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**NEW SPEAKERS OF RUSSIAN IN CYPRUS: IDENTITY, LANGUAGE USE,
MAINTENANCE AND INTERGENERATIONAL TRANSMISSION**

This study examines the identity and language use of the Russian-speaking community in Cyprus along with the maintenance and transmission of the Russian language within this community. I collected data by disseminating questionnaires and conducting oral interviews. The participants of the study included 30 international Russian-speaking students studying and residing in Cyprus (17–26 years old) and 50 women who are native speakers of Russian and members of either Russian monolingual or mixed-marriage families (31–65 years old). The analysis of the data revealed that the women have either Russian or mixed (Russian and Cypriot Greek) cultural and linguistic identities, while the students have mixed (Russian and English) identities. All of the participants believe that people in Cyprus are tolerant of multilingualism, and they have rarely experienced discrimination or negative attitudes related to their L1. The Russian women, most of whom are part of mixed-marriage families, believe that they need to learn Greek in order to integrate into Cypriot society, improve their knowledge, and be successful at work. However, the younger L1 Russians do not feel the necessity to learn Greek. As for language maintenance, nearly all of the women try to teach their children Russian at home and send their children to Russian lessons where they learn to read and write in Russian.

1. Introduction

Globalization, mobility, and transnational networking have changed the linguistic ecology of Europe. Today, multilingualism and multiculturalism are considered the norm rather than the exception. The increased linguistic diversity requires specific actions and correct attitudes that differ from the principles of homogeneity and nativeness; society's aim has shifted to prevent socioeconomic hierarchies and overcome inequalities.

The challenges non-native speakers face have been largely overlooked and ignored. Previously, non-native speakers were perceived as deficient regarding their linguistic ability and performance. IS1306 Cost Action 'New Speakers in a Multilingual Europe: Opportunities and Challenges' has suggested a more positive view on non-native speakers and describes them as "new speakers." Thus, linguistic diversity is perceived to be beneficial for a multilingual Europe.

Being a "new speaker" means adopting an additional language, a "personal adoptive language" (IS1306 MoU 2013: 4). These multilingual speakers play an important role in a multilingual Europe. "New speakers, from this perspective, are all multilingual citizens who, by engaging with languages other than their 'native' or 'national' language(s), need to cross existing social boundaries, re-evaluate their own levels of linguistic competence, and creatively (re)structure their social practices to adapt to new and overlapping linguistic spaces."

The "new speaker" concept is a complex issue, and it is perceived differently within different multilingual contexts and in different countries. New language acquisition, language use, and comprehension in one's adopted language require complex mechanisms. New speakers enter into power relations with "old" (native) speakers. There may be inequalities concerning legitimacy and access to resources in one's adopted country. A better understanding of new speakers can be advantageous for the economic, cultural, and societal development of Europe. Immigrants have to adopt the new language of their new community or country in order to integrate into the host society and be part of its economic, social, and political life.

The native speaker models in sociolinguistics and applied linguistics, linguistic anthropology, and discourse analysis state that only native speakers are legitimate speakers of national

languages. Their status is associated with authority, correctness, and appropriateness. They easily access economic resources, education, employment and have social recognition. “New speakers” is a new label for “non-native” speakers or L2 learners or users. It is based on the growing research in the area of multilingualism. New policies that respect minority and migrant languages, language maintenance, and transmission should be offered. The native speaker models should be adjusted to take into consideration the needs of the multilingual population, the “new speakers” of multilingual Europe.

2. Migration: identity, language use, maintenance and intergenerational transmission

2.1. Immigration and family language policy

Immigration can be an emotional and dramatic experience, as people often need to learn new languages and undergo language shifts. In acclimating to their new host country, immigrant families can harbour defensive and adaptive mechanisms that reflect in their language behaviours, planning, and ideologies (Tannenbaum 2012).

Language and identity are interconnected (Bucholtz, Hall 2003; Rothman, Rell 2005; Cislo 2008; Hernández 2009; Alfaraz 2012). Ethnic identity is complex and dynamic (Phinney 1992; Joseph 2004; Riley 2007; Cislo 2008). According to the Linear/Bipolar Ethnic Identity Model (Phinney 1990), immigrants have strong ethnic identities and assimilate with only one language group, minority or majority. The Two-Dimensional Model of Identity presupposes a strong affiliation with both cultures and languages (Joseph 2004); immigrants can have dual or “hyphenated” identities (Phinney 1990; Ghuman 1991; Carreira 2012). As suggested by the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles et al. 1977), accommodation is affected by various factors such as attitudes, social, economic, and political factors (David 2008).

Previous research shows that language maintenance depends on emotion (Smolicz 1981, 1992; Smolicz et al. 2001; Tannenbaum, Howie 2002; Pavlenko 2004; Tannenbaum, Berkovich 2005; Barkhuizen 2006; Guardado 2008), parents’ motivation, family cohesion, close relationships, and trust (King, Fogle 2006). There are instances in which immigrants struggle with their coping mechanisms, acculturation, or integration strategies. On the one hand, this results in stress, alienation, and marginalisation; on the other, it also leads to a shift to L2 and no contact with the older generation or culture (McAdams 1998). A family with low socio-economic status (SES) prefer using the target language, thereby triggering a language shift due to external pressure (Gregory 2001; Thordardottir, Weismer 2010). A family with a favourable background, high SES, and educated parents tend to have both acculturation and integration strategies to their host culture on par with home language maintenance (Tuominen 1999; Okita 2002; Canagarajah 2008; Fogle 2012; Pérez Báez 2013).

Community-wide language awareness, effective family language policy (FLP), and socialisation activities are essential for language maintenance and transmission. FLP presupposes practice, management, and ideology as well as emotional and psychological factors (Cooper 1989; Spolsky, Shohamy 1999; Shohamy 2006; Spolsky 2004, 2009; King et al. 2008). According to Shohamy (2006), King and Fogle (2006), and Spolsky (2009), there are implicit and explicit family language policies. Language ideologies depend on numerous elements: the family; their language use; the value, place and status of the minority and majority languages; dynamics; quality; the extent and longevity of social use; social networks; and strategies for revitalization (King 2000; Spolsky 2004, 2009; Shohamy 2006; King et al. 2008).

Parents make decisions about their children’s language use and language of socialisation (King et al. 2008; Smith-Christmas 2014). FLP can be pro-minority and pro-bilingual (Altman et al. 2014). Both macro (external) factors like the political and sociocultural environments and micro (internal) factors like home literacy, home environment, parental expectations, favourable attitudes toward immigration, and language use affect FLP. Stavans (2012) suggests that both top-down (national level) and bottom-up (family, individual level) approaches should be implemented when investigating an immigrant family’s FLP.

Family language ideologies and language practices depend on government policies (Curdt-Christiansen 2014), parental immigrant experiences (Li Wei 1994; Curdt-Christiansen 2009), and immigration pressure (Canagarajah 2011). Ideologies within one family can be conflicting, language practice and management can be contradictory, parents can have opposing views (Spolsky 2004; Shohamy 2006; King et al. 2008) and thus implement different discourse strategies (Lanza 2004, 2007), which are affected by social-economic factors (Curdt-Christiansen 2009, 2016; Fogle, King 2013).

It is difficult for minority parents to decide what is best for their children and their future when it comes to which language to use (Curdt-Christiansen 2013). Family relations and child language development, as well as school achievement, are interrelated (Fogl, King 2013). Immigrant families face a number of challenges, like constructing new identities, avoiding prejudices and stereotypes, undergoing intergenerational language shifts and communication difficulties (Li Wei 1994; Shin 2005; Lanza 2007; Zhu Hua 2008; Hua, Li Wei 2016). However, they also need to keep in touch with their monolingual relatives – grandparents who live abroad in the minority countries (Cohen 1997).

