification of the North Caucasus has been much discussed (Anderson & Silver 1990, Chinn & Kaiser 1996, Kliamkin & Lapkin 1995), and sometimes the debate took a derogative modus. Some opponents of russification argue that dominance of Russian, as a global language, enforces not only linguistic and communicative inequality, but insecurity and tension. It goes without saying that linguistic and cultural pluralism should be secured. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that Russian has always been the medium of unification of different minority groups. It has also been the language of science and technological progress. What is more important, Russian has been designated as the official language. The changing geopolitical situation has established unequal and asymmetrical relations of the

Russian native speakers and non-native speakers in the North Caucasus, providing the chance for some titular nations to be in a position to control communication to their own advantage.

So far, as the language is concerned, after the dissolution of the Soviet Union there is a growing tendency of gradual substitution of the Russian language by some national languages of the North Caucasus in many spheres of social life. The percentage of ethnic Russian speakers varies. Here are some figures: Krasnodar region – 87,9%, Stavropol region – 84%, Rostov oblast – 89,6%, Adygea – 68% of population is ethnically Russian, Karachay-Cherkessia – 42,4%, Kabardino-Balkaria – 30-32%, South Ossetia – 25,4%, Dagestan – 7,5% of Russians, Ingushetia – no exact information available at the moment, approximately from 10 to 3% of Russians, Chechnya ~ 0,01 % of Russians.

There is direct correlation between the level of industrialization and urbanization and the number of Russian speakers, and back correlation with the influence of Islamic factors or military insecurity in the east of the area.

1.6. Multilingualism as a socio-cultural norm in the North Caucasus

The frequent pattern types of language acquisition and language use in the North Caucasus are monolingualism, bilingualism, multilingualism. Multilingualism is a prominent feature and all-pervading element of the region, where most people have the command of no less than two languages and use them on a regular basis. The situation of bilingualism has been formed, on a larger scale, under the influence of a set of social, cultural and psychological factors, such as quality, quantity and dynamics of contacts, a social-economic value of bilingualism forming language, social and cultural prestige of languages, their communicative value (i.e. the possibility to exchange ideas in other languages), educationality (the chance to get good education), migration, urbanization and national language policy. At an individual level, what matters a lot is the age of language acquisition and the age of speakers.

Talking about the processes, taking place in the linguistic situation of the North Caucasus, one should focus on the fact that it is subjected to a multiplicity of positive and negative influences on the local, as well as global levels.

1.7. The socio-political and cultural factors, influencing the linguistic processes in the North Caucasus

The current linguistic situation in the North Caucasus has been affected by a set of global and local influences over the area. The region has experienced a very complicated period of transformation of political and national values for the last twenty years, change of power and borders, which resulted in destabilization of the situation on the whole, bringing about physical damage to people and reducing communities and languages, and therefore, influenced the processes of multilingualism in a destructive way. We name a few of them:

Historical devastating past: enforced dispersion of certain ethnic groups through genocidal campaigns, deportation of peoples, totalitarian regime, the forceful splitting of some languages into two parts and the blending of different languages into one

Geopolitical: redrawn national boundaries, armed conflicts, wars, resettlement, ethnic cleansing, terrorism and other tragedies

Demographical: high levels of migration and immigration, refugees, casualties

Economic: economic hardships and misery, poverty, massive unemployment for local language speakers

Social and political: unstable social situation, divided families, corruption, rampant crime

Environmental: environmental degradation

Psychological: bias against the neighboring nations, active hostility to individual languages and cultures or unfriendliness to individual cultures and therefore languages, negative attitudes to individual ethnoses, languages and cultures, ethnic rivalry

Cultural: loss of a traditional way of life, loss of national customs and traditions, globalization and the assimilation of one's culture within a more dominant culture

Religious: the elimination of the religion which helped to transmit and keep the traditions of the people and its culture and strengthen language in the time of the Soviet Union, the introduction of new radical aggressive forms of Islamic religion, such as vakhbism

Educational: the banning and disregard of the traditional educational practices, loss or lack of the appropriate language teaching traditions, acceptance of majority language education

Administrative: neglect or insufficient measures taken by governmental structures for maintenance and revitalizing the minorities languages, while pursuing language policy and language planning

Linguistic: the development of written languages and the loss of some spoken ones, low political capital and low status of some non-title languages

As a result of all these influences there is an observed linguistic genocide of some languages due to economic, political and social reasons. For example, some languages of Dagestan are dying due to the negligence of governmental structures, the lack of material recourses to keep these languages and absence of written forms. Some languages are diminishing and disappearing because of physical loss or migration and immigration of language speakers due to economic hardships and wars in Chechnya or other republics. Going to other territories of Russia or abroad people lose touch with their culture and get assimilated to other culture through the stage of bilingualism in next generations.

The Russian language has changed its status across the whole territory of the North Caucasus, as the means of international and interethnic contacts: the speakers of Russian for whom Russian is the only language of communication have become restricted in their social rights on the territories with titular languages. Another problem that has a significant value is that in many republics of the North Caucasus not all titular ethnoses have their language as a state language of republic, i.e. in Karachay-Cherkessia there are only five state languages – Abaza, Karachay, Cherkess, Nogai and Russian, - but it is a place of habitat of about 14 big ethnoses, and not all of them have their language as a state language, which, certainly, limits their language rights.

On the other hand, the dissolution of the Soviet Union has opened new perspectives to the earlier subjugated nations of the North Caucasus to upgrade their social self-consciousness and esteem, to form new types of ethnic and national identities, to prompt new invigorating ways of cultural and social development, to regain one's lost language identity. Additionally, technological innovations and economic trends have multiplied global linkages of different types.

All these and other impacts have exercised a qualitative and quantitative change in multilingualism state.

2. The situation of bilingualism in the North Caucasus

We have analyzed the language situation in the North Caucasus and showed the distribution of languages in the republics and territories of the North Caucasus. In this part we are going to depict the situation of bilingualism and multilingualism in the region. The lingual situation is characterized by heterogeneity and diversity, which is caused by different ethnolingual configuration of each region, and above all, by the factual status of the Russian language that is national (state)-building. All the subjects of the North Caucasus may be grouped into the following clusters:

1) The subjects of the North Caucasus, where the only state language is Russian. The Russian language dominates not only formally, but actually, *de facto*, too. These are Stavropol territory, Krasnodar territory and Rostov oblast.

