

The Russian Language in the Waves of Emigration During the Post – Revolutionary Period

Bulatova I.Z.

Department of Philology
Kazan Federal (Volga Region) University
Naberezhnye Chelny, Russian Federation
harkins_89@mail.ru

Bilyalova A.A.

Department of Philology
Kazan Federal (Volga Region) University
Naberezhnye Chelny, Russian Federation
abill71@mail.ru

Abstract—This article examines the stages of emigration from Russia in the post-revolutionary period. The main position is taken by the state of affairs of the Russian emigration of the XX century. Prior research presents the most significant features of the waves in post – revolutionary period, specifying three waves of emigration from the USSR during 1920 – 1986. The author makes a try to analyze the historical events, that affected migration movements and played the vital role in forming the image of Russian language at certain periods. Much attention has been drawn to analyzing linguistic elements of each wave, as vocabulary and grammar, appropriate usage of them depending on different ages, backgrounds, professional positions and social status of emigrants. Attitude to the Russian language, the value of national linguistic heritage is demonstrated in different ways among the representatives of each wave. Having estimated the usage of Russian language in a foreign environment, makes possible to trace the development trends of the national Russian language in general. This paper supports the fact, that national Russian language is reaching its maturity because of constant development among Russian speaking people around the world. The paper has an interdisciplinary character, written at the intersection of linguistics and history and can be highly accepted both by students of history and philology departments.

Keywords—*Russian emigration, refugees, waves of emigration, Russian language, post – revolutionary period, post – soviet period, Russian language acquisition*

I. INTRODUCTION

International migration is a global phenomenon, which has a great influence on separate countries, regions, and the world community. The Russian language as an element of identity and communication resource, unites citizens of Russia, countries of the former Soviet countries, far-abroad countries and plays considerable role in the statement of contemporary political, economic and educational dialogue. The Russian language is native language for more than 168 millions of people; more than 114 millions of people are fluent in Russian as the second native. Russian is an official language of Russian Federation, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, and it's considered as an unofficial language in Ukraine and many

former Soviet countries, including Azerbaijan, Estonia, Georgia, Latvia, Lithuania, Moldova, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. There's also a notable contingent of Russian-speakers in Cyprus, Finland, Hungary, Mongolia, Poland, China, the U.S. and Israel. The assertiveness of positions of the Russian language is a strategic national priority of the Russian Federation.

The study of the problems of emigration from Russia has relatively short history, the reason of it is close to negative attitude towards emigrants and the poor availability of relevant data on their number and flow. The relevance of the topic under study is determined, firstly, by the study of official and unofficial data on the number and flow of emigrants from Russia under the influence of certain historical events, what gives an idea of the concentration of emigrants on the territory of Western Europe, further determining the possible options for the expansion of the languages of the receiving countries into the national Russian tongue. Secondly, the process of emigration modifies the entire structure of the emigrant's social ties; changes status, social roles and personal relationships, which undoubtedly has an impact on the evolution of the national language of the metropolis. Gukhman M.M., Panov M.V., Skvortsov L.I. believe that certain social characteristics (such as age, educational level, social status, etc.), native speakers, and, as a consequence, the social aspect of learning are necessary [1, 2, 3].

M. Ya. Glovinskaya, referring to the studies of the Russian language among western branch of the emigration, identifies the most mobile areas of the language system of the Russian language, where fluctuation of the language norm is mostly often observed. The author considers the language of emigration as evidence of unstable areas of the language of the metropolis, comparing it with "language shock", in which the emigrants of the first wave found themselves under the influence of a foreign language environment. Under influence of such conditions, the trends and processes in the language of diasporas are manifested in the language of emigration more clearly and earlier than in the language of the metropolis [4, 5].

Both Soviet and Russian researchers and foreign scientists are studying the problems of emigration. The first work on international migration in pre-revolutionary Russia was published in 1928 by V. Obolensky (Osinsky) - a prominent revolutionary, chairman of Central Statistical Committee of the USSR [6]. V. Obolensky presented an analysis of Soviet statistics on the crossing of the USSR borders before 1926. Emigration research was tentatively resumed during the Khrushchev Thaw in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The cultural phenomenon of Russians abroad has been recognized at the highest political level due to the works of prominent Russian writers, composers and artists such as Bunin, Shalyapin, Stravinsky, Rachmaninov, Chekhov, Anna Pavlova, and others. A huge contribution to the development of research issues of the Russian language as a component of the national Russian language was made by E.A. Zemskaya, going behind the I-IV waves of emigration. She introduced into the scientific discourse the concept of "the phenomenon of the Russian diaspora", examined it in a complex manner, saw the factors that were contributed to the preservation of the language in emigration as the object of analysis. E.A. Zemskaya studies both oral and written speech of emigrants from the USA, Germany, Italy, France, Finland, compares the structures of the Russian language in different waves [9, 10, 11].