A family is a dynamic system, and children can be agents of language identity and language transmission (Fishman 1972; Gafaranga 2010; King 2013; Hornberger 2015; King 2016). Children of immigrant families tend to talk in the majority language even if their parents use L1, thus triggering a language shift (Gafaranga 2011). FLP, communication with grandparents, contacts with relatives in the home country, and a willingness to use the minority language (Clyne 2003; Takeuchi 2006) are all factors in reversing the language shift and maintaining the minority language (Fishman 1991, 2001; Shohamy 1994).

There are both overt and hidden ideologies and FLP that affect linguistic choices, habitual linguistic practice, and input-output patterns in a multilingual family (Lanza 2004; de Houwer 2007; García, Li Wei 2014). Raising bilingual children is a challenge. There often exist contradictory linguistic practices and expectations. Due to their ideological orientations, attitudes, expectations, ideological valorisation, cultural affiliation, as well as power relations, the socio-political reality, and educational opportunities, many immigrant parents lean toward the majority language, which leads to language shift. Nevertheless, these days, more and more immigrant parents try to raise their children in a bilingual or multilingual environment. They believe that bilingualism provides a future economic advantage or work prospect, so parents support L2 and maintain L1 (King, Fogle 2006; Curdt-Christiansen 2009). They promote bilingualism for better family cohesion/integrity and communication with their extended family outside of the host country (Smolicz et al. 2001; Pavlenko 2004; Tannenbaum 2005).

2.2. Russian diaspora in Cyprus: identity, language use, maintenance, and transmission

The relationship between language and identity depends on socio-political, socio-economic, and socio-cultural factors (Pavlenko, Blackledge 2004). Language transmits culture and history; thus, language loss can lead to the loss of inherited knowledge.

Language maintenance and transmission are influenced by one's motivation, the symbolic role of the language, minority identities, one's socioeconomic status, social networks, religion, the tendency toward social segregation or inclusion, and language solidarity (García 2003). Attitudes and valences (Woolard 1998; Wölck 2004; Lasagabaster, Huguet 2007), the environment of the speaker, the value of bilingualism, and multilingualism in particular environments (García 2009) should be considered. The use of the minority language in public (Wölck 2004; Henley, Jones 2005), along with the cultural value of the language and its utility (Woolard, Shiefelin 1994; Wölck 2005), are of great importance.

This study focuses on the socio-linguistic ecology of the Russian-speaking community in Cyprus. Linguistic diversity is as essential as ecological diversity (Krauss 1992; Crystal 2000). Language vitality depends on such factors as demography, status, prestige, institutional control, and the size and distribution of the ethnolinguistic group (Giles et al. 1977).

According to Grin (1990, 2003) and Lo Bianco (2008), language vitality depends on capacity development, opportunity creation, and desire. “Language transmission by parents is crucial for language maintenance and recovery” (Lo Bianco 2008: 25). In Cyprus, parents are often the primary – or the only – source of Russian input for children, and it is limited. The success of language transmission thus depends on the daily language use at home, attitudes towards language use and preservation, efforts for creating opportunities, and incentives for language use in and outside the home (Laleko 2013).

The linguistic situation in Cyprus can be described as diglossic, bidialectal (Grohmann, Leivada 2012), or bilectal (Rowe, Grohmann 2013). Two varieties are used by the Greek Cypriot population in Cyprus: Standard Modern Greek (SMG) and Cypriot Greek (CG). It can also be described as multilingualism as there are Cypriot minorities (e.g., Latin, Maronites) who live in Cyprus, residents of British origin, immigrants from various countries of Eastern Europe, Asia, and especially the former Soviet Union. According to the pluricentricity theory (Clyne 1992; Muhr 2003, 2005; Muhr 2012), pluricentric language has more than one variety and centre (Stewart 1968). The notion of pluricentricity includes language, identity, and power relations (Clyne 1992; Muhr 2012). Clyne (1992) describes Russian as a major monocentric language. Ammon (2005) suggests that Russian can be considered a pluricentric language if Russian and Belarussian are seen as two varieties of the same language. Mechkovskaia (2005) suggests that Russian is a polynational language.

The break-up of the Soviet Union led to a massive wave of emigration in the 1990s and 2000s and, consequently, to the creation of Russian diasporas in Europe and worldwide. The Russian-speaking population in Cyprus emigrated from the former Soviet Union, and their self-identification is characterised by dual reality and dual loyalty (Ryazantsev 2015). Russian-speaking people stay in Cyprus both permanently – for work, business, or investment – or temporarily for holidays. There are around 30,000 immigrants from the former USSR, mostly consisting of Russians, Ukrainians, and Pontic Greeks. The majority of these immigrants and the Russian “elite” live in Limassol, which is often called “little Moscow.” During the time of the USSR, Cyprus and Russia established political, economic, and cultural links. There are numerous Russian off-shore companies in Cyprus and on-going investment. Previously there was a visa-free regime for Russian nationals in Cyprus; now visitors from Russia can stay in Cyprus for up to 90 days without a visa. Cyprus hosts Russian schools, banks, restaurants, shops, as well as Russian-language magazines, radio, and TV channels (Ryazantsev 2015).

Since the 2000s, there has been a push for Russian to be the new lingua franca in the former Soviet republics and abroad (Pavlenko 2012). There is an increased valorisation of Russian in Cyprus due to tourist flow, immigration, international marriages, cultural and religious ties, military and political cooperation, investments, and transnational corporations (Filippov 2011). Russian functions as the lingua franca in Cyprus and is perceived as a commodity (Bourdieu 1991; Duchene, Heller 2012; Eracleous 2015).

This study is an attempt to examine language identity, use, and transmission by the Russian-speaking community in Cyprus. My goals are to reveal which factors affect their linguistic repertoires and attitudes, determine whether or not there is any difference between adult immigrant groups and international students with respect to their language identities and dominant language constellations (DLC), and examine family language policies and language transmission strategies.

3. Study

3.1. Participants

The participants of the study were 30 Russian-speaking students studying and residing in Cyprus (17–26 years old) and 50 women (31–65 years old) who are native speakers of Russian. Of the Russian-speaking university students, 19 were women (63.33%) and 11 were men (36.67%). Their countries of origin include Ukraine (8/27%), Belarus (2/7%), Moldova (1/3%), Georgia (2/7%), and Russia (17/56%). At the time of this study, their mean age was

21.1 years old (*min* 17, *max* 26, *SD* 2.48), their mean length of residence in Cyprus was 5.54 years (*min*. 0.5, *max*. 20, *SD* 5.29), and the mean age of onset to L2 English (AoO) was 17.28 years (*min*. 5, *max*. 25, *SD* 4.72). Their L1 is Russian, but their linguistic repertoire includes Ukrainian, English, German, Greek, Spanish, French, Swedish, Italian, Turkish, and Arabic.

I divided the 50 women into two categories. The first category, consisting of 10 women, are representatives of Russian-speaking families living in Cyprus wherein both partners are of Russian origin. At the time of this study, their mean age was 40.9 years old (*min*. 33, *max*. 62, *SD* 9.94), their mean length of residence in Cyprus was 5.9 years (*min*. 1, *max*. 16, *SD* 5.21) and the mean age of onset to L2 Greek was 36.2 years (*min*. 22, *max*. 60, *SD* 11.65). Their socioeconomic status (SES) is high, with 7 participants having completed an undergraduate degree and 3 participants having finished postgraduate study. They work as accountants, economists, teachers, and engineers. Their L1 is Russian, although they know other languages like English, Italian, French, Spanish, Greek, and Chinese.

