



Emigration from Russia in the Post-Soviet Period as a Pattern of Evolution of the National Russian Language

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Abstract

The focus of the article is the history of the Russian emigration. Awareness of the history of Russian emigration makes it possible to trace what changes have occurred with the national Russian languages in the framework of the historical events of the XX – XXI centuries. The aim of this work is to analyze the history of Russian emigration in the post-Soviet period. The author in the article describes the distinctive characteristics inherent in each wave of emigration, referring to the data of Rosstat, presents quantitative statistics on the number of emigrants from Russia. The waves of emigration are depicted from the point of Russian language usage there. Each wave is described from linguistic, grammar and phonetic point of view, proved by exact facts of grammar constructions, lexical units, highlighting the impact of the Russian language in emigration to the Russian language in the metropolis. Besides historical and linguistical descriptions, the author of the article is trying to give a sociological portrait of average emigrant for each wave.

Keywords: Russian Emigration; Refugees; Waves of Emigration; Post-Soviet Period; Grammar Constructions.

1. Introduction

Russia has one of the most liberal immigration policies in the world; someone who has been employed in Russia for five years and has acquired Russian language fluency will become a citizen unless he or she has committed a crime. Almost anyone who is employed by a Russian company can stay and work indefinitely in the country. This represents a policy shift on the part of Vladimir Putin's government from the more conservative policy implemented after the 1991 breakup of the Soviet Union in response to declining birth rates. In response to Putin's liberal policy, large non-Slavic immigrant communities have often faced xenophobia. To address this, the Russian state has shut down numerous anti-immigrant organizations, such as the Campaign Against Illegal Immigrants, according to Russian hate-speech legislation (Keating & Kaczmarek, 2019; Kubal, 2019; Malakhov & Simon, 2018; Molodikova, 2017; Nikiforova & Brednikova, 2018; Suslov, 2017).

On the international stage, as Russia reaffirms itself, its leaders can find less comfort in the views of young people at home. A newly published survey by the respected research institute Levada Center found that more than half (53%) of 18 to 24-year-old Russians would like to leave the country for good. Between 26 October and 2 November, the survey data were collected, with 1601 people questioned around Russia. The figures for the age group of 18 to 24 are particularly striking because the general sample indicated that only a minority (21%) of Russians would like to emigrate overall: 57% said "definitely not" another 20% "probably not." (Anisimova, 2019; Baykov, Lukyanets, Pismennaya, Rostovskaya, & Ryazantsev, 2018; Ivanova, 2017; Riazantsev, Pismennaya, Lukyanets, Sivoplyasova, & Khramova, 2018; Ryazantsev, 2018; Tartakovskiy, Patrakov, & Nikulina, 2017; Zimmerman, 2020).

However, the researchers wrote that their surveys showed a steady increase in the mood for emigration among young people between 18 and 24 years of age, continuing from 2014. Different motivations seem to trigger the desire to emigrate, but the general perception is simply this: those who want to leave feeling that life is better abroad. "the economic situation in Russia" the economic situation in Russia (40 percent). While the reasons given did not necessarily include openly political ones (54%) of those who wanted to emigrate, the work of the Russian President, Vladimir Putin, was



expressly endorsed; the younger generation was the most prominent in the recent protest marches in Russia (Bazanov & Shevtsov, 2020; Klimovich & Kovaleva, 2019).

And it is also the generation that is better prepared to make the transition if this is the generation that most want to abandon. They were able to travel more than their predecessors (it was very difficult to get permission to travel abroad for much of the last century); the world of work outside Russia is recognizable from what they have become accustomed to at home; even though they think things would be better abroad; trained professionals might well have studied foreign languages to assist their transition.

They may have grown up in a world where Russia's relations with the West have slowly gone downhill; with the occupation of Crimea by Moscow in 2014, while it boosted Putin's popularity at home, a low point; but they see themselves as people seeking jobs rather than Russian foreign policy members. In those circles, too, when a new generation comes in, there are shifting opinions. Russia's expert Kadri Liik concluded in a recent policy brief for the European Council on Foreign Relations, from her study of young Russian foreign policy professionals, that Russia's long-standing concern for the West, often bordering on obsession, is now evolving and transforming (Liik, 2018). Also, there was a caution. This generation may be keen on finding opportunities abroad, but it does not mean that they are pro-western in political circles, at least. In reality, Liik argued, the West should not expect that once Putin leaves, the optimism of the 1990s will return (Liik, 2017).