The research cycle of this article is a comprehensive study and analysis of the gradual waves in the post-revolutionary period as contribution to the development of the national Russian language. Statistics, based on materials from the Federal Statistics Service, data from migration agencies (Rosstat) since 1983, controlled coordination movement in front of foreign states [12].

For gaining this objective, it is necessary to solve the following tasks:

- theoretically analyze the circumstances that led to the massive resettlement;
- examine the chronological periods of the Russian emigration of the post-revolutionary period;
- to study the features of the waves of emigration from Russia in the post-revolutionary period;
- determine the legal status for each wave of the post-revolutionary period.

The object of this article is the Russian emigration of the post-revolutionary period as part of the study of the evolution of the national Russian language.

The subject of research is the features of the waves of emigration.

The study of any branch of emigration, whether western or eastern, requires a chronological classification throughout the period under consideration, which have their own historical prerequisites, fixing similar linguistic and sociocultural affiliations. In the studied issue, we take the post-revolutionary period 1920 – 1986 as a basis for our research.

II. FEATURES OF THE WAVES OF EMIGRATION IN THE POST-REVOLUTIONARY PERIOD

Post-revolutionary emigration can be divided into the following stages:

The first wave of emigration examines the development of history from 1917-1935. Leaving the country under the control of the government after the October Revolution, Russian immigrants considered their "emigrant" status as a temporary phenomenon, hoping to return to the country in the near future. Mainly, their behavior in the host country stands for the desire to isolate and not integrate into the newly arrived society. According to the Population Information System (POPIN), the League of Nations has approximately 1,160,000 refugees, a quarter of whom ended up in exile as members of the White Army. More than 35 thousand Russian emigrants (mostly military) were resettled in the Balkan countries: 22 thousand ended up in Serbia, 5 thousand in Tunisia, 4 thousand in Bulgaria, 2 thousand in Romania and Greece [5, 7].

The leaders of the "first wave" of emigration Z. Gippius, N. Berberova, D. Merezhkovsky are known for the words "We are not in exile, we are on a mission" are assumed as canon [11]. The duty of preserving the Russian culture and the Russian language, as well as to develop the traditions of classical Russian literature and literature of the "Silver Age" was highly supported by them, despite the formation of a new Soviet literature in the metropolis. Representatives of the first wave of emigration used borrowed words and phrases for decorating their speech as inlay. Their usage was fulfilled according to the principle of code switching from one language to another, someone else's word, acting as an insert, with an appropriate pronunciation but absence of morphological sign. What peculiarities of this wave are worth mentioning? Despite the elite character traits of this wave, which included the military, politicians, writers, artists and lawyers, most of them consisted of ordinary soldiers, cossacks of the White armies and ordinary people who did not want and refused to live under the Soviet authorities.

The radical revolutionary events of this period forced people to emigrate, often against their will. Having an optimistic outlook on the future, the settlers of this period followed no need to learn the language of the host country, hoping for an early return to their homeland. Thus, adhering to the above, it is necessary to emphasize the linguistic peculiarity of this period - the ability to preserve the native language and prevent the expansion of a foreign language, the absence of "linguistic garbage" in speech, adherence to the grammatical norms of the Russian language.

The second wave of emigration falls on the period after the end of World War II, 1945-1951. The main destination countries were Germany, Austria, Argentina, the USA, Canada. The reasons for this period are associated with an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of our country - "collaboration of Soviet citizens." In "Soviet collaboration", there were two forms of cooperation with the Germans: driven by political, national motives, or driven by selfish aspirations in the form of voluntary and forced cooperation [7]. However, emigration did not always take place at the will of the migrant.