2) The republics of the North Caucasus with a tendency to a turn from minority multilingualism to majority (Russian) monolingualism. These are Adygea and the republic of Alania-Ossetia (North Ossetia).

3) The republics of the North Caucasus with a relative social balance of Russian and ethnic languages in all spheres of use (Karachay-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria).

4) The republic of Dagestan, in which the Russian language is formally used in state institutions, in the system of education, but the Russian population constitutes the minority (only about 7 %).

5) A special place is occupied by the Chechen Republic and the Inguish Republic which may be referred to as monolingual, for from Chechnya, in fact, the Russian population was forced out, and in Inguishetia there are only single representatives of the Russian ethnos.

Russian's function is not only state-formative, but it also it is the basis for the creation of bilingualism and multilingualism. It is the factor of the Russian language that creates the prerequisites for bilingual and multilingual environment.

Now we will proceed to analyze the aforementioned five groups of regions with regard to bilingualism and multilingualism.

2.1. Russian regions with primary Russian language dominance

The prevalent use of Russian in the Russian-speaking regions (Stavropol territory, Krasnodar territory, Rostov oblast) determines the maintenance of stable asymmetrical, or one-dimensional ethnic-Russian bilingualism, which is not state, but individual by its character. The ethnic communities, living in the regions (Armenian, Greek, German, Yiddish, Gypsy, Ossetian, Chechen, Adyge, Azerbaijani, Tatar, Turkish, Turkmen, Korean, etc.), practice interethnic verbal contacts in their ethnic languages, but in the Russian environment they have to communicate in Russian. Individual bilingualism functions only within the family frame, hence it might be called *family bilingualism*. This type of bilingualism is practiced in families of the peoples of Caucasus autochthonous ethnic groups that live in the Russian territories.

Family bilingualism of ethnic minorities in the Russian territories has a variation with regards to the habitat, education of the members of the family, age, family hierarchy relationships, the degree of command of the native language (understanding/speaking). In urban territories in families of educated people (doctors, teachers, engineers) parents may speak the mother tongue while talking with each other, and children either do not speak the language of parents, but understand it, or do not know the language at all. Sometimes they understand the language, but answer in the Russian language, when the speech is addressed to them. It is common practice for three-generation families to retain bilingualism between generations (grandparents speak with their daughters and sons in the native language, but their children speak with their siblings in the Russian language). Here is an example of *heterogeneous family bilingualism*: The son speaks with his mother in the Armenian language. His mother speaks Russian with his wife and his children. The husband, his wife and their children communicate in Russian.

2.2. Ethnic republics with the Russian language dominance and weakened bilingualism

A special place is occupied by the republic of Adygea, which territorially is placed inside Krasnodar territory. In Adygea there is *official state bilingualism* with Russian and Adyge as state languages. De facto, the situation is far from being ideal. In this territory there is *enclave ethnic bilingualism*. The autochthonous population of this republic, Adyges, constitutes about 22%, Russians are about 68%. Besides, the republic is surrounded only by the Russian-speaking territories. All this influences the properties of the Adyge-Russian bilingualism. The alarming situation with the maintenance of the native language leads to the loss of language in the families of ethnic Adyges, especially in towns. The elder generation in the cities knows the Adyge language, but already in the passive form (*passive bilingualism*), for the family that is designed to support the maintenance of the mother tongue and thus should be the precondition for active bilingualism has seized to do so and has become the environment for *diffused bilingualism*. So the tendency to the oblivion and loss of the mother tongue is evident. In villages that are not numerous there is a form of *community bilingualism with a marked ethnic component*, and children who leave for town stop using their mother tongue, thus transforming into Russian-speaking monolinguals. So, the republic of Adygea gives an example of *extinguishing or remnant bilingualism*, and the titular language is facing the threat of extinction. Notwithstanding with the facts that Adyge university has a department of the Adygean language and literature, that there is a research institution on the history, language and literature, that mass media make releases in the Adyge language, the measures taken by governmental structures are insufficient and non-effective.

Another example of 'weakened' bilingualism is the republic of Alania-Ossetia. The ethnic layout is the following: the autochthonous ethnos (the Ossets) constitutes about 53%, Russians are 29,9%. The rest 14 peoples constitute about 17% of the population. As a rule, they are Russian-speaking, or use

active ethnic-Russian bilingualism. All these conditions have led to dominance of the Russian language in all spheres of life.

In North Ossetia Alano-Ossets, as it is known, are subdivided into two groups, with regard to language and religion. Most of them are Christians, and some part are Muslims [(Kudar (Christians), Digor (Muslims) and Iron (Christians)]. The factors of polyethnicity and multilingualism in this republic, such as a considerable amount of the Russian population, the predominance of urban population over rural population, and at last, the quantitative prevalence of Christian population over Muslims create preconditions for factual dominance of the Russian language, though, admittedly, to a lesser degree, than in the republic of Adygea. The matter-of-fact dominant position of the Russian language leads to the loss of native language skills. In towns young people use Russian in mundane communication, in families the young generation speaks Russian and answers in Russian while talking with parents who tend to speak Osset. This type of bilingualism in North Ossetia may be labeled as diffused bilingualism, and there is an evident tendency to substitute bilingualism by practical Russian monolingualism.

In this connection the government of the republic carries out a rigid language policy, aimed at language building of the Osset language. The Osset language is taught in secondary schools, some subjects in universities are taught in Osset, there are radical demands to limit the rights of Russian speaking people: those who want to occupy state positions must get the command of two languages – the titular language and the state language, i.e. Russian. The Osset language should be used in all the spheres of official and business communication. Some of these measures might seem inordinately harsh, but nothing is too harsh, so far as it concerns the support of the language that is dying. The conducting of the state language policy is confronted, first, by the status of the Russian language, and second, by the objective tendency of spontaneously declining bilingualism and active Russian monolingualism of the local population. The formation of Russian-ethnic bilingualism is at a beginning stage, and it is maintained only in mixed marriages. Russophilia of North Ossetia that is predominately Christian is determined by the recent conflict with Islamic Ingushetia, as a result of which there have been a lot of casualties on both sides. While determining ethnic and language identities, people are asked what their native language is; the answer is that this is their ethnic language, though respondents uplift their knowledge of mother tongue due to pragmatic or nationalistic reasons. The respondents practically do not possess their language, or know it fragmentally, passively. Nevertheless, they correlate language identity with ethnic identity. Hence is such an inadequate answer.