The remaining 40 women comprise the second category. They are Russian–CG women; representatives of mixed-marriage families in Cyprus (wife Russian and husband CG). At the time of this study, their mean age was 37.17 years (*min*. 26, *max*. 55, *SD* 5.14), their mean length of residence in Cyprus was 11.5 years (*min*. 1, *max*. 19, *SD* 3.99), and the mean age of onset to L2 Greek was 25.9 years (*min*. 17, *max*. 43, *SD* 5.96). Their SES are middle and high: 10 of the participants have only secondary education, 28 finished undergraduate, and 2 completed postgraduate degrees. They work as teachers, managers, psychologists, interpreters, and economists. Their L1 is Russian, but they come from various countries such as Russia, Moldova, Ukraine, Belarus, Georgia, and Latvia. English, Greek, Bulgarian, Ukrainian, Belorussian, Romanian, Turkish, Spanish, Latvian and Georgian comprise their linguistic repertoire.

3.2. Materials and procedure

I implemented a mixed-method approach and triangulation of the data. I used quantitative, written questionnaires (Otwinowska-Kasztelanic, Karpava 2015) and qualitative sociolinguistic semi-structured oral interviews for data collection. I took advantage of the snowball technique to gain access to participants, to distribute the questionnaires via Russian social networks, and to arrange face-to-face interviews that provided in-depth information about the participants' language-related experiences. As I am a native speaker of Russian, my research was carried out through the medium of Russian. To avoid a potential sampling bias, I collected data in different settings and geographical locations in Cyprus; in particular, the Larnaca, Nicosia, and Limassol districts. This is an explorative, descriptive study.

I conducted all of the interviews with willing participants in their homes. The interviews lasted for 30-50 minutes. I asked them about their origin, education, occupation, length of stay in Cyprus, reasons for immigration, process of adaptation and acculturation, families and friends, language attitudes, identity, ties with homeland, language maintenance, home language use and practices, language change and shift, family language policy, ideology (beliefs), practices and decisions (management), and intergenerational transmission. I recorded, transcribed, and coded the interview data in line with the Grounded Theory Approach (Glaser, Strauss 1967; Glaser 1998; Charmaz 1990, 2003).

3.3. Results

An analysis of the data shows that Russian women identify themselves either with the Russian language only or with several languages and Russian culture. Russian–CG women identify with both Greek and Russian languages or with several languages and Russian, Greek, and Ukrainian culture. The Russian students identified with Russian only or with both Russian and English; culture-wise, they identified themselves with Russian only or with Russian and English culture, see Figure 1 and Figure 2.

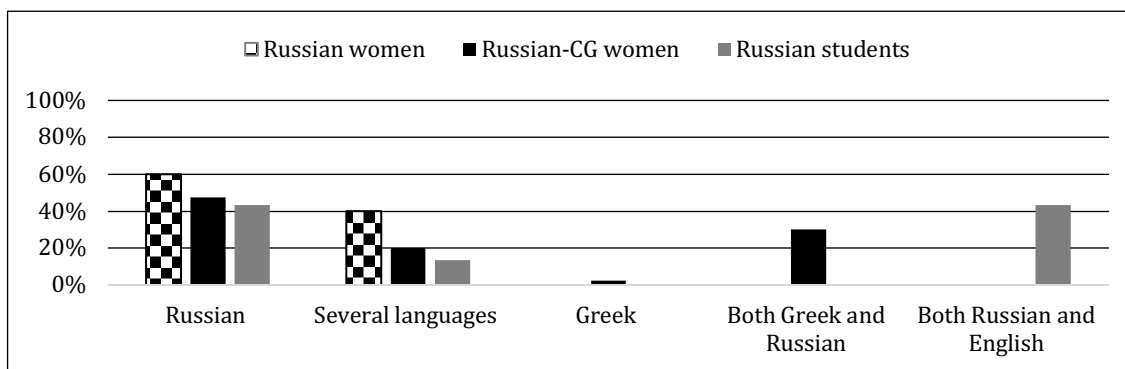


Figure 1: With which language do you identify?

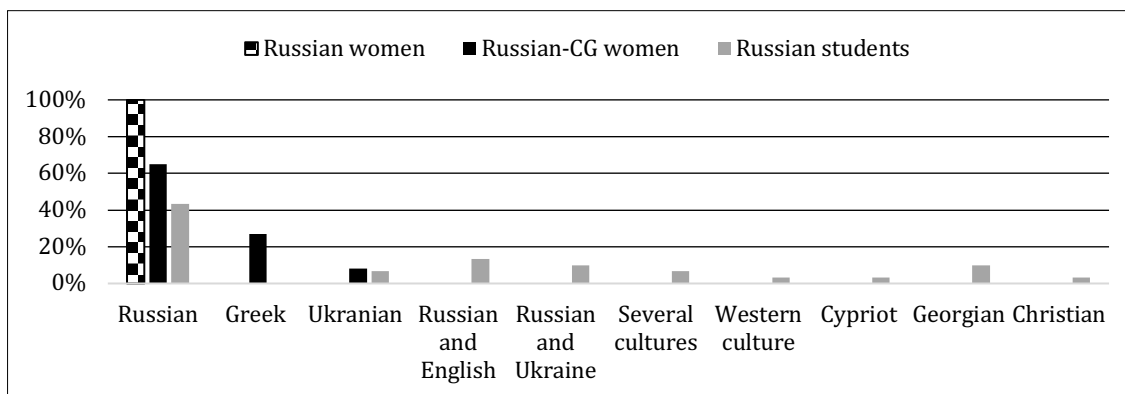


Figure 2: With which culture do you identify yourself?

Example (1) is an excerpt from a student's interview regarding her use of Russian:

(1) – *Хорошо, в каких еще ситуациях вы используете русский язык? / When do you use Russian in Cyprus?*

– *В магазине часто, где еще, где есть русскоговорящие... там же русские люди, приезжие, там получается, ну они были долгое время, они выучили греческий, английский / In the shop, where else, in those places where you can meet people who speak Russian...there Russian people, those who came to Cyprus, to say, they have been here for a long time and they have learnt Greek and English...*

Example (2) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

(2) – *Использование русского языка на Кипре, с кем и как часто? / How often and with whom do you use Russian in Cyprus?*

– *Ну, со знакомыми русскими... ребенок опять-таки же с друзьями в школе... им на уроках запрещают, прямо говорят, что не общайтесь, нельзя... на переменах, естественно, между собой по-русски... / With my Russian friends ... my child uses it with friends at school ... during lessons they are not allowed to use Russian ... during the breaks, of course, they communicate in Russian...*

The language and cultural identity of the participants depends on various factors such as the age of arrival to Cyprus, length of residence in the host country, family environment, social networks, employability, functionality, and utility of each language in their linguistic repertoire. Members of monolingual Russian families valued the Russian language more than the other participants. They use only (or mostly) Russian in their everyday communication at home or work, with their children and friends. They do not try to integrate into Cyprus society and do not find it necessary to learn the Greek language.

Russian-CG women, members of the mixed-marriage families, on the contrary, make an effort to learn Greek since they have to use this language with their CG husbands, relatives, and bilingual children. Knowledge of Greek helps them find jobs and integrate into Cypriot society.

