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**DIGITAL COMMUNICATION OF THE RUSSIAN-SPEAKING
COMMUNITY AS A REFLECTION OF LANGUAGE CONTACT AND
PERFORMANCE OF IDENTITY**

Анализируя интернет-коммуникацию русскоязычных сообществ в трёх западных странах, мы пытались доказать, что несмотря на то, что русскоязычное сообщество в каждой отдельной стране погружено в местную жизнь, язык и культуру, что находит отражение в их родном языке, эта коммуникация с языковой и дискурсивной точки зрения образует внешнегосударственное, вненациональное гомогенное пространство, которое имеет много общего и с языком интернет-коммуникации в метрополии. И язык, и культурный капитал объединяют разные сообщества русскоговорящих в России и вне России.

Introduction

Digital communication is a unique medium which unites Russian-speakers living in local Russian-speaking communities in different countries, while at the same time reuniting them with their country of origin. Not all users of this netspeak (Crystal 2001) were born in Russia or the USSR. Some see themselves as distinctly non-Russian (*мы вообще из Казахстана, нас тут все за китайцев принимают*). They claim to be non-Russian by mentality (*я не русская, из Азии, такой же кангаэкаты¹, что и Вы*), and maintain other languages beside Russian (*чтобы не отупеть, ходим в украинскую школу по субботам*)². Some participants are Russophiles or Russophobes, «*попадаются восхвалители СССР и воздыхатели*», and ethnic tensions or other animosities may exist between them. Meanwhile, they willingly participate in intensive digital communication in Russian, and this network and the language link them to the community of those who treat Russian as their native language (or one of their native languages). Obviously, Russian-speaking communities are embedded in different geographical spaces, as is reflected in their Russian language, which reveals the influence of certain localities and cultures. However, the way in which participants perceive local influences is very similar among Russian-speaking communities in different countries, thus, in general, digital communication forms a linguistically and discursively homogeneous, transnational space, independent of the host-country of participants. The core aim of this paper is to try to demonstrate these similarities of perception, and the homogeneity of the language of digital communication among Russian-speaking communities in different countries. Also we aim to compare them with the language and methods participants employ when dealing with the results of language contact in the Russian language of the mainland. Our material concludes the most vivid manifestations of language contact, such as borrowings. Focusing on digital communication provides us with the opportunity to have a wide field of observation; to speak about general trends, and to avoid concentrating on only one country in which Russian-speakers reside.

¹ Kangaekata (Japanese) – way of thinking.

² However, such statements are extremely rare, and a researcher must spend a lot of time to find out where a participant comes from. In all our data we have only one sample of speech in which regular phonemic mistakes in Russian spelling show us the ethnic and regional origin (in this case, Caucasian) of the participant.

Overview of the sociolinguistic portrait of participants of Russian-speakers forums in Australia, Britain, Japan

For comparative analysis we chose Russian-speakers' forums in three countries: Australia, Britain, and Japan. Admittedly, any attempts to estimate the size of Russian-speaking communities in these countries are not very successful, and thus the results differ greatly: from 250,000 (Byford 2009: 62) to over 1 million (Русское присутствие в Британии: 18, 27, 63) for Britain; from 15,000 (pravoslavie.ru) to 300,000 (russianinaustralia.au) for Australia; and 6,400 – 10,000 for Japan (Nikiporets-Takigawa 2009: 52³). Though the figures are unreliable, we can safely say that Japan is the least popular route for migration among the three mentioned countries and hosts a comparatively small Russian-speaking community. Britain is the most attractive but has the most strict requirements about entry and settlement, and therefore we do not trust the figure “more than 1 million” as we imagine that the real figure is more modest. The main participants of Russian-speaking digital communication in these three countries represent the two biggest groups of the Russian-speaking community: **1. Skilled migrants** and **2. Spouse migrants**.

Skilled migrants are a phenomenon of the last 20 years which emerged after bans on leaving the USSR were lifted. They live and work abroad under the requirements of migrant programmes for skilled (Australia) or highly skilled (Britain) professionals, or through work permits (Australia, Britain, Japan). Not all of them see themselves as immigrants in these countries or plan to stay there forever – the majority maintain contacts between their former and current homes, some try to educate their children in both host and home countries and plan to return to their home country – but all of them wish to obtain citizenship of a Western country after 5-6 years of working there. The large part of skilled migrants change one country for another at least once to satisfy their professional and individual ambitions and plans for their children's schooling. In our British database we have an informant who is currently working in Edinburgh, but before this worked and lived with his family in Japan for 10 years. This informant and others with Japanese working experience claim that it is a very typical strategy for highly skilled migrants working in Japan: as soon as their children reach university age, they start to think about relocating to America, Britain or Australia, in order to give them a chance to receive a diploma that is recognized around the world⁴. Some evidence of complicated routes of skilled migrants and their families can be gathered from the personal information, which they can add (in some forums) to their internet names and avatars: *Из: Moscow,Ru->Brisbane,Au->Chippenham,UK->will be back; Из: Иркутск -> Гиватайм -> Мельбурн*.

If this skilled migration is the latest phenomenon, the **spouse migration** has always existed (though on a very modest scale compared to modern trends). **Spouse migrants** – spouses of local citizens and those of highly skilled migrants form the “latent majority”⁵ of the Russian-speaking community in probably every host-country. Professional, educational and private backgrounds may significantly differ between this group and the group of skilled migrants, however, in virtual life both groups communicate very actively.

In terms of the **sociolinguistic situation of Russian-speaking communities in these three countries**, they are at least bilingual, they have good Russian and they try to maintain Russian for their children, visiting or developing Saturday schools in all big and also some small cities. Some of those in the skilled migrant group are trilingual or even multilingual, as they travel between countries and have some knowledge of local languages of all the geographical

³ This calculation is based on the data of the Japanese migration office, which states that in 2004 in Japan there were 7,164 residents, who had come from Russia with Russian passports, lived in Japan 3 or 5 years and had obtained permanent resident status.

⁴ Japanese degrees in many specialties have value only in Japan; thus, if a migrant sends a child to a Japanese university, it will limit the child to only a Japanese career.

⁵ As this group was called in the conference on female high-skilled migration in Brussels in December of 2009.

points in their rich working biographies. But as English is the lingua franca of professional world, in the case of Japan, for example, it is possible to live and work in the country for 10 years without any Japanese (as our informant from Edinburgh did), educating their children at the school of the Russian Embassy or International schools, and communicating with colleagues in English too.

Borrowings in the process of language contact and cross-cultural interactions

On the one hand, the digital communication allows Russian-speaking migrants to create transnational social group. On the other hand, Russian-speaking communities remain embedded in different geographical spaces, local societies, cultures, and languages, thus their Russian language incorporates the results of these influences.

Among local incorporations specific to the lexicon of Russian-speaking communities: **1. Borrowings for nominations of local realia which doesn't exist in Russia or differ greatly from Russian ones**, constitute a very significant group. It could be named **inevitable borrowings**. Take, for example, school types: *grammar, selective, public, independent, comprehensive, private; primary, secondary, high, kookoo*⁶; *senmongakkoo*⁷, *juku*⁸; also some nominations for school routine, enrollment process: *top-set, bottom level; catchment; scholarship; temporary resident; detention*, etc.

*полно хороших и грамма школ; возмите⁹ граммар школы
по поводу селектив школ; в селект попадут процентов 10
о разнице между паблик и индепендент скулз в Австралии
сравните их с отстойными компрехенсив*

Или в паблик и в хай скул халява?

единственное, чем прайват школы хороши

про праймари не знаю

по поводу инд. уроков музыки в секундари

если ограничиться сенмонгакко то и кокко хватит любого

в Канто процветают джюки

я все время в топ-сете

когда его засунули из-за поведения в боттом левел

в кэтчмент раёне¹⁰ хорошей школы

Там же информация о сколарципах для талантливых и одаренных темпорари резидент.

А сын мой за тубитейку¹¹ получил детенши, так как нарушил "дресс код".

These **inevitable borrowings** are used when a speaker is not able to find an appropriate Russian word/expression or feels that Russian translation is not equal and has different nuance in meaning. For example, *detention* can be translated in this sentence as *оставили после уроков*, but the content and procedure of this sort of punishment in Russian schools may differ from British one. Russian-speakers can translate *scholarship* as *стипендия*, but as it is

⁶ Kookoo (Japanese) – Senior high school.

⁷ Senmongakkoo (Japanese) – technical college.

⁸ Japanese privately run, after-hours school geared to help elementary and secondary students perform better in their regular daytime schoolwork and to offer cram courses in preparation for university entry examinations.

⁹ We save the original spelling in every example. It should be mentioned here that the language of the internet communication of Russian-speakers abroad has in general the same features as this language in Russia. It is characterized by: a graphical simulation of the phonetic phenomena *видил*; reduction of high-frequency words with loss of intervocalic consonants and facilitate groups of consonants *сёня, чё*, contraction of vowels *ваще*; reflection of the internet slang and dialects such as the language of podonkov and lurkmore; and high variability.

¹⁰ Some writing may indicate the country of origin of the speaker (for example, *раён* may be the Belarusian spelling in Russian language, or may be an imitation of pronunciation).

¹¹ See note 9.

conversation about enrolling to private schools and such type of scholarship does not exist in Russia, the speaker prefers not to translate, but transliterate. Sometimes Russian-speakers try to equvalate an English and a Russian phenomenon (*Понимаю, о чем вы говорите – у меня дочь в России в селектив школе. Я сама в ней училась*), but without much success as obviously *специшколы* in Russia (from which this Russian-speaker probably graduated) differ from *selective schools* in Australia with highly difficult process of enrollment. Usage of *PhD* instead of *кандидат наук* in the examples below can be explain by the same reason. They think that PhD is not right equivalent to *кандидат наук* degree as it is lower in terms of value and quality:

ПХД несколько проигрывает нашей¹² КН.

Я бы и PhD поставил бы несколько ниже чем Советская кандидатская степень.

This abbreviation in Russian speech also appears when a speaker, despite finding an easy equivalent in Russian, prefers a local word, thinking that it is more suitable to give information to professionals. These transliterations are commonly used in the professional speech of the same professional community: when a speaker admits that translation is not needed.

Т.е. после ПХД продолжается ресерч, должно быть определенное кол-во публикаций и все это венчается моноскриптом.

У меня муж был на фулли фандед. Кроме того, я пытаюсь нати фанд для себя.

Как реферее я получаю обычно реквест написать репорт за 2 месяца. Как открыл, прислал ревайз и ресабмит. Статус их я онлайн вижу: андер ревью. Поэтому не очень корректно сравнивать разные сабжекты. Импакт фактор: есть топ 5 журналов, есть еще штук 5 топ-филд журналов, есть еще штук 10 которые 2е в мэдэжор филде. Спасибо Момбусе за стипендию.

Уверен, не все получают монбушэ, а в Япландии-то поучиться хочется...

The last two examples are interesting as they demonstrate another tendency: the using of local words for brevity. *Monbushoo* stands for Ministry of Education in Japanese and in two examples above Russian-speakers use this word in two meanings – as a Ministry and as a grant or scholarship of this Ministry. This usage can economize words for conversation. Other similar examples:

У меня в холодильнике отключаются отсеки, только по-моему верхний отсек (не ясайщицу а обций) не отключается.

Кто-то вас misled.

Я за то, чтобы это было прайвеси.

In these examples *yasaishitsu* (*ящик для овощей*), *misled* and *privacy* instead of Russian words can be explained by the convenience of local words compared to longer Russian expressions. In general, among the factors affecting usage of **inevitable borrowings** by Russian-speaking communities abroad, tempo of conversation is quite important. This explanation below clarifies the statement:

Когда я ездила в Россию первый раз после переезда в UK, друзья сказали, что стала «тормознутой», т.к. думала долго перед тем, как ответить, но это, может, ещё и потому, что я какие-то слова на русский язык переводила. И вообще, стала замечать, что мне какие-то понятия проще выразить на английском языке, особенно те, которые только к британской культуре относятся.

It should be noted that majority of forum speakers use transliteration. This example of English usage without transliteration is very exceptional: *У нас даже "art" школа, как second choice в выборе high school.* However, in accordance with the rules of forums, participants

¹² See note 9.

have to use Cyrillic, so they try to transliterate all English words. In Japanese Russian-speaking forums the situation is more complicated – not all of forum participants can write and read in Japanese. Russian-speakers transliterate borrowings according to individual preferences: *монбуцё/момбусё; грамма/граммар; селектив/селект; сколарциин/сколашин; кооко/коко* and change them in Russian sentences according to Russian grammar rules – yet they apply these rules very individually. In one example *кокко* performs as a neuter noun through its ending (*кокко хватит любого...*), but in another as a feminine noun through semantics (*хорошая коко*). To express the plural they change last letter of a Japanese hieroglyph *ku* in the word *juku* (*в Канто процветают джюки*), although, Japanese nouns do not have grammatical category of number and only in some cases the plural can be expressed by a special suffix, of course adding to the word (as Japanese is an agglutinative language), or doubling the word.

Other factors for