2.3. *Republics with balanced bilingualism*

This kind of bilingualism might be perceived as *pendulant bilingualism* at the expense of enlargement of its ethnic either, on the contrary, Russian-speaking component. This group includes Karachay-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria.

In Karachay-Cherkessia Russians constitute 42%, and though the Russian-speaking population with other allocthonous ethnoses (Ukrainians, Belorussians, Armenians, Greeks) reaches 45%, i.e. about half of the population of the republic, that is twice as much as in North Ossetia, here we witness the reign of active ethnic-Russian bilingualism with the increasing ethnic component. The thing is that rural population, as a rule, is monoethnic. These are Karachays, Abazas, Cherkesses, Nogais that live in 'auls' (small villages). The Russians of the republic do not know languages of other local ethnoses.

Based on the locative feature, ethnic bilingualism may be divided into *rural bilingualism* and *urban bilingualism*. In the countryside ethnic-Russian bilingualism appears to be asymmetrical because of the dominance of its ethnic local component. The evidence of it is family and rural bilingualism: in a family everybody speaks the local language, and in public places and at work there is active bilingualism. City-dwellers, on the contrary, employ bilingualism with a marked Russian language component, and the communication is carried out mainly in the Russian language. The important role in maintaining bilingualism with a marked Russian language component is played by radio, the press, and especially multichannel television, which, due to its informative attraction, is not to be compared to broadcasting in local languages. So we can say, that in conditions of monoethnic settlements there is dominance of ethnic-Russian bilingualism with a marked ethnic component, and in conditions of polyethnic cities with developed industrial, cultural and informational infrastructures bilingualism with

a marked Russian language component prevails. The strengthening of the latter is fostered by teaching practices with the use of Russian at schools and universities. Official acts are exercised in the Russian language too. The language policy is directed at amplification and extension of autochthonous languages: in a number of schools teaching of some subjects is carried out in local languages, a limited time is devoted to radio and television broadcasting in local languages, business communication may be conducted in titular languages in case of necessity.

There is observed non-Russian, *ethnic-ethnic bilingualism* in the North Caucasus, which is gradual and one-dimensional. It is determined by the quantitative place of a number of population on the demographic scale of the republic. The less represented Abazins have a command of the Cherkess language that is spoken in the neighborhood, and in these conditions they know Karachay. The opposite does not take the place. So it is possible to speak about ethnic-Russian bilingualism and minority-majority ethnic bilingualism/multilingualism.

In Kabardino-Balkaria we also observe *balanced bilingualism*. The ethnic layout of the republic is the following: 50% of Kabardians, less than 10 % of Balkars, about 32 % of Russians and the rest 10% of other nationalities (Jews, Greeks, Koreans, Chechens and others). Due to the above-mentioned ethnic and demographic factors, there is ethnic-Russian bilingualism and minority-majority bi- and multilingualism. The bilingualism situation in the republic differs from the situation in Karachay-Cherkessia. The majority of population of leading titular ethnoses, the Kabardians that live in the countryside and local settlements (auls), are, as a rule, ethnically monolingual. Among them there is asymmetrical ethnic-Russian bilingualism with a strongly marked ethnic component. The Russian-speaking component is realized through mass media, above all, television, and through the system of secondary education. In towns, which are not numerous, ethnic-Russian bilingualism is supported due to polyethnicity of city-dwellers, administrative resource of the Russian language, education in the Russian language in middle schools and universities, mass media and mixed marriages. The ethnic population of the cities, predominately young people, communicate in Russian in public places with the Russians, in interethnic communication the young can also communicate in the Russian language, so this kind of bilingualism may be labeled as passive, non-actualized bilingualism. Hence the markers of validity of the ethnic-Russian bilingualism reveal in communication in Russian in ethnically homogeneous environment. The amount of ethnic family monolingualism of Kabardians and Balkars is higher than in Karachay-Cherkessia, because of preponderance of rural population.

In the republic there is developed *minority-majority ethnic bilingualism/multilingualism*. The Ossets know Balkar and Kabardian, The Balkars know Kabardian and the Kabardians know only Kabardian. There is also the type of bilingualism of mixed families, rated as ethnic-ethnic, the marked component is determined by the place of habitation. If a mixed family live in an area inhabited mostly by Kabardians, in rural places the child speaks actively the Kabardian language in addition to passive knowledge of Balkar; and if a family lives in the place with the most population speaking Balkar, the child speaks mostly Balkar, but usually understands Kabardian. Cases have been reported of children living in a multiethnic environment and speaking both languages with the same level of proficiency. The mother tongue in many cases is the language that mothers speak with their offsprings in their early years.

2.4. Majority-minority ethnic bilingualism (Dagestan)

Dagestan is a polyethnic republic. According to different sources, it is the place of living for about 35–50 autochthonous peoples and several territorially allochthonous peoples (Tats, Azerbaijanis, Nogais, Turks, Chechens). The Russians constitute up to 7% of population. They live mostly in the capital of Dagestan, Mahachkala, and in other small towns. In Dagestan bilingualism is mostly *non-contact*, or little-contact ethnic-Russian. The knowledge of the language is supported by mass media, system of education, official business communication, and very seldom – in the environment of Russian-speaking natural communication. The retreat, withdrawal of the Russian-speaking population from Dagestani territories has increased the status of non-contact ethnic-Russian bilingualism. As a polyethnic community, Dagestan has always been in need for the use of the language of intraethnic communication. This role was fulfilled by the Kumyk language, the language of the Turkish family, and Arabic – for educated circles. After the Russian-Caucasian War the Russian language became a

lingua franca. Non-contact ethnic-Russian bilingualism is a kind of bilingualism which is supported artificially through indirect contacts (media, education, but not direct communication).