Russian students have an extrinsic or instrumental motivation regarding the English language. They study at English-language universities in Cyprus because they need the language for their education and better job opportunities. They do not think it useful to learn Greek or to integrate into CG society because they plan to stay in Cyprus only temporarily.

Example (3) is an excerpt from a student's interview regarding his cultural identity:

- (3) – К какой культуре, стране, языку вы принадлежите, с какой культурой, каким языком вы себя отождествляете? / Which culture, country, and language do you belong to, which culture, language do you identify yourself with?
 – Я считаю себя русским ... но у меня европейский паспорт / I consider myself Russian... but I have a European passport.

Example (4) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

- (4) – К какой стране вы принадлежите? / Which country do you belong to?
 – Россия, наверное, но хочется ни к какой не принадлежать, да честно... / Russia probably, but, frankly speaking, I do not want to belong to any...
 – Общение с киприотами? / How is your communication with Cypriots?
 – Они мне все по-английски говорят, даже если они понимают, что я понимаю по-гречески, переходят на английский. / They communicate with me in English. Even if they know that I understand Greek, they switch to English.

The Russian women use mainly Russian, English, and a little bit of Greek in order to watch TV, listen to the radio, read newspapers and books, browse the internet, and write emails and long documents. In communication, they use these languages to talk about family, talk to their partner, children and friends, and to communicate at work. The Russian-CG women use Russian, English and Greek, while the Russian students use Russian, English, Greek and other languages.

Example (5) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

- (5) – В каких ситуациях вы используете русский язык здесь, на Кипре? / In which situations do you use Russian here in Cyprus?
 – В семье и при общении с друзьями, знакомыми / With my family and to communicate with my friends and acquaintances.
 – Так в каких ситуациях вы используете английский язык? / In which situations do you use English?
 – Английский в социальной сфере, то есть если я куда-то иду, мне надо решить какие-то вопросы... государственные структуры, ну и при общении с людьми / English language is for my social sphere, when I go somewhere or I need to solve some problems, issues ... for public service and for communication with people.

Both the Russian and Russian-CG women participants came to Cyprus for family, political, business, or other reasons. The students came for family, education, and other reasons, see Figure 3.

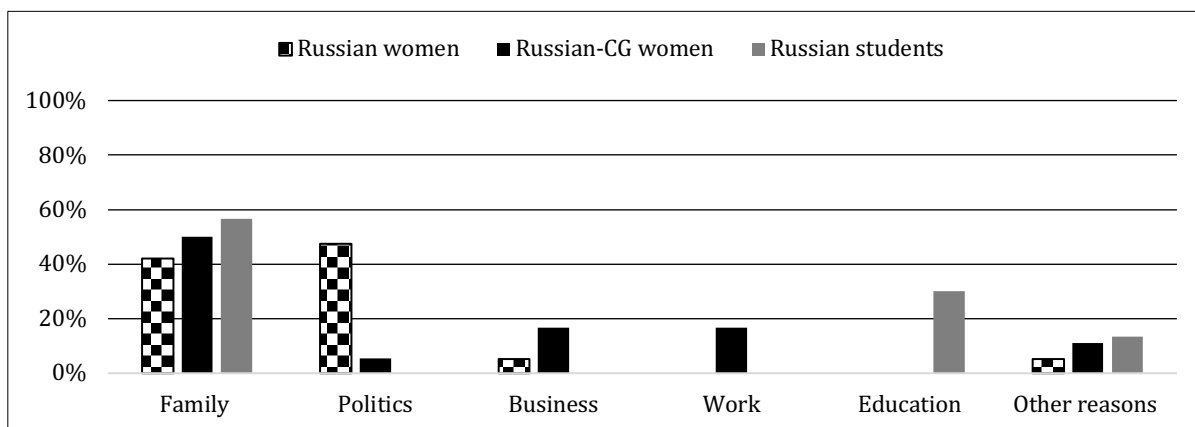


Figure 3: Why did you come to Cyprus?

Examples (6) and (7) are excerpts from interviews with Russian women discussing their reasons for coming to Cyprus.

- (6) – Как долго вы проживаете на Кипре? / How long have you been living in Cyprus?
 – Один год / One year.
 – Хорошо, причина вашего приезда на Кипр? / Well, why did you come to Cyprus?
 – Учеба в школе ребенка, английский изучать. / For the education of my child at school, an English education.
- (7) – Причина приезда на Кипр? / Why did you come to Cyprus?
 – Ну, вообще основная из-за детей, конечно... здесь спокойная страна, да, море, солнце / Well, the main reason for coming to Cyprus was for the children... Cyprus is a quiet country, yes, the sea and the sun...

Example (8) is the excerpt from an interview with a Russian–CG woman:

- (8) – *Хорошо, причина вашего приезда на Кипр? / Why did you come to Cyprus?*
 – *Сначала отпуск, потом свадьба / First it was for holidays, then for my wedding.*
 – *Какими языками вы владеете, на каких языках разговариваете? / Which languages do you know and use?*
 – *Английский, русский, украинский, греческий / English, Russian, Ukrainian, and Greek.*

All of the participants like Cyprus and prefer to stay there, see Figure 4. It seems that Cyprus provides favourable conditions for immigrants, especially for those with L1 Russian background as there is a lot of collaboration between Cyprus and Russia in terms of education, business, tourism, economy, and culture.

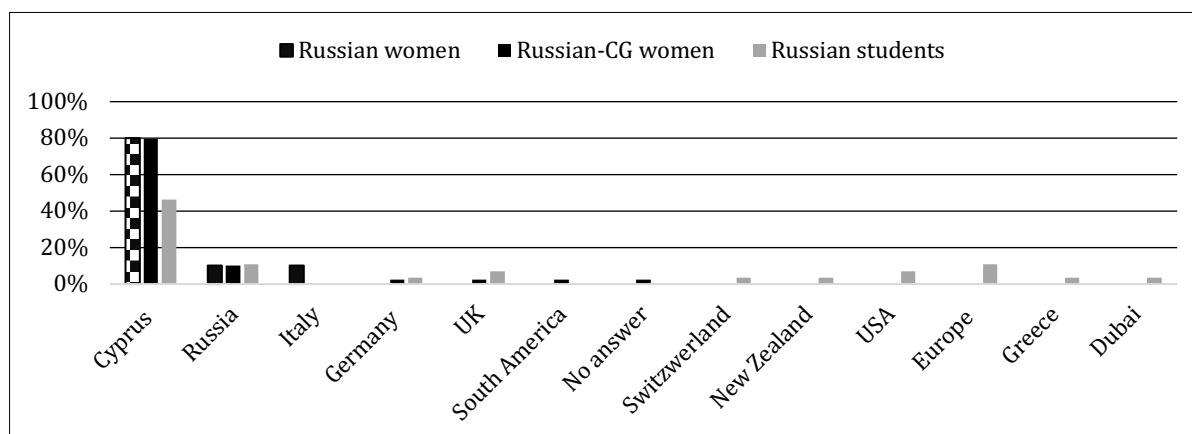


Figure 4: *If you had a chance to choose, where would you prefer to live?*

Russian women have friends who speak only Russian, both Russian and English, or several languages. The Russian–CG women have friends who speak different languages or Greek and Russian. The Russian students are friends with those who use only Russian, both Russian and English, and different languages, see Figure 5. An analysis shows that Russian–CG women and international students are more open regarding their social networks than Russian women, who have a higher number of Russian-speaking friends.