The talk is about Soviet prisoners of war, civilians forcibly taken to the Reich, refugees, Volksdeutsche and Volksfinns, whom the People's Commissariat for Internal Affairs (abbreviated by NKVD) did not manage to deport, as well as civil internees (civil servants, diplomats, members of state missions and delegations of the USSR, sailors, railway workers, etc.) [8]. The second emigration is carrying out educational activities, primarily publishing. However, its character was significantly different from the publishing activity of the 1st wave. Firstly, the change in the nature of the Russian emigration itself: extinction of tense residing of the Russian population. The residence of Russian emigrants has become more "scattered". Russian émigrés were "allowed" to European countries, where they had been effectively banned from entering, especially England and Spain. Although Paris and Berlin were the largest European centers of emigration in Europe, a new scientific triangle in the USA - New York, Washington, Boston opened its borders to Russian emigrants. Hence, the new emigration settlements received a high probability of assimilation of the Russian language with other foreign languages, thereby expanding the boundaries of the lexical and semantic variability of the national Russian language. The language of the emigrants of the first and second wave, as well as their descendants, who studied the language in a family, there are practically no word-formation changes observed. Their speech is filled with diminutive - affectionate derivatives such as "bulochka, ogorodik, kuhon'ka, utrechko" (diminutive form of bun, garden, kitchen, morning). The tradition of foreign citizens not to use patronymics passed into the speech of Russian emigrants, with the addition of diminutive suffixes: "Naden'ka, Kolen'ka" (names of people). According to E.A. Zemskaya, there is also a verbal prefixation, but not so active in comparison with the diminutive category: "uezzhat', perezzhat'" (to move, to resettle). My cherez nee na vse eto natknulis' (we came upon it because of her) //; Ona nas vykopala/ nashla ... (She has tracked us down) //; Oni uzhe v tysyacha devyat'sot pyatom godu vybralis' iz Rossii (They left Russia in 1905) // [9].

According to the representatives of the first generation, the words which are used in their daily speech seem vague for interlocutors, that's why they managed to give definition both to the word and to the context. "Ochen' horoshij prazdnik "Senks-Givin", po-russki "Den' Blagodareniya"." (Thanksgiving is rather a good holiday), "Nado brat' kredity... Ponimaete? Za kazhdyj predmet v kolledzhe dayut kakoj-to ball. Eto ne ocenka, — drugoe. Vam nado tochnoe kolichestvo etih credits, chtoby poluchit' diplom." (You have to get credits. Do you understand it? It's not a grade, -something different. You have to have the exact number of these credits)", "Oj, smotrite, rakun, bednen'kij! Videli, tam na doroge, rakun... po-nashemu — enot. Eto slovo zdes' slyshish' sto raz v den'. Oni vse vremya popadayut pod mashiny" (Have a look, there is a racoon over there, in our language "enot". You can hear this word for about a hundred times in a day. It is always hit by car here). The heritage speakers who were born in the USA and European countries use the borrowings and calquing elements less conscious, the following example proves it: the young American, who was born into a Russian family, described himself this way when making an

appointment: "U menya dlinnie volosy, dzhinsy i rubashka taj-daj" (I have long hair, jeans and tie – dye shirt). "Capital? Nu, eto samyj bol'shoj gorod v shtate, chto-to takoe" imelas' v vidu «stolica»" (Capital? Well, it is the biggest city in the country, in the meaning of capital city).

Conservation process of the first language has been found to be very important for the overall personal and educational development of emigrants, especially children. However, successful bilingual development involving a minority language is often challenging in situations where the majority language dominates communication not only provincially and nationally but also internationally. According to the research of S.Montrul and M.Polinsky, heritage speakers are notorious for having tremendous variance within their populations—from very high proficiency cases where some registers may be affected, to so-called overhearers. Setting aside high-proficiency heritage speakers, we have found out that the remaining population of heritage speakers manifests both attrition and incomplete acquisition. Given the growing evidence for attrition in heritage speakers, it is especially important to compare their attrition to the first-generation speakers' [13]. The émigré press reports that the issue of preserving the Russian language has not lost its relevance for the second wave of emigration. Many publications of this period could be merged under the title "For the purity of the Russian language", combining articles criticizing both the speech of emigrants and cases of misuse of words, monstrous neologisms, clichés, "clericalism" in the USSR.