The geographic position of Dagestan, close to Chechnya, Georgia, Azerbaijan, on the one hand, and the specificity of geographic landscape with small settlements isolated one from another by mountains, on the other, form an extraordinary diverse linguistic situation, when ethnoses that live across a river do not understand each other. Dagestan is a region with isolated, closed lateral areas with the reign of *ethnic monolingualism* and *majority-minority national multilingualism* that is contact. Usually the ethnic majority language is the basis for the formation of bilingualism/multilingualism that has two forms of its existence. A majority language is characterized by the presence of dialects and languages that enter a group, determined by the majority language, that have a different language proximity to a dominant language. In this case the bearers of these dialects and languages, as a rule, have a command of a literary form of a majority language. For example, in the Northeast Caucasus language group (Dagestani) there are such subgroups, as *Avar-Andi-Dido* (Akhvakh, Andi, Avar, Bagvalal, Bezhita, Botlikh, Chamalal, Ginukh, Godoberi, Hunzib, Karata, Khaidaq, Khwarshi, Tsez (Dido)), *Lak-Dargwa* (Dargwa, Khaidaq, Kubachi, Lak, Tindi), *Lezgian* (Agul, Archi, Budukh, Kryz, Lezgi, Rutul, Tabasaran, Tsakhur).

On the other hand, in Dagestan there is not only *endoethnic minority-majority bilingualism*, but also *exoethnic minority-majority bilingualism* and multilingualism. A minority language bearers know the languages of majority that belong to a different language family. They speak Azerbaijani, Georgian, Kumyk, Avar and other languages of majorities. Minority-majority bilingualism is a “matreshka” type of bilingualism. So in Dagestan there is distant, non-contact ethnic-Russian bilingualism and multilingualism.

In the scarce cities ethnic-Russian bilingualism has acquired some features of contact bilingualism, but the dominant place is occupied by non-contact bilingualism/multilingualism with the exception of the spheres of education, business communication and in the passive form – through mass media. In the cities the leading role is played by contact minority-majority bilingualism and multilingualism.

In Dagestan there is a pattern of *frontier geographic bilingualism*, which is unique in the relation that it is not one-dimensional, but two-dimensional in comparison with ethnic-Russian and minority-majority bilingualism. For instance, the Dagestani people that live near the borderline of Chechnya speak Chechen, and the Chechen speak the frontier languages of Dagestan. The same might be said about Dagestani-Azerbaijani bilingualism and Dagestani-Georgian bilingualism.

2.5. ‘Broken’ bilingualism (*Chechnya and Inguishetia*)

This group is represented by Chechen and Inguish republics. In order to analyze the bilingual situation in these republics it is important to distinguish the periods before military actions in Chechnya and during these actions.

1. The bilingual situation before the military conflicts of the beginning of the nineties of the twentieth century.

As a source for the data, we use 1989 Census of the population, i.e. the time when there was the Soviet Union, and the Census data reflect the state of affairs during peace. According to the data, in Chechnya of that time there were Chechens - 66%, Russians – 24,8%, Inguishes - 2,3%, other nationalities (Ukrainians, Belorussians, Armenians, Jews, Ossets, Georgians, and some representatives of other nations) – 6,9%. In other words, this was a polyethnic region with prevalence of autochthonous peoples. In republic of Inguishetia there lived at that period: Inguishes - 74,5%, Chechens – 10,3%, Russians – 13,2%, other nationalities – 2%. In these republics the autochthonous population inhabited mainly rural areas. People communicated with each other at home in their native language. That was a period of the reign of ethnic monolingualism that in the sphere of education (actively) and in mass media coordinated with non-contact bilingualism, for in the countryside there were no Russians and otherwise Russian-speaking people. In urban areas, above all, in the capital, that is Grozny, the picture of bilingualism was multicoloured. At home environment and outdoors people spoke predominantly Chechen and respectively Inguish. At higher education institutions, as well as in public places, while talking with Russian speaking population there was contact ethnic-Russian bilingualism. The same applies to the sphere of official communication and business communication. The pattern of non-

contact ethnic-Russian bilingualism existed in mass media. The need for the use of the Russian language, caused by the aim to get higher education, the possibility to move for central regions, Moscow, Leningrad on economic motives, as well as the communication with the Russian population of the cities strengthened contact and non-contact forms of ethnic-Russian bilingualism. In Chechnya and Inguishetia, due to ethnic homogeneity of population, there did not exist and does not exist the systemic minority-majority ethnic bilingualism/multilingualism. It was possible, however, to speak about *frontier geographic bilingualism*.

2. In the period of social and military conflicts in Chechnya the situation with bilingualism changed significantly. First, the system of higher and middle education was ruined. This system used to be a formative source for contact bilingualism. Mass media broadcasting in the Russian language as a source for non-contact bilingualism stopped functioning. The retreat of Russians and Russian speaking allochthonous peoples from Chechnya eliminated the natural space of official communication in institutional settings and informal communication in public places. All this brought about the phenomenon of *age-sensitive bilingualism*. The generation of Chechens at the age of 20 still speaks Russian, because Russian was taught at kindergartens and schools. The children up to 10-12 years old do not know Russian, for they did not attend schools during the war, and therefore, they did not study the Russian language, did not listen to the radio or watch TV. The part of the population that migrated to central Russia got into the atmosphere of fully natural ethnic-Russian bilingualism. The part of the population that has remained in Chechnya goes on speaking only the Chechen language. In other words, there is a definite link between contact/non-contact presence of the Russian language and maintenance and development of Chechen-Russian bilingualism. With the elimination of the Russian language from the spheres of communication, the factor that forms ethnic-Russian bilingualism has disappeared too.

The situation in Inguishetia has not changed much since the start of conflicts. The system of middle and higher education has functioned and is functioning in the state Russian language. Mass media continue to work, as it used to be before. That is why the young and older generation enjoy equally contact and non-contact Inguish-Russian bilingualism. It is worthy to note, however, that the Russian population, which had not been in majority before, left the republic, thus changing the balance. The basis for formation and maintaining natural informal ethnic-Russian bilingualism ceased to exist. The influx of a great number of Chechens from Grozny and other areas has created real preconditions for the establishment of one-dimensional Chechen-Inguish bilingualism.

Generally, the situation in the North Caucasus is characterized by the conflict of centrifugal and centripetal ethnolinguistic processes, increasing multilingualism of small ethnic groups and monolingualism of bigger ethnic communities (gradient multilingualism), transition from ethnic monolingualism to Russian monolingualism and language and cultural assimilation.

All these bilingualism processes in the North Caucasus have been triggered by the changes in political and social situations, just to mention some of them.

Krasnodar territory has the biggest influx of migrants, which are 5 to 6 times higher than Russia's average. This has caused ethnic conflicts between local population and non-Slavic migrants (Meskhetian Turks are an object for discriminatory antimigration policies). The main problem is the hierarchy of territorial identities (macro-regional, national, ethnic, regional and local). There is a bias of the regional government and the Cossacks against Armenians, Georgians, Assyrians, Kurds, Greeks and other "Caucasians", Jews, organized settlers from Siberia and Far East.