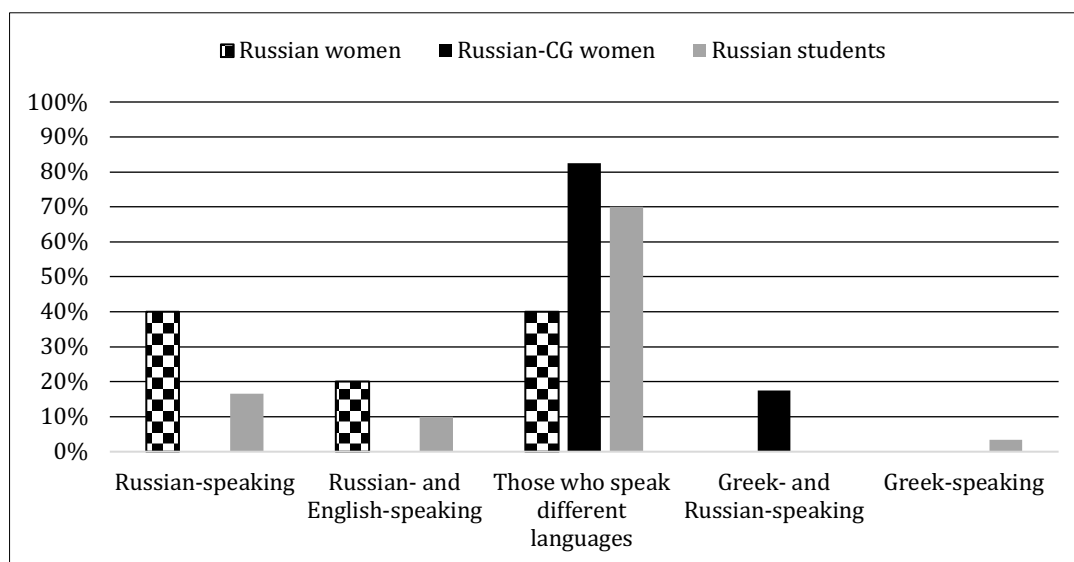


Figure 5: *What kind of friends do you have in Cyprus?*

Example (9) is an excerpt from a student’s interview regarding his communication with friends:

- (9) – *На каком языке вы общаетесь со своими друзьями и со студентами с кем вы учитесь? / Which language do you use in order to communicate with your friends and co-students?*
 – *По-английски. / English.*
 – *На каком языке вы общаетесь с русскоязычными друзьями? / Which language do you use in order to communicate with your Russian-speaking friends?*

- На русском. / Russian.
- Даже в университете? / Even at university?
- Даже в университете. / Yes, even at university.

Example (10) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

- (10) – Ваш круг общения? / With whom do you communicate in Cyprus?
 – Интернациональный... я не работаю, но я, у меня очень много общения и на английском языке в том числе / International, I do not work, but I have a lot of communication and in English as well...
 – Ну, в основном как, больше какой язык? / But mainly what language do you use for your communication?
 – Конечно, русский / Russian, of course.
 – А вот с киприотами на греческом пытаетесь или на английском? / But with Cypriots, do you try to use Greek or English?
 – Тоже на английском / Yes, also English.

The questionnaire results revealed that the majority of all of the participants (Russian women, Russian-CG women, and Russian students) think that they need to learn Greek, see Figure 6. The in-depth interview data shows that although the participants of all three groups seem to be willing to learn Greek, only the Russian-CG women actually learn it and use it with the local population.

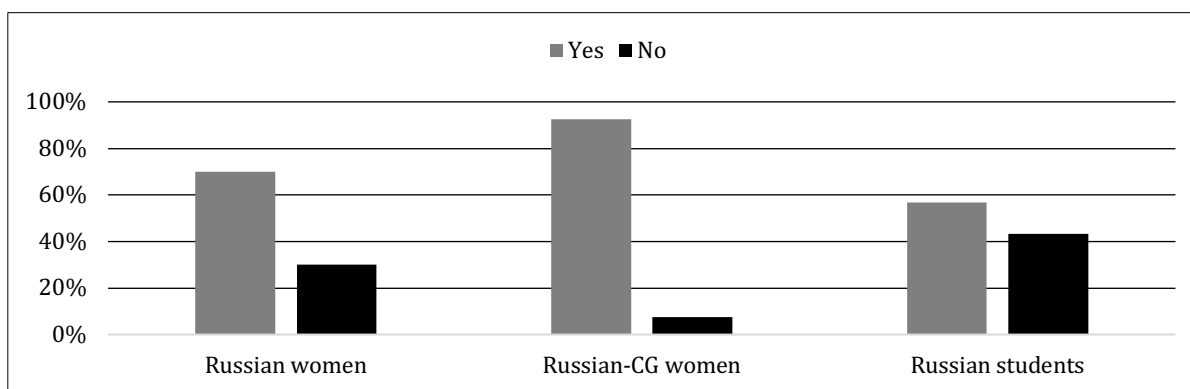


Figure 6: Do you feel that you have to learn the language of Cyprus?

Example (11) is an excerpt from a student's interview regarding his willingness to learn Greek.

- (11) – А хотели бы вы изучать греческий язык? / Would you like to learn Greek?
 – Ну, вопрос это, как сказать, если бы оставался – да, потому что понимаете, если в Англии жить, допустим, я не планирую, конечно, или в Москве... / Well, how can I answer this question? If I were planning to stay [in Cyprus], then yes because let's assume I plan to live in England, sure, I do not plan, or in Moscow, for example...

Examples (12), (13), (14) and (15) are excerpts from interviews with Russian women:

- (12) – Почему вы не хотите изучать греческий язык? / Why don't you want to learn Greek?
 – Еще не дошли до него... / I have not started yet...
- (13) – Ваш муж русский? / Is your husband Russian?
 – Да / Yes.
 – Хорошо, его знание греческого языка? / Well, what about his knowledge of Greek?
 – Нулевое и английского то же самое / Nothing, and English is the same...
- (14) – Так, хорошо, какими языками вы владеете? / Which languages do you know?
 – Русским, английским. / Russian, English.
 – Греческий? / Greek?
 – Нет. / No
 – Вообще никак и даже не понимаете, совсем? / You do not know or understand it at all?
 – Нет. / No.
- (15) – Хорошо, а греческий пытались ли вы его учить? / Have you tried to learn Greek?
 – Нет. / No.
 – Даже не записывались никуда, да? / Have you enrolled in any classes?
 – Нет. / No.
 – Из-за того что вы считаете, что вы в принципе потенциально можете переехать отсюда, то есть не знаете, будете здесь проживать или в другой стране? / Because you think that, theoretically, you could potentially move to another country?

– Да, это вот главное, но еще второй момент, мне хотелось, когда я сюда приехала, больше английский подтянуть, так как я уже с ним уже соприкасалась, и я поняла, что это интернациональный язык здесь, на нем... / Yes, this is the most important factor, but the other important factor is that when I came here, I wanted to improve my English as I understood that to be the international language...

Russian women feel that they mostly belong to Cypriot society but admit that they are not fully integrated. Russian-CG women feel they belong to Cyprus society; Russian students think that they belong to Cyprus society and also to another, see Figure 7.

Various factors affect the participants' attitudes and beliefs. These factors include family environment, SES, social networks, opportunities for employability and education, intrinsic and extrinsic motivations for integration into Cyprus society, and L1 maintenance and transmission.