In the meantime, most of the coming generation of Russian experts, with all the potential consequences for domestic politics and foreign policy, seem to want to abandon themselves. In the Middle East, Russia could have developed a new power. In Crimea, it will also claim success. The generation's attitudes that will be depended on to lead in the future suggest that not all of them are sufficiently impressed to want to commit their own future to the land of their birth.

For different purposes, the term emigration implies moving from one country of origin to another country to live there permanently or for a certain period of time. Emigration may be voluntary or coerced, just like any other form of migration. Voluntary emigration means that lower living conditions or worse opportunities are given by one's country of origin than the host country. As voluntary emigration does not mean a change from better to worse, any country facing emigration should accept that its standard of life or its demographic prospects are worse than those in the countries for which emigrants leave. Russian emigration research may therefore help to recognize social-economic, political, ecological and other circumstances that do not satisfy and make those Russians emigrate. Social, economic and political shifts in the second half of the 1980s and in the early 1990s led to highly extreme cross-border migration among former Soviet Union citizens. Russia, once a closed country, has been actively involved in international migration processes over the course of a few years, serving simultaneously as a country of origin, a host country and a transit country. In the late 1980s, after the country had loosened its emigration policy and departure registration procedures, voluntary emigration from Russia started to gain traction. Until 1989, practically no free emigration from the USSR was possible. Exceptions were made for the emigration of ethnic Germans, Jews, and Greeks after the year 1989. Between 1990 and 2000, shifts in the feelings and networks of migration resulted in many waves of emigration from Russia. The initial emigration from the Soviet Union was prompted by the country's severe economic and political crisis caused by processes of transition and social and economic ties reforms. Since the prospects for early emigration largely depended on the immigration policies of the host countries, which mostly promoted race as the justification for immigration, the initial waves of emigration from Russia were mostly racial (ethnic German, Jewish and mixed families were the most frequent emigrants). As a consequence, Israel, Germany and the United States became the major migratory countries for the Russians (Aleshkovski, 2016).

Events that covered the whole country until 1990 made Russia be rapidly involved in migration activities (Bozhenkova & Bozhenkova, 2019; Valerievna, 2019). Subsequently, this process was developed in the works of I.A. Aleshkovsky, who considers the period of post-Soviet emigration in five waves (Aleshkovski, 2016). Litovskaya & Litovskaya (2018) pay close attention to the development of the Russian language in emigration, namely describes the linguistic characteristics inherent in specific waves of emigration. Mhando & Thomas (2012) in their works, analyzes the conditions of adaptation of immigrants. It is impossible not to notice that despite the apparent multidimensionality and vastness of research, a lot of properties and mechanisms of emigration from Russia require additional consideration. The



study of changes that occur with the Russian language in exile, which forms the relevance of this topic is in a particular interest for our research.

To the best of our knowledge, the emigration of the post-Soviet period is not a political motive among the immigrants, but an economic one. The study identified and analyzed the stages of emigration from Russia to foreign countries for the post-Soviet period.

The purpose of the study of this article is a comprehensive study and phased analysis of waves of emigration in the post-Soviet period for the development of the national Russian language. Based on the stated purpose of the study, the main tasks are to:

- Theoretically study the circumstances that led to the massive relocation;
- Establish the stages of Russian emigration in the post-soviet period;
- Describe the distinctive features of the waves of emigration from Russia in the post-soviet period;
- Indicate the legal status and social portrait of emigrants for each wave of the post-soviet period;

The object of this article is the Russian emigration of the post-Soviet period as part of a study of the development of the national Russian language.

The subject of the study is the characteristics of waves of emigration.

2. Methods

The material of the study was selected by the method of continuous sampling from articles and thesis of (Iontsev, Ryazantsev, & Iontseva, 2016; Laleko, 2010; Litovskaya & Litovskaya, 2018; Lulle & Jurkane-Hobein, 2017; Polinsky & Kagan, 2007; Poplack, 2004; Sorace, 2004). Russian newspapers and magazines, which are published in European countries and the USA, personal blogs and pages of Russian – speaking emigrants in social communities kept the main niche for our research.

The approach of the literature review made us evaluate the state of knowledge on a historical classification of Russian emigration waves. The analysis of theoretical and supporting data comprise the usage of such methods as the descriptive method, the method of quantitative analysis, the method of semantic analysis, the continuous sampling method, the classification method and elements of etymological analysis.