Stavropol territory is featured by growing international and internal migration (migrants, in particular, from neighbouring Dagestan, Chechnya, Karachaevo-Cherkessia, as well as from Armenia), the increasing number of mixed marriages, ethnic tensions, crime. The ethnic structure of population is rapidly changing.

Rostov oblast is characterized by growing international and internal migration (in particular, from Armenia), ethnic tensions, the problem of hierarchy of territorial identities, mixed marriages, corruption and crime.

In Karachay-Cherkessia there are growing international and internal migration processes (migrants, in particular, from Chechnya), the Russians exodus, the decreasing number of mixed marriages, interethnic tensions (between Karachays and Cherkesses), the problem of hierarchy and territorial identities at regional and local levels, religious transformations and enforcement, rampant crime.

In Kabardino-Balkaria there is the massive exodus of Russians and Jews. It is also featured by growing migration from Dagestan and Chechnya, even from the Middle East, the decreasing number of mixed marriages, ethnic tensions, religious transformations and enforcement, crime and corruption.

In Dagestan there are lots of migrants, especially from neighbouring Chechnya, ethnic tensions, acts of terrorism, problem of hierarchy and territorial identities at regional and local levels, religious transformations and enforcement, unemployment and crime.

In Inguishetia there is a huge influx of migrants from Chechnya, due to its unrestrictness, there are economic hardships, unemployment, casualties, divided families, crime.

The Chechnya of today is one of the most ethnically homogeneous places in the North Caucasus with the Chechen absolute majority of population. Chechnya is a mostly socially unstable republic, not only in the North Caucasus, but also in the Russian Federation. Rampant crime, terrorism, constant armed conflicts, casualties, unemployment, fight for political power, the exodus of Russians and other Russian-speaking ethnoses, growing out-migration of Chechen are everyday realities.

3. The issues that determine dynamics of language contacts in the North Caucasus as multilingualism forming factors

Monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism are products of language contacts of peoples. Language contacts are divided into two groups: a) language contacts that do not cause bilingualism, and b) language contacts that bring about the state of bi-/multilingualism.

Monolingualism, in its classical form, exists in monoethnic environment with the absence of contacts of peoples in different languages. These are the areas of China, Japan, Russia in its central and eastern parts and many other countries. In the North Caucasus this form is evidenced in the remote and difficult to reach places of Dagestan, due to their geographical isolation. Another type of monolingualism is shaped in conditions of language contacts, i.e. in the situation of a majority ethnos living in heterocultural environment. This type of monolingualism does not turn into bilingualism or multilingualism due to a significant and pressing social and economic value of a dominant language. This is the situation when a dominant language is a language of interethnic or international communication. It is, according to a definition, a socially significant language of a territory, which is used by all other ethnic groups, gradually losing their languages. This kind of monolingualism differs from monolingualism of peoples that live in homogeneous ethnic and cultural environments. So, it is possible to speak about two types of monolingualism: a) monolingualism of peoples that live in a homogeneous ethnic and cultural environment and 2) monolingualism that functions in the conditions of ethnic, linguistic and cultural diversity, but due to compelling social and pragmatic value of the majority language, it does not change into bilingualism or multilingualism. For monolinguals of both the first and second types language embodies and realizes its social, economic and ethnocultural properties that form and maintain mentality of a people. The examples of the second type for regions with ethnic and linguistic diversity are Russians in the North Caucasus, Tatarstan, Bashkortan, Chuvashia, Mordovia and other places in the Russian Federation who do not care to learn the languages of titular ethnoses, because the command of Russian for them opens all the doors. In the Soviet Union to multinational monolingual states referred practically all the republics with the *socially marked monolingualism* of Russians that lived on a par with bilinguals of these regions. So, the social value of a language, its national status as a language of interethnic or international communication let its bearers remain monolinguals in the areas with linguistic diversity and cultural multiplicity. Bilingualism of Russians appears, as a rule, in mixed marriages, in isolated places of compact ethnic location, with Russians in minority. This situation is mainly exceptional.

It follows that formation and maintenance of bilingualism/multilingualism is affected by conditions of dominance by a socially significant language, as a global language of international communication. There are a lot of examples of this. It is Latin as a language of international communication in scientific and religious environment, Greek – in Hellenic world, Arabic – for Muslims, Turkish – in epoch of Turkic Empire and others. In the North Caucasus, traditionally, Kumyk that belongs to Turkic group was the language of interethnic communication, later replaced by Russian. Linguistic behavior is profit-driven (Bourdieu 1991). Advantageous language contributes to implanting of a person into the system of social and economic relationships. Bilingualism and monolingualism of polylinguistic regions are

means of people's adjustment to societal and financially viable conditions. Bilingualism does not appear without pressing pragmatic reasons.

Bilingualism is a formal possession of two languages, but every language is a unity of an *ethnocultural component* that formulates mentality of a people and translates customs, traditions, a way of life of an ethnos and a *social-economic component* that is connected with fulfillment of practical activity of a person. It is a pragmatic component that is actualized by a bilingual while using a socially significant language.

Bilingualism and monolingualism are not homogeneous in other respects, too. We might analyze them from the point of view of graduality. People of polyethnic regions, for instance, in Dagestan in 17-18 th centuries lived in remote, isolated places and in settlements turning into towns. In isolated, lateral regions of habitat peoples turn out to be natural monolinguals, and they possess their own language in the conditions that are equally natural for Russians that live in central and eastern regions of Russia. When people move from isolated areas to central territories, especially to towns, where the dominant language is a socially significant language of interethnic communication, a monolingual transforms into a bilingual or a multilingual, and under the conditions of critical mass of other population may change into another culture monolingual. When a mother tongue loses its pragmatic sociocultural value and is not used at the level of individual communication, this is 'frozen', or *passive bilingualism*, as compared with active bilingualism or multilingualism.