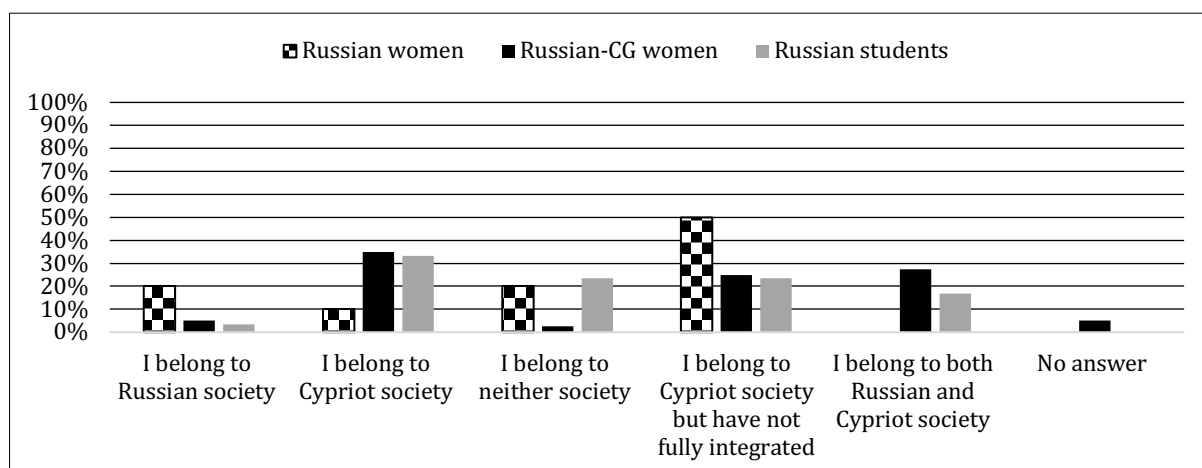


Figure 7: How do you feel in Cyprus?

All of the participants believe that Cypriot society is tolerant towards non-native speakers of Greek. They consider there to be little to no discrimination against multilingualism in Cyprus, see Figure 8.

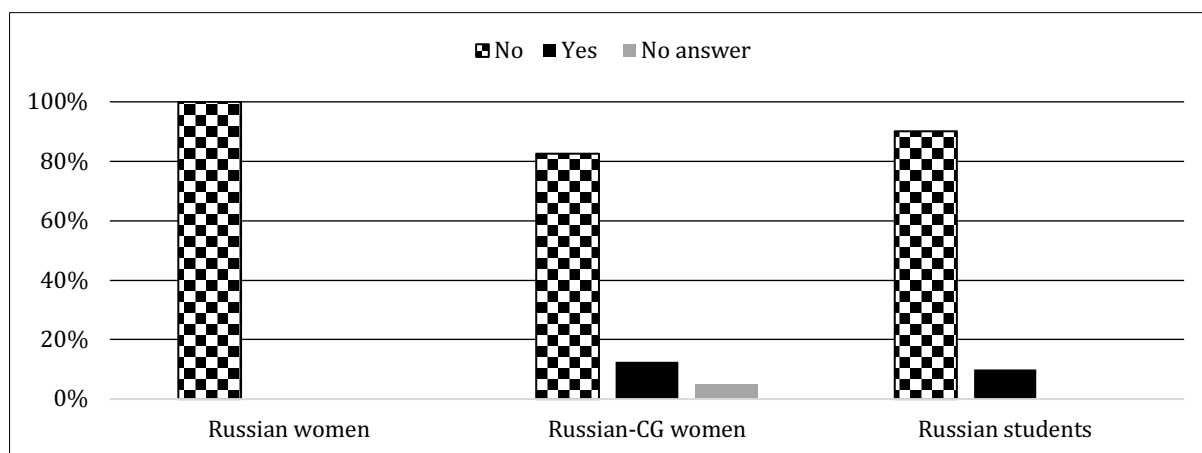


Figure 8: Have you ever heard of discrimination against multilingualism in Cyprus?

Example (16) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian-CG woman sharing her view of multilingualism in Cyprus:

(16) – Ощущаете ли вы дискриминацию по языковому признаку? / Do you feel discrimination based on language criteria?

– Ну, только из-за моего языкового барьера, то, что я не знаю его в совершенстве / Only because of my language barrier.

– Греческий имее в виду... / You mean Greek?

– Именно греческий, то есть если бы я знала в совершенстве, то не было бы никакого... / Yes, Greek. If I knew it, there would be no discrimination, no barrier...

All participants work or study with Russian-speaking people and are allowed to use Russian. They did not choose their professions or areas of study based on the languages they know. The

participants do not experience any discrimination at work or university. They have never encountered bad attitudes because they speak other languages. They code-switch quite often at home and university, see Figure 9.

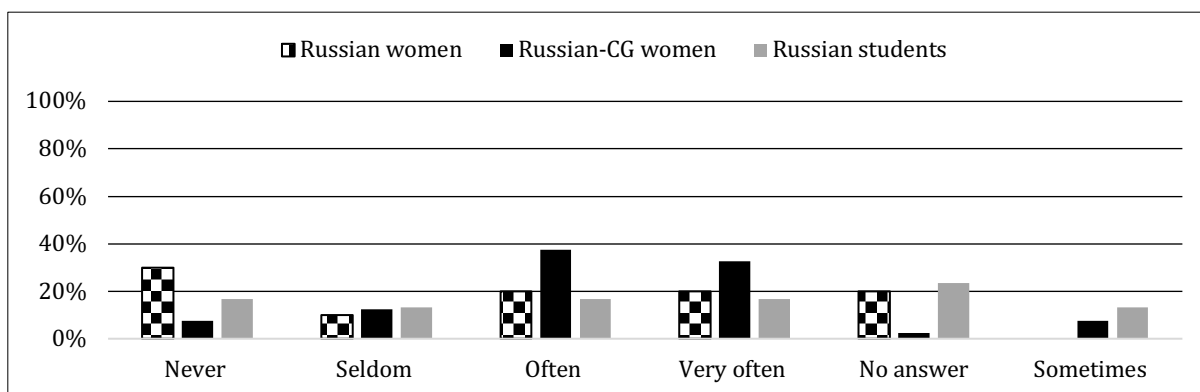


Figure 9: How often do you code-switch at home?

Example (17) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian–CG woman with respect to code-switching:

- (17) – *Часто ли вы смешиваете языки? / Do you often code-switch?*
 – *С ребенком не часто, а когда в общении с киприотами – часто, частенько английско-греческий, да...*
/ With my child. not often, but with Cypriots quite often, English-Greek...

Russian women and Russian–CG women have either one, two, or three children. Nearly all of them speak and comprehend Russian, see Figure 10.



Figure 10: Do your children speak and comprehend Russian?

Example (18) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

- (18) – *Так, хорошо, на каком языке вы разговариваете со своими детьми и почему, на русском только? / Well, ok, which language do you use when you communicate with your children. Only Russian?*
 – *На русском, но иногда, когда они не слушают, иногда на английский перехожу, но это редко бывает, а когда сразу, когда меняется язык или интонация, то дети начинают прислушиваться сразу более внимательно / Russian, but sometimes, when they do not listen to me or are naughty, I use English. But this seldom happens. But when there is a shift in language or intonation, my children start listening more attentively.*

The parents are satisfied with their children’s level of Russian. Nearly all of their children can read and write in Russian because they attend Saturday Russian schools or extra Russian lessons in the afternoon, see Figure 11. The Russian language has a high status in Cyprus, and even CG children try to learn Russian as a foreign language due to it being a prerequisite for good jobs, especially in business, tourism, and educational spheres.