3. Results and Discussion

January 1, 1993, is considered to be the date that served as a sharp impetus to the development of the emigration process. This was facilitated by the liberalization of border crossing rules by citizens of the Russian Federation, which was established by the Constitution of the Russian Federation.

The interdisciplinary area of migration studies is bound up with binaries, one of the most fundamental of which is its division into internal and international migration, distinguished by different literature, definitions, approaches and policy agendas. Nowadays, most migration scholars are studying international migration, while internal migration is more important quantitatively. Yet, not only because of global events and the shifting nature and structure of borders but also because the journeys of migrants are increasingly numerous, dynamic and fractured, the distinction between internal and foreign movements is becoming increasingly blurred. However, there are also many parallels and many variations between these two traditions of migration (Apitzsch & Siouti, 2007; Donato, Gabaccia, Holdaway, Manalansan IV, & Pessar, 2006; Favell, 2007; Hui, 2016; King, 2012). One stands out as the most fundamental bifurcation between internal and foreign migration, among the many binaries that dissect the field of migration studies: coerced vs. voluntary, temporary vs. permanent, legal vs. illegal, etc. Over the past half-century or so, two almost entirely distinct literature have arisen, written from distinct philosophical, theoretical and methodological points of view, which seldom speak to each other. Several factors seem to have affected this dichotomisation, including different data sources, different researchers' disciplinary backgrounds, different methodological methods, and different research goals representing different policy concerns, and funding sources have spoken of the 'significant degree of apartheid' in the two traditions of migration research (DeCoster, Iselin, & Gallucci, 2009; Donaldson & Kinirons, 2001; Farrington & Loeber, 2000; McShane & Gal, 2017).

Based on the quantitative and qualitative analysis of domestic and foreign emigration statistics, I.A. Aleshkovsky formed a certain periodization. He approached the consideration of periodization not from the point of view of the scale of emigration, but from the point of view of a quantitative and territorial attribute. Based on this analysis, five waves of emigration are distinguished in the history of modern Russia (Aleshkovski, 2016).

The first wave of emigration dates from the period from 1990 to 1994. The first half of the 1990s witnessed an intensive acceleration of emigration, provoking political and economic reforms which led to massive unemployment. Under these conditions, ethnic migrants and representatives of the intellectual elite (scientists and highly qualified specialists) had the best chances to get support in the recipient countries.

The first wave was the largest in the post-Soviet history of Russia. Unfortunately, there are no accurate Russian statistics for 1990 or 1991. The official data includes only the number of permits that were issued to leave Russia for permanent residence abroad. Statistics from 1992 to 1994 show that about 1.5 million people emigrated, while according to unofficial data, about 2.1 million people left Russia during this wave (Pereltsvaig, 2003).

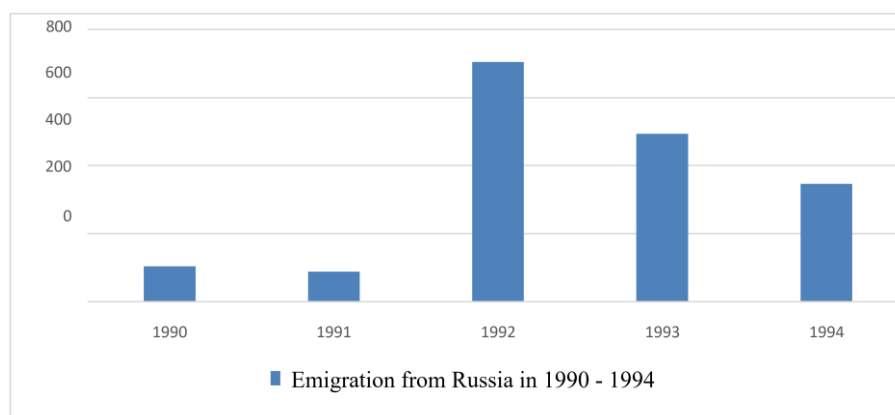


Figure 1. The first wave of emigration

This period is characterized by highly skilled migrants, residents of Moscow and St. Petersburg, residents of Western Siberia, ethnic migrants (Germans, Jews), who mainly found refuge in Germany, Israel and the United States. The desire to integrate into the new environment as soon as possible, to have a job, home, family, led to the inevitable element - the development of a foreign language. Many of them, especially those who did not plan to return to their native country, tried to speak the new language with all their might and stopped speaking Russian. For nominative purposes, as well as for the purpose of saving time, emigrants use borrowed words without worrying about the purity of the Russian language, creating hybrids from different parts of speech.