Relocation of monolinguals from isolated places to towns causes loss of both language and ethnocultural identity. Children of such a passive bilingual do not speak the native language, but speak a socially significant language. As it has been shown by a sociological theory of Ferdinand Tönnies (1855-1936) in his book *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* that depicts the correlation of mentality, customs and traditions, individual behavior in a village, community, as well as in town, society, transfer of peoples from isolated settlements to towns brings about dramatic changes even in mentality of monolinguals. The behavior of natural monolinguals in a village is subjected to strict limitations by customs, traditions and cultural norms. In town their behavior is less determined and regulated by ethnocultural factors, and it causes loss of ethnocultural traditions and corruption of traditional ethn mentality. A village can never become a 'melting pot' for formation of new mentality. What is true for monolinguals in this theory is true for bilinguals, too, because town is the place for polyglossia and polyculturalism. Nevertheless, polyculturalism has a fuzzy character, because enclaves of monoethnic language bearers, due to a weakened regulative relevance of mentality, step by step lose features of their culture. It might be exemplified by the situation in Adygea, where younger people that live in urban places though identify themselves as Adyge and identify their mother tongue as Adyge do not speak the language of their ancestors at home and in public communication. Nevertheless, they stick to ethnocultural norms of their ethnos, the last that remains to do. But the next step would, probably, be the loss of cultural practices and loss of their cultural identity.

So it is possible to speak about two regulators for the formation of monolingualism and multilingualism. Ordinary ethnomonolingualism takes place in homogeneous ethnocultural language environment. Socially significant monolingualism functions in polylinguistic and polyethnic settings.

The first regulating factor is influenced by relocation of peoples from secured or lateral regions to central regions or towns that under critical mass of population with socially significant languages brings about the state of active bilingualism, and in practice multilingualism turns into monolingualism with the use of only socially significant language.

Active, or practical bilingualism occurs in the conditions of dominant ethnos when a socially significant language is studied at school, at higher educational institutions and is used in offices as a state language. It may be retained in ethnic enclaves in the environment of dominant population that speaks only a socially significant language. It is observed in many communities across the world, i.e. Armenian, Georgian, Azerbaijani and other communities in Moscow, Turkish, Arabic and other communities in Europe. Such communities are seen as ethnic enclaves, which keep culture of the country they have come from and resist new cultures and languages. Passive bilingualism takes place in conditions of absence of such ethnic enclaves when knowledge of a mother tongue is preserved, but not used.

The second regulative factor is a content binary nature of language that, on the one hand, fulfills ethnocultural functions of keeping and translation of customs, traditions, norms, of formation and

maintenance of ethnomenality of a people, and on the other, - pure pragmatic, economic functions that do not concern values of its ethnocultural component. A bilingual communicates in a socially significant language, using a pragmatic component of this language, but not its ethnocultural component. Economic needs lead to extension of knowledge of a socially significant language, because pragmatic economic factors unite people of different cultures and different mentalities. Practical possession of a socially significant language can bring about and actually causes loss of an ethnocultural component of a mother tongue, deformation of mentality and gradual death of ethnic norms, customs and traditions. In ethnic enclaves of big cities a mother tongue is used for the purpose of keeping up ethnocultural values and ethnocultural mentality. The same situation is observed in some republics of the North Caucasus, but in the conditions of a modern city an extensive use of the state language, i.e. Russian, instigates loss of a native language alongside with ethnoculture.

The above-described process of a shift from monolingualism to bilingualism is a spontaneous process that is determined by social and economic conditions of peoples' life in multiglossia settings in time of globalization. The leading factors are global: resettlement of peoples from countryside to towns, i.e. from monoethnic to polyethnic environment, the loss, to a certain degree, of ethnic mentality, oblivion of customs, traditions, ethnic lifestyles, the use of the state language at a large scale. This non-controlled, unrestricted, spontaneous bi-/multilingualism under certain conditions transformed into passive, or virtual bilingualism, is a cause of both language and ethnocultural loss. Under this threat everywhere, in the North Caucasus as well, all kinds of measures are taken to conduct a correct language policy and language planning.

There are different types of lingualism: individual mono- and bi-/multilingualism and collective state mono- and bi-/multilingualism. Individual mono- and bi-/multilingualism are shaped spontaneously in conditions of socially significant dominance of one language over another; state mono- and bi-/multilingualism are products of language building and language planning. So, Canada is a good example of a multilingual state with two equal languages French and English. Nevertheless most difficulties of language policy and language building appear in conditions of a single state language with a multiplicity of titular languages in ethnic territories. The language policy is aimed at keeping and protection of titular languages as bearers of ethnic cultures and holders of ethnic mentality. The ethnic language policy in the North Caucasus is carried out on the basis of legislative acts on language that standardize and regulate the spheres of use of ethnic languages alongside with the Russian language, as a language of international communication. According to the degree of an ethnic language command in a republic with titular population, measures taken to conduct language policy and language building are either radical or lax.

Generally, the situation in the North Caucasus is characterized by

- increasing multilingualism of small ethnic groups and monolingualism of bigger ethnic communities (gradient multilingualism);
- the changed distribution of the spheres of use of national minorities and national majority languages by multilingual population; the specific distribution of the spheres of use of written and spoken languages;
- the shift of prestige of majority languages for minority language speakers;
- the influence of national, religious and cultural identity on the use of titular and non-titular languages of the North Caucasus by multilinguals.

4. Double language identity in the North Caucasus

The problems of monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism come about in space of linguistic, ethnic, cultural and social-economic contacts. These contacts shape a linguistic ethnocultural personality and determine a sociolinguistic identity. The concrete exposition of such identity is its monolingualism, bilingualism and multilingualism. The language identity of a personality is a result or product of self-identification within the frame of socio-linguistic dimensions of a personality. Self-identification of a personality, naturally, is not only linguistic or ethnocultural. It might be professional, and it may overlap the sphere of preferences and interests. In the end, self-identification is tightly connected with the phenomenon of self-assertion of a person in the world, as a form of social and individual self-assertion.

The category of self-identification is an evaluative category. Self-assertion of a personality, as a basis for self-identification is molded only by prestige values. Alongside self-identification there exists identification that is carried out by surrounding people. The outward labeling may not coincide with self-identification. Hence are differences, conflicts and fight for rights and resources. The terms 'identification', 'self-identification' and 'identity' are not synonyms. Identification and self-identification are process notions, whereas identity is a resultative category that gives a possibility to determine the place of a personality at the scale of linguistic, ethnocultural and social-economic values.