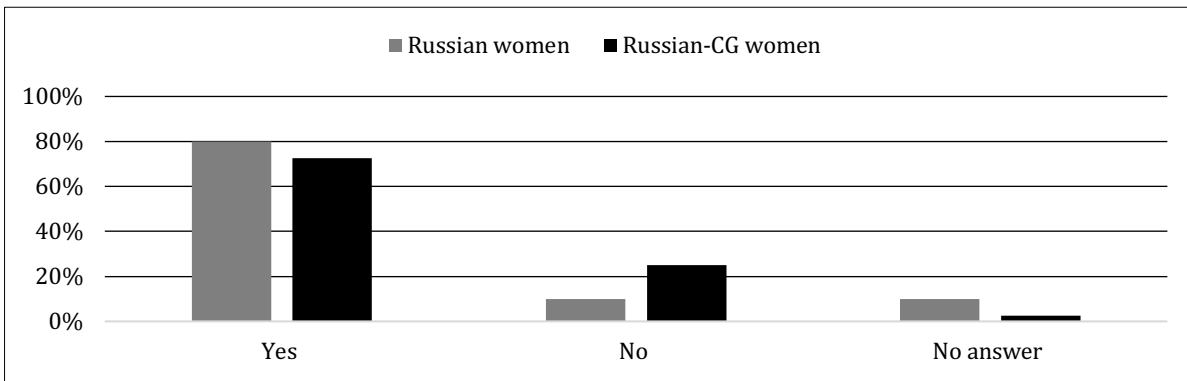


Figure 11: Can your children read and write in Russian?

All participants use Russian at home. Only in the case of the Russian–CG families, some children refuse to speak Russian, see Figure 12. This is explained by different linguistic practices and the preferences of monolingual and mixed-marriage families. Russian–CG children use Russian only with their mothers, some of their Russian-speaking friends, and relatives abroad. In all other circumstances, they choose Greek or CG to communicate with their fathers, relatives in Cyprus, CG friends, and at school and during extra-curricular activities. It was found that the dominant language of bilingual Russian–CG children is CG despite the efforts of their parents to maintain L1 Russian, implicit and explicit FLP. Russian monolingual children use only Russian with both of their parents, relatives, and friends, although they go to private English-language schools.

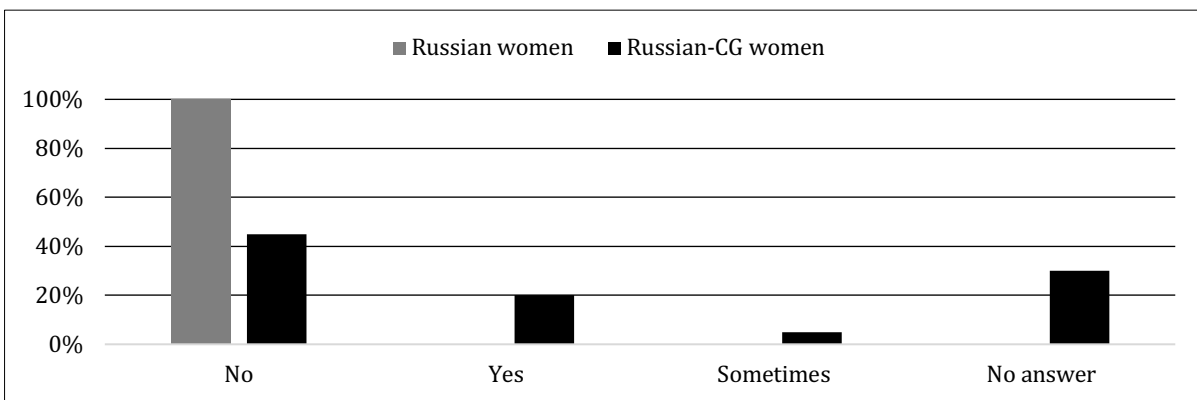


Figure 12: Do your children refuse to use Russian?

In general, the participants have not been advised to stop using Russian with their children, see Figure 13.

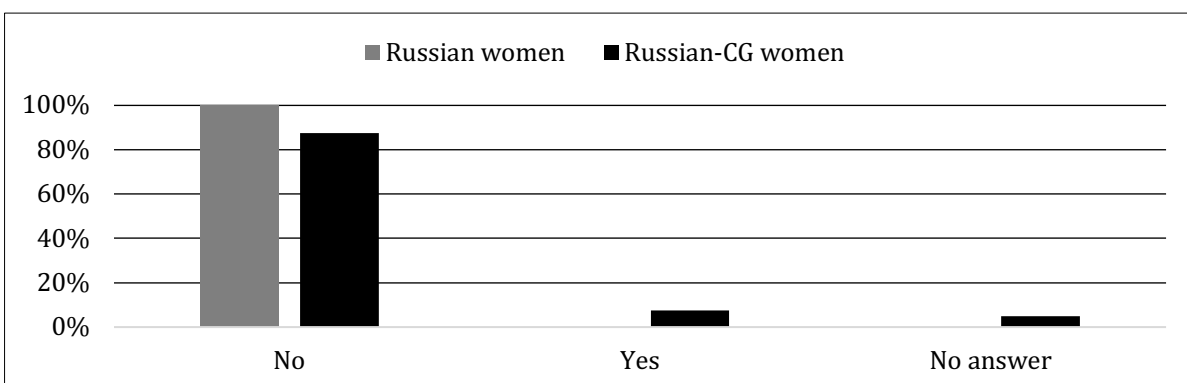


Figure 13: Have you ever been advised by an expert to stop speaking Russian with your children?

The participants do not think that their children are discriminated at school because they speak Russian, see Figure 14. Cyprus appears to be a tolerant country regarding immigrants and minority languages.

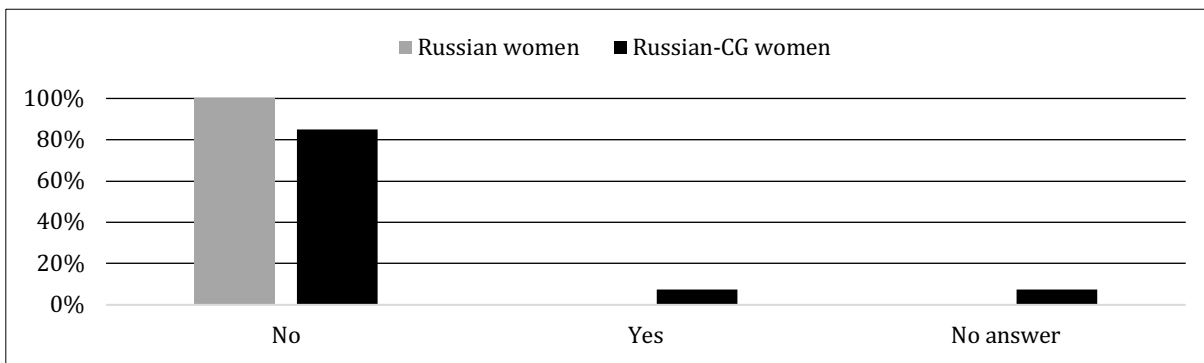


Figure 14: Do you think that your child is discriminated at school because he/she speaks Russian?

Their children attend extra-curricular activities at which various languages are used. They also attend Russian lessons, see Figure 15. Parents try to teach their children conversational Russian and Russian grammar. The participants of both groups try to transmit their L1 language, culture, and literacy to their children, the second generation of immigrants who become heritage speakers of Russian.