For example, the German adjective Doppel (double) is actively traced into Russian – допдельный, and the English word bedroom (bedroom) is transformed into the adjective бедрумный.

The second wave has a time frame from 1995 to 2000. In the second half of the 1990s, the Russians, pursuing the goal of employment, occupied a vast niche of both low-skilled vacancies and vacancies for positions requiring better education and high qualifications. As in the first wave, the composition of immigrants consists of Moscow, St. Petersburg and Western Siberia residents, but the flow of ethnic migrants is declining. E.A.Zemskaya presented the data that states approximately 99.3% of emigrants did not speak any languages except Russian. Obviously, their Russian language, which existed under the influence of a foreign language, was subject to assimilation to a greater extent. Unlike the emigrants of the first full of the post-revolutionary period, the immigrants of this period do not regard the Russian language as a “shrine”. They use it for everyday communication, but only a few of them cherish it, for further transmission to their children, read books, watch television in Russian (Matyushina, 2015). According to the Federal State Statistics Service, 1.47 million people left Russia during this period. Emigration decreased due to two factors: the relatively weakened social crisis and the fact that a large proportion of the most mobile part of the population has already left the country (Iontsev et al., 2016; Ivan, Alexander, & Olga, 2018; Popova, 2020; Vorobyeva, Aleshkovski, & Grebenyuk, 2018). At the same time, according to I.A. Aleshkovsky and M.B. Denisenko, the total number of the second wave of migrants was approximately 2 million people (Aleshkovski, 2016; Iontsev et al., 2016). Educational migration has increased over this

period, but this is only a step towards further emigration and integration into host societies. An important point is that the most common type of emigration among women was family emigration.

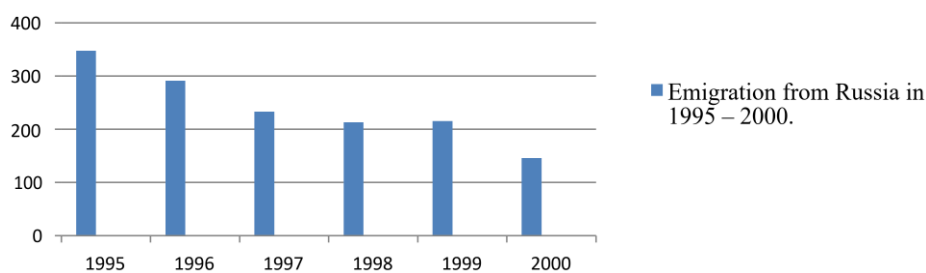


Figure 2. The second wave of emigration

Events of the third wave of emigration make the period 2001–2005. In the early 2000s, interest in economic partnerships by other countries became one of the most important drivers of emigration. According to the Federal State Statistics Service, 455.26 thousand citizens left Russia during this period. At this stage, business emigration from Russia has grown steadily with Russian businesspeople focusing on the quieter and safer Western market, mostly in Germany. Wealthy social groups had the opportunity to buy real estate for permanent or temporary residence. As to educational emigration, sending children to study abroad has become the most popular way to find a more prosperous and democratic place for them to live. These children hardly returned to Russia after graduation. This period was characterized by an increase in the outflow of young people who received a good technological education in Russia, but for certain circumstances could not find a well-paid job in a state or private corporation. The linguistic features of this period take on new features. Earlier, we said that the main composition of immigrants consists of young people who are more susceptible to adapting to the new environment, are open to changes. Therefore, the average emigrant has a replenishment of the conceptual apparatus, Russifying foreign realities - implementing code-switching (“даунтаун”, “эппойнтмент” “шупе”), in the evidence to that we can speak not about the loss of language, but about its enrichment. The regression will be the replacement of the term, for example, with tracing paper from a second language: “эмоциональная помощь” (“emotional help”, “emotional Unterstützung”) instead of “поддержка”. During the study of American linguist Aneta Pavlenko in 2004, children of Russian migrants who grew up in the USA but for using Russian as the language of home communication, could not correctly express some thoughts in Russian and used direct tracing of English phrases (for example, “in downtown Ithaca” turned into “в центре внизу Итака”). In addition, such regressive features as the semantic extension/narrowing of the term are obvious (Pavlenko, 2003).