The third wave of emigration is framed by the approximate interval from 1948 to 1986. M.Denisenko points out that Gorbachev's perestroika made Soviet society and borders more open and changed the attitude toward emigration. In 1987 regulations, governing the country's abandon, were relaxed for those with relatives abroad, which triggered an increased outflow of people with foreign heritage: Germans, Jews, Greeks, etc. That year the number of Soviet emigrants to Israel reached 2,000 and to Germany – 17,400 [14]. Over the next two years the Soviet Government adopted a number of decisions allowing Soviet citizens greater opportunities for international travel. As a result, "against the background of renewal and democratization of all aspects of life in Soviet society, the introduction of a new political thinking in international practice, development of modern forms of multilateral cooperation of the USSR with foreign countries" the number of people who left the country in 1990 was more than 36 times greater than the total number of emigrants in 1986, and enumerated 452,300 people [12]. Whereas two previous waves of emigration stemmed from revolution, World War II, historical cataclysms, the third wave of emigration did not have a definite accompanying event, and thus, there was a difficulty in defining periodization. The period of new emigration from the Soviet Union dates back to the late 1960s and continues to this day. However, the third wave phenomenon fits into a more precise interval, the period between 1974 and 1991. Geographically, the emigration was based in three centers: the elite aspired to Paris, the rest were "sheltered" by Israel and America (first of all - New York, but also Boston, Los Angeles, Chicago).

The third wave lived without looking at environment, which at the beginning of the journey occupied less than the abandoned homeland. This paradox, which markedly distinguishes immigrants from the USSR, is explained by the fact that the repression of the Brezhnev regime forcibly interrupted the dialogue between the intelligentsia and the authorities, which began in the 1960s. "In a definite sense, the Third Wave was an attempt to agree on in the West what was not allowed to say at home" [7]. The KGB's (Committee for State Security) "wanted list" published the names of defectors and defectors in Germany - 120 people, Austria - 59 people, Sweden - 28, England - 25 [9]. The most prominent representatives are I. Brodsky, V. Aksenov, N. Korzhavin, A. Sinyavsky, B. Paramontov, F. Gorenstein, V. Maksimov, A. Zinoviev, V. Nekrasov, S. Davlatov, A. Solzhenitsyn. The free exit from the country on legal grounds is an efficient feature of the third wave of the post-revolutionary period, which distinguishes it from the first and second waves. However, the principle was indisputably observed: a person, having made a voluntary decision to emigrate, could not even come to the funeral of the closest relatives. Due to the fact that the composition of the third wave was characterized by people from various ethnic groups, religious confessions, they did not pursue the goal of preserving the Russian language and culture, traditions, customs, and faith. Moreover, they wanted to get rid of the way of life quickly that was inherent in the Soviet Union. For emigrants, the language of the country of residence in most cases has not yet become completely their own; it took many of them a long time to get into it. Emigrants abandoned their heritage languages for a variety of reasons, including peer pressure, lack of opportunity to use the language, or fear that it will interfere their ability to learn English or get ahead in host society. They easily gave rise to words from foreign-language roots, which subsequently spread widely into the Russian national language. For example: the root of the English word *rent* is used in combination with the Russian suffix and ending, as a result "arenda" (*rent*). They are characterized by the inclusion of foreign language roots in the word-formation and morphological models of the Russian language, for example, truck- "truchische" (huge truck). Thus, the lexical material of a foreign language is modified by the morphological system of Russian. But earlier, we noted that most of the settlers were literary figures. What was their attitude to the national Russian language, which served not only as a genuine connection with the homeland, but also as an instrument of professional activity? In spite of the fact, that many emigrants - writers, poets, critics, before leaving Russia mastered the skills of speaking and writing English or the language of the country they were going to, the attempts to preserve the Russian language as a cultural heritage were undertaken, facilitating by their practical activities in Russian. Speaking of the third wave of emigration, one cannot fail to note the emergence of Russian-language radio and television - a powerful extralinguistic factor contributing to the preservation of the native language of the emigrant community [17].

Precise language alteration, either external or internal are very difficult to fixate and anticipate, so the closest dating is usually identified with a century or more. Language modification is not an aim of speakers. Raymond Hickey

considers it as 'epiphenomenon' – something which happens not in purpose. Linguistically epiphenomenon means that change occurs for internal or external reasons – or a combination of both – but the change is not intended by the speakers. A comparison with a traffic jam might help to illustrate the point: if every car brakes to avoid hitting the one in front the result is a traffic jam, but the jam is not the goal of any driver, it arises as a consequence of the the compression of the traffic which results from stopping and starting. Thus, the traffic jam is an epiphenomenon resulting from the behavior of the drivers [15].

III. CONCLUSIONS

The essence of the foregoing boils down to the fact that emigration from Russia was primarily focused in Western Europe. The main centers that accumulated emigrants from Russia were Berlin, Prague, Belgrade, Sofia. They were joined by "small" Russian diasporas located in other cities of France, Germany, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria. The part of the Russians that after 1917 was in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Poland, Norway, Sweden and other countries did not make up such organized emigrant communities.