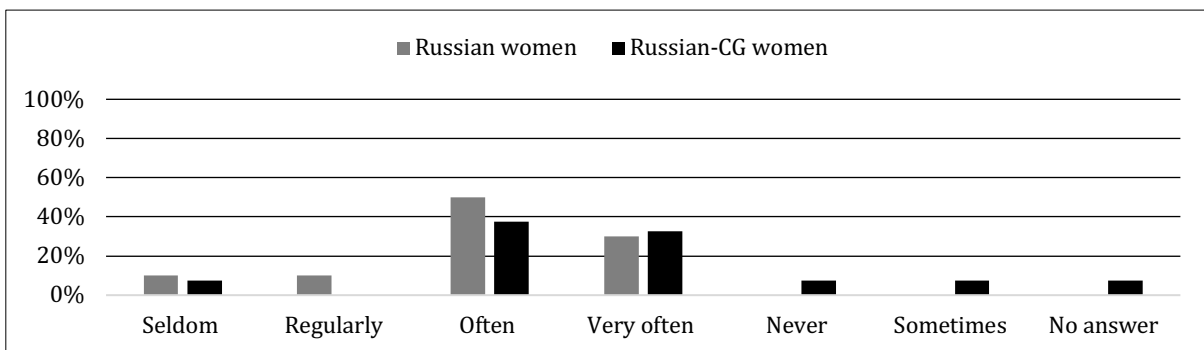


Figure 15: Do your children attend Russian language classes?

Examples (19) and (20) are excerpts from interviews with Russian women:

(19) – *На каком языке ведется преподавание? / Which language is used for teaching?*

– *На английском / English.*

– *Ваша дочь ходит занятия по русскому языку? / Does your daughter attend a Russian language class?*

– *На русский ходит отдельно. / She has extra classes of Russian.*

– *Сколько раз в неделю она ходит на русский? / How many times per week does she attend Russian language classes?*

– *Один раз / Once a week.*

(20) – *Важно ли для вас, чтобы у него было активное знание русского языка или пассивное? / Is it important for you that your children have an active or passive knowledge of Russian?*

– *Да, я хочу, чтобы они базу получили, я им все время говорю, что это их родной язык, это бонус в дальнейшем / Yes, I want them to have a foundation; it will be an advantage for them in future.*

Russian women are more insistent than Russian–CG women that their children use Russian at home and outside, see Figure 16. This can be explained by different FLPs: pro-Russian in Russian monolingual families and pro-bilingual in Russian–CG families.

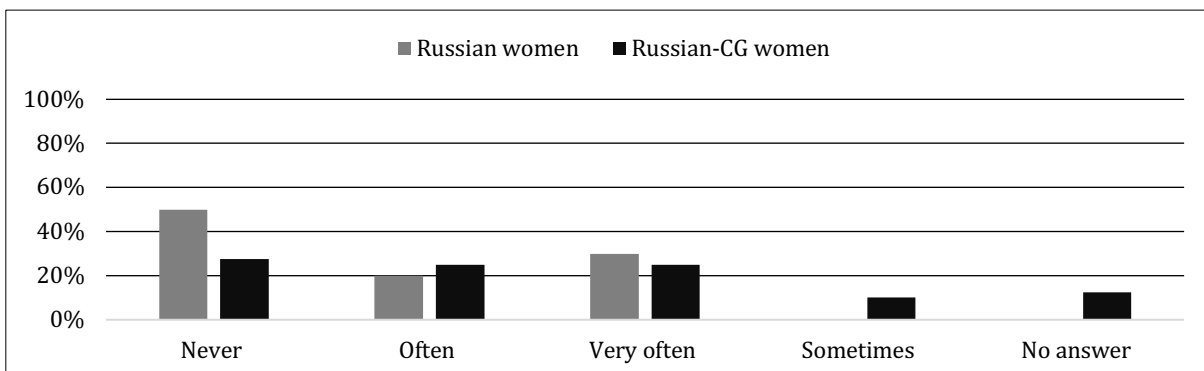


Figure 16: How often do you insist that your child use Russian at home?

Example (21) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

- (21) – *На каком языке вы планировали разговаривать со своими детьми? / Which language you were planning to use with your children?*
– *Я не думала об этом... у меня даже не было мысли с детьми разговаривать дома на другом языке, кроме русского / I did not think about it ... I did not consider speaking any other language besides Russian with my children.*

Only in some cases do they sense negative feelings toward them; these instances come from doctors, nurses, and teachers, and they are based on the linguistic factor. All of the participants consider multilingualism to be an asset for their children. Example (22) is an excerpt from an interview with a Russian woman:

- (22) – *Интересно, так, как вы считаете, знание нескольких языков для ваших детей – это преимущество или недостаток? / Do you think multilingualism is an advantage or disadvantage?*
– *Ой, шикарное преимущество / A brilliant advantage.*
– *Почему, объясните? / Why? Can you explain?*
– *Потому что я считаю, что ребенок мира, во-первых, они свободнее стали общаться и не важна раса человека, кожа и национальность, цвет и язык, они свободно общаются с любым человеком, у них нет зажатости, они свободные / Because I believe that the child becomes a citizen of the world; race, skin colour and nationality and language are not important. They can freely communicate with any person; they do not have any complexes; they are free.*

5. Discussion and conclusion

An analysis of the data revealed that the women who were members of mixed-marriage families have either Russian or mixed (Russian and Cypriot Greek) cultural and linguistic identity and pro-bilingual FLP. The representatives of the Russian-speaking families in Cyprus have mainly Russian or mixed (Russian and English) identity and pro-Russian FLP.

The first group of the participants came to Cyprus mainly for family and work reasons, while the second group is in Cyprus for education and business. The Russian-speaking students are interested in obtaining an international education in Cyprus. All of the participants believe that people in Cyprus are tolerant of multilingualism, and they have rarely experienced discrimination or any negative attitudes towards them due to their L1. Only the L1 Russian adult females who are members of mixed-marriage families believe that they need to learn Greek in order to integrate into Cypriot society, improve their knowledge, and be successful at work.

Societal linguistic affordances shape individual linguistic affordances (Gibson 1977, 1979; Singleton, Aronin 2007; Aronin, Singleton 2010, 2012). The widespread use of English in Cyprus discourages immigrants to learn Greek since they can live and work comfortably without knowing the local language. I found that members of mixed-marriage families use Russian, English, and Greek as their Dominant Language Constellation (Aronin, Singleton 2012), while the Russian-speaking families and the international students predominantly use Russian and English.

As for language maintenance, nearly all of the female adult participants try to teach their children Russian at home and send them to Russian lessons where they learn to write and read in Russian. The participants from mixed-marriage families either use the “one parent, one language” approach or mix both languages while communicating with their children. In the monolingual Russian-speaking families, only Russian is used.

Russian and CG play different roles in monolingual and mixed-marriage families with regards to the domain of use, functional utility, ideology and practice. The primary reasons for maintaining Russian are to preserve Russian identity, culture, and religion; to maintain contact with Russian people in Cyprus and Russia; and the possibility of return migration. Immigrant parents, especially representatives of mixed-marriage families, tend to prefer Greek for the sake of their children’s education and welfare, success at school, and future career prospects.

A family’s language ideology depends on both individual and societal factors, as parents want to preserve their own identity and their children adapt to CG society. Language choice is affected by family environment, societal pressure, language use, and socialisation. In Cyprus, members of the Russian community are competent speakers of Russian, but this might be not

enough to transmit the Russian language to the next generation. They, especially the mixed-language families, need incentives to use L1 Russian outside the home. They might have a covert fear that their bilingual or multilingual children might not learn the target language.

More research, quantitative and qualitative, is needed to examine the (socio)-linguistic situation of the Russian-speaking community in Cyprus with respect to minority language acquisition, Russian's use and transmission, as well as family language policies.

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