The forms of self-assertion that determine the direction of self-identification of personality, in their turn, might be motivated by necessary and supplementary factors. To the necessary factors of self-assertion, and respectively, self-identification, we refer social-economic conditions of a person's life. The supplementary factors are aesthetic, ethic, and other cultural values. In the system of these values language occupies an intermediate position: on the one hand, it serves the social-economic part of life, on the other, it is a media and means of expression of ethnocultural values of a person, his /her ethnic and religious mentality, an instrument of actualization of habits, customs, traditions of a people. So language actualizes not only ethnocultural values, but social values as well that may be measured at the scale of social values. From this point of view, all languages might be divided into more prestigious, for example, international languages (English, Russian, Chinese, French, Spanish), the languages of international communication within a state (English in the USA, Russian in Russia), and local languages that are placed lower at the social scale of values. Ethnocultural characteristics of a language and its place at the scale may not coincide. So many European languages (German, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Hungarian) are featured by high ethnocultural value; nevertheless, they are not languages of international or cross national communication. The bearers of a language at the official level try to raise a social status of the language, spreading it beyond the borders of the state.

From the social standpoint, all the languages might be divided into one-dimensional, which social function coincides with its ethnocultural function or content, and two-dimensional languages, which social functions or a social component are realized beyond the boundaries of autochthonous speakers of the language.

The ethnocultural content of the language determines it as an ethnic language, and social functions of the language shape it as a language of a nation. Within the frames of monoethnic states these two functions might coincide, but in polyethnic states, such as the USA or Russia, the ethnic language and the national language as a specter of its social functions may differ. The ethnocultural content of a language (ethnic language) and its social dimension (national language) are characterized by a system of prestigious values. The ethnic language expresses mentality of an ethnos, has a special value for a speaker, but the same language as a national one may not have prestigious value. So, for example, in the USA cultural values of an ethnic language or ethnocultural values of the English language do not confront the status of American English as a national language. The national language has not only strictly pragmatic objective destination, but it might be characterized by the formation of prestige mentality that does not oppose ethnocultural mentality and creates a system-forming space for cultural mentality (i.e. any citizen of the USA of any ethnic origin proudly says: "I am an American").

In a multinational Soviet Union the Russian language used to be a means of intercultural communication, but only its socio-economic dimensions determined its social status as a national language. That is why it failed to become the means of expression of national mentality for other ethnic groups of the Soviet Union. Therefore, the attempt to form in practice the mentality of a new nation, the Soviet people, was doomed to failure too. In a multinational country, such as Russia or the USA, it is possible to speak about a double language identity that might be seen within the frames of one language with regard to its ethnocultural content, on the one hand, and its social dimensions, on the other. Here it is possible to speak about a double identity of a nation, that is about its ethnocultural and social mentality, as it is in the USA.

It is possible to understand the term 'double language identity' within the frames of bilingualism, when the bearer of an ethnic language, and respectively, its ethnocultural mentality gets command of a second, as a rule, state language and uses it for social-economic aims as a necessary means, but not as a means of achieving social prestige. In this case there is no formation of a national mentality and we have an asymmetrical double language identity.

5. Summary

1. The North Caucasus, inhabited by more than 100 of autochthonous and allochthonous peoples, including Russians, is a unique locus for conducting a large-scale research in the area of bilingualism and multilingualism.

2. The double language identity derives from ethnic and social dimensions of a bilingual. The ethnic component represents ethnocultural content, expressed by ethnic language. Social-pragmatic dimensions of a bilingual in the sphere of interethnic communication are represented by the state, or national language. Applied to the North Caucasus, it is the Russian language.

3. In the North Caucasus it is possible to distinguish two major patterns of bilingualism: (1) ethnic-Russian bilingualism and (2) minority-majority socially enforced ethnic bilingualism/multilingualism. Both forms of bilingualism are one-dimensional. The ethnoses of the North Caucasus have a good command of the Russian language, conversely, the opposite does not take the place. One-dimensionality of minority-majority ethnic bilingualism/multilingualism means that ethnoses with smaller amounts of population know, as a rule, the language of the ethnos that has bigger population. In frontier regions there are two-dimensional forms of ethnic bilingualism (the adjacent ethnoses know the languages of each other).

4. With regard to communicative sources of bilingualism formation, there are two patterns: contact bilingualism and non-contact bilingualism. Contact bilingualism occurs in the process of communication of the ethnoses with the Russian-speaking population. The communication is carried out in official and informal settings. In official conditions contact bilingualism is realized in the system of middle and higher education and in communication at work in official institutions. Contact bilingualism forms in informal settings, out-of-doors, in public transport, in places of recreation, etc. Non-contact bilingualism is formed under the influence of mass media, especially television.

5. With regard to the place of habitation (countryside-town), it is possible to distinguish rural and urban bilingualism. In the countryside, as a rule, there is observed contact official bilingualism (school, government structures, industrial places) and non-contact bilingualism (mass media). Rural population, as a rule, is homogeneous in ethnic respect. It primarily refers to the Russian-speaking population. In towns contact-official and contact-informal bilingualism and non-contact bilingualism are widely spread. From the ethnic point of view, towns are characterized by heterogeneous population which strengthens the Russian-language component of bilingualism and brings about the situation, when ethnic youth practice in informal settings in the streets, at rest the suppressed ethnic-Russian bilingualism that is revealed through their communication in the Russian language.

6. Family bilingualism is determined by the place of habitation (village-city), the level of education, age gradation of family members and mixed marriages. In village families bilingualism has a tendency for suppression of the Russian component. In families of city-dwellers the younger communicate among themselves seldom in ethnic languages and often in Russian, the elders speak ethnic languages to the young, and the young answer in Russian. In mixed marriages and families with three generations the middle generation communicates with the elder generation in ethnic languages, and with the younger generation in the Russian language. There is a phenomenon of composite bilingualism when the beginning of the phrase is pronounced in the ethnic language and ends in another language.

7. With regard to density of Russian speaking population and its places of habitat (urban-rural), we distinguish five groups that have various patterns of bilingualism:

(1) Russian speaking territories mainly with allochthonous inhabitants and no autochthonous peoples. They are featured by ethnic-Russian bilingualism with dominant contact bilingualism in all its forms. This region is characterized by community bilingualism, which is also a frequent case in other areas of the world with demographically prevalent population whose mother tongue is state-national.