Based on the quantitative and qualitative indicators of emigration from Russia, we achieved the following conclusions:

- for the entire period under consideration, the main motives for emigration from Russia were following: historical conditions, political changes, economic situation;
- emigrants of the post-revolutionary period received the statuses: refugees, ethnic migrants, scientists, the middle class, as well as people with the aim of family reunification;
- the character of emigration of the post-revolutionary period was accompanied by a depressive tone, which entailed massive desperate actions.
- attitude to the Russian language as a national treasure can be traced on an increasing basis;
- the reverent attitude towards the Russian language among the immigrants of the first wave of the post-revolutionary period is gradually replaced by a stream of borrowings, simplification of vocabulary units, code switching, ignoring morphological features.

Leaving your home country is impossible without reflection, regret, nostalgia. The feeling of the loss of the Motherland, the soil underfoot, the feeling of leaving familiar life, its security and livability inevitably gives rise to wariness in the perception of the new world and often a pessimistic view of one's future. Thus, the psychology of the emigrant independently activates the function of preserving the native language, does not allow him to immediately forget it.

A theoretical analysis of the literature shows that the reasoned problem finds some solution in the scientific works of Russian and foreign scientists. At the same time, a number of specific questions remain poorly developed. These issues

include a deeper analysis of examples of the use of the Russian language in emigration, to make a comparative description of the habits of communication in Russian in emigration and in the metropolis.

Acknowledgments

The reported study was funded by RFBR according to the research project № 20-31-70001.

References

- [1] M.V. Panov, Modern Russian language: Phonetics. – M., 1979. – 255 s.
- [2] L.I. Skvorcov, "Literature language, contribution of vernaculars and jargonisms" // Literature norms and vernaculars. – Moscow.: Nauka, 1977. – S. 29-57.
- [3] M.M. Guhman, "To the typology of Gothic literature languages of prenational period" // The typology of Gothic literature languages. – Moscow.: Nauka, 1976. – S. 5-8.
- [4] M.Ya. Glovinskaya, "Specific processes and communication in the language of metropolis and emigration" // The language of Russian expatriate community: Vocal portraits and common processes.– Vena: Wiener slawistischer Almanach, 2001, 341–492.
- [5] M. YA Glovinskaya, "The common types of alterations in the language of first wave emigration"// Slavica Helsingiensia 24, 2004, 13–20.
- [6] V.V. Obolenskii (Osinskii), International and intercontinental emigrations in pre – war Russia USSR.Edition TSSU SSSR.M.,1928.
- [7] A. Genis , "The third wave: fitting the freedom" // Zvezda, 2010. – N 5. – S. 205 – 214.
- [8] P. Polyan, Victims of two dictatorships: Life, labour, humiliations and death of war prisoners in motherland and outland Moscow.:ROSPEN, 2002. 896s.
- [9] E.A. Zemskaya, "The language of Russian expatriate: the findings and perspectives of research" // The Russian language in scientific field, 2001. No 1. S. 114–131.
- [10] E.A. Zemskaya, Russian speaking language:linguistic analyses and problems of education. – Moscow.: Rus. yazyk, 1979. – 240 c.
- [11] E.A. Zemskaya, "Active processes in the language of Russian" // Modern Russian language. Active processes in XX – XXI centuries. – Moscow.: The languages of Slavian cultures, 2008. – S. 615-669.
- [12] Rosstat, CSBD [electronic resource];URL:<https://www.gks.ru/>
- [13] T.A. Medvedeva and S.A. Bushueva, "The Russian expatriate community of XX century: forming peculiarities, adaptation and national Russian emigration identity" // Vestnik of Lobachevsky state university of Nizhni Novgorod, 2016, No 2, s. 32–41
- [14] E.V. Skarlygina, Three emigrations in the mirror(selfidentification as a problem of émigré consciousness) // NLO, 2008 -No5.
- [15] S. Montrul and M. Polinsky, "Why not heritage speakers?"// Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism, Amsterdam, The Netherlands: 1, 2011, 87-92.
- [16] M. Denisenko, "Historical and current trends in Emigration from Russia" //Russian International Affairs Council// <https://russiancouncil.ru/en/analytics-and-comments/analytics/historical-and-current-trends-in-emigration-from-russia/>, 2013.
- [17] R. Hickey, Language Contact: Reassessment and reconsideration. In: Raymond Hickey (ed.) The Handbook of Language Contact. Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, pp. 1–28.