The fourth wave of emigration is a period from 2006–2011. The fourth half of the 2000s was characterized by another economic crisis (2008–2009). As far as we know, rising unemployment and a shrinking domestic market forced Russian businessmen to seek business opportunities abroad. What matters here, experts accounted for the largest share of emigrants at that time. Other forms of emigration, such as migration to study or migration of graduates in search of work, were more widespread. By that time, Russian emigrants had already created comfortable communities in the main host countries of the Russian emigration. These communities have become a kind of magnets for close and distant relatives and friends, whom many of the emigrants left in Russia, and who began to think about emigration. Potential emigrants from Russia were attracted by the successful experience of immigrant employment, the chances of solving the housing problem and other social problems, as well as the opportunity to access the social services that the indigenous population of potential host countries uses (Ivan et al., 2018; Popova, 2020). Unlike the events of 1999-1995, this period of emigration was not caused by critical historical events, the immigrants did not leave their countries in a hurry, often the move was planned and planned ahead of time, therefore, for the most part, moving citizens already possessed a lot of linguistic skills, and immersion into the new language environment was not a shocking phenomenon for them, so the panic desire to immerse themselves in a new language, leaving behind their native language was not inherent in them.

The fifth wave of emigration has started approximately in 2012 and has been lasting up to present. The last wave in the modern history of Russia originates in 2012 and continues to the present. This wave of emigration is characterized by emigrants from various sectors of society, such as businessmen, students, scientists, workers. For the first time, real Europeans are leaving Russia - educated, intelligent, advanced people who are well versed in modern realities, often speaking the language of the host country. In other words, these are not emigrants, but ex-pats, people who open fashion

establishments and new services, participate in the development and social projects, create new applications, hold exhibitions, conferences, creative festivals, open children's summer camps and art schools for adults. Emigrants, because of their position and status, used to embarrass their common past, their inarticulate present, and themselves. This led to a fierce desire to assimilate more quickly - some tried to copy the locals, others “got accustomed” to their own circle with their subcultural mores. The modern period of emigration shows that a “typical Russian immigrant” is not a person who does not know about the existence of credit cards, ATMs and other modern technologies, but an outgoing, liberated person who has seen the world and understands how this world works (Muth, 2017).

The Russian language acquires new units of words due to the fact that highly qualified specialists emigrate. They borrow from different fields of activity, calquing and borrowings are determined as the quickest and the most accurate way of receiving the right definition to a new reality, for example, the most frequently emigrating specialists from Russia in the IT sector use borrowings and calques, modernizing the word form by category, thereby adding new language units to the national Russian language: Репрессионное тестирование показало большое количество багов на последней сборке приложения; Имплементация фичи будет закончена после написания интеграционных и юнит тестов. Despite etymological identity with the donor language, established loanwords assume the morphological, syntactic, and often, phonological, the identity of the recipient language. They tend to be recurrent in the speech of the individual and widespread across the community (Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). The main composition of emigrants is also made up of children of former emigrants, and it can be safely assumed that Russian heritage language is featuring as an inborn passive ability.

Since the emigration mood of the immigrants reached its peak during this period, it is believed that the number of emigrants is much higher than in previous periods. According to Rosstat official data, 323.68 thousand citizens left Russia between 2012 and 2017, while the statistics of foreign countries estimates approximately 500000 immigrants.

4. Summary and Conclusion

The results obtained in the course of our study allow us to draw some particular conclusions:

- There are five waves of emigration from Russian in post – Soviet period.
- For the entire period under review, the main factor in emigration from Russia is the economic situation. The reason for the resettlement is dissatisfaction with the quality of life in their country.
- Emigrants of the post-Soviet period have mainly the status of ex-pats, students, and entrepreneurs.
- The portrait of an immigrant from the post-Soviet era is as follows: a middle-aged man with high educated standards, a wide range of professional skills, and fluent in everyday language communication.
- Borrowing, simplified vocabulary units, code-switching, calquing, the omission of morphological characters - the basis of the Russian language in the emigration of the analyzed period.

An important common feature of emigration of different times also manifested in different ways, is the very fact of cultural interaction, the integration of historical and cultural processes inherent in individual peoples and countries. Contact with another culture, with a different mentality and way of thinking, leaves its mark on the interacting parties - on the culture, language carried by emigrants, and on the culture and language of the country where they settled.

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