(2) Adygea and Ossetia-Alania, which titular-Russian bilingualism is featured either by informational-pragmatic markedness of the Russian language, or in which there is titular-Russian asymmetric bilingualism with a marked Russian language component. Adygea is famous for enclave bilingualism with majority of population speaking Russian, though people have a command of their mother tongue with different degrees of proficiency. In North Ossetia titular-Russian bilingualism is moved asymmetrically into Russian monolingualism.

(3) Karachay-Cherkessia and Kabardino-Balkaria. We observe a symmetric titular-Russian bilingualism, which reveals autochthonous population's synchronic command of titular languages alongside with the command of Russian.

(4) Dagestan. It has the features of titular-Russian asymmetrical bilingualism with informational-pragmatic markedness of its ethnic component that is substantiated by the presence of minority-majority ethnic bilingualism in this area.

(5) Chechnya and Inguishetia. This region is interesting from content point of view, as well as an evolutionary-temporal paradigm, the dividing line of which are military actions in Chechnya in the years of 1990 – beginning 2000. During peacetime Chechen-Russian and Inguish-Russian bilingualism may be qualified as an intermediate case between symmetric titular-Russian bilingualism and asymmetric titular-Russian bilingualism with informational-pragmatic markedness of its ethnic component. Peaceful and force major conditions of bilingualism separate bilingualism that was formed on the basis of spontaneous factors and the factors of purposely aimed language policy from extreme bilingualism shaped in conditions of military time that lead to social disasters, appearance of migrants and refugees, pressing ethnically Russian speaking population from republics out and other negative consequences.

References

- Anderson B.A. & B.D.Silver. (1990) Some factors in the linguistic and ethnic russification of Soviet nationalities: is everybody becoming Russian? In Haida L. & M.Beissinger (eds.) *The nationalities factor in Soviet politics and society*. Boulder, San Francisco, and Oxford: Westview Press
- Baker C. (1988) *Key Issues in Bilingualism and Bilingual Education*. Clevedon; England: Multilingual Matters
- Baker C. (2001) *Foundations of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* (Bilingual Education and Bilingualism, 27). Clevedon; Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters
- Baker C.& S. P. Jones (eds.) (1998) *Encyclopedia of bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon; Philadelphia, PA: Multilingual Matters
- Bgazhnokov B. (2000) The Crisis of National Languages in Russia. *Minority Languages in Russia: Perspectives for Development. Acts of the International Seminar*. Elista
- Bourdieu P. (1991) *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press
- Chinn J. & R J. Kaiser. (1996) *Russians and the New Minority: Ethnicity and Nationalism in the Soviet Successor States*. Westview Press, Boulder, Co.
- Funch L. & H. Krag. *The North Caucasus: Minorities at a Crossroads*. London: Minority Rights Group, 1994
- Glyn E. (1972) *Multilingualism in the Soviet Union*. The Hague: Mouton and Co.
- Harris A. (1991) *Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus* (Anatolian and Caucasian Studies). Delmar, NY: Caravan Books.
- Hoffman Ch. (1991) *An Introduction to Bilingualism*. Cambridge: University Press
- Hornberger N.H. (1988) *Bilingual education and language maintenance: A southern Peruvian Quechua case*. Dordrecht, Holland: Foris
- Kirkwood M. (1997) Language Ecology in Post-Soviet Russia: Problems and Prospects. *Actes del Congrés Europeu sobre Planificació Lingüística /Proceedings of the European Conference on Language Planning*. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya
- Kliamkin I. & V.Lapkin. (1995) *Russkii vopros v Rossii* (The Russian Question in Russia). *Polis* 5, 78-90.
- Nelde P., N. Labrie & C. H. Williams. (1992) The principles of territoriality and personality in the solution of linguistic conflicts. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 13/5, 387-406.
- Red Book of the Languages of Russia*. (Krasnaya kniga yazykov narodov Rossii). (1994) The Encyclopaedia. Editor-in-Chief V.P. Neroznak, Moscow: Academia.
- Russian Federation Yearly Statistics. (2001) Goskomstat Rossii. – P76. Moscow
- Saroyan M. (1997) *Minorities, Mullahs, and Modernity: Reshaping Community in the Former Soviet Union*. Ed. by Ed.W. Walker. Berkeley: International and Area Studies Press, University of California, Berkeley
- Skutnabb-Kangas T. (1998) Human rights and language wrongs - a future for diversity. In Ph. Benson, P.Grundy & T.Skutnabb-Kangas (eds.). *Language rights*. Special issue, Language Sciences, Special issue, 20:1, 1998, 5-27
- Skutnabb-Kangas T. (ed.) (1995) *Multilingualism for All*. Series European Studies on Multilingualism. Lisse, The Netherlands: Swets & Zeitlinger
- Smeets R. *The Indigenous Languages of the Caucasus*. Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1994
- Spolsky B. (1988). Bilingualism. In F. Newmeyer (ed.): *Linguistics*. The Cambridge Survey. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 100-118
- Spolsky B., & E. Shohamy. (2000). Language practice, language ideology and language policy. In R. D. Lambert & E. Shohamy (Eds.), *Language policy and pedagogy*, essays in honor of a. Ronald Walton. Amsterdam

and Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company 1-42

The Ethnologue: <http://www.ethnologue.com/>

Tishkov V. A. (ed.) (1994) *The Ethnopolitical Situation in the Northern Caucasus*. Washington, D.C.: International Research and Exchanges Board

Tönnies F. (1925) *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, 6 u. 7. Aufl. Berlin: Curtius.

Wixman, R. (1984) *The Peoples of the USSR: An Ethnographic Handbook*. London: McMillan Press,

ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism

edited by James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister,
Kellie Rolstad, and Jeff MacSwan

Cascadilla Press Somerville, MA 2005

Copyright information

ISB4: Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism
© 2005 Cascadilla Press, Somerville, MA. All rights reserved

ISBN 978-1-57473-210-8 CD-ROM
ISBN 978-1-57473-107-1 library binding (5-volume set)

A copyright notice for each paper is located at the bottom of the first page of the paper.
Reprints for course packs can be authorized by Cascadilla Press.

Ordering information

To order a copy of the proceedings, contact:

Cascadilla Press
P.O. Box 440355
Somerville, MA 02144, USA

phone: 1-617-776-2370
fax: 1-617-776-2271
sales@cascadilla.com
www.cascadilla.com

Web access and citation information

This paper is available from www.cascadilla.com/isb4.html and is identical
to the version published by Cascadilla Press on CD-ROM and in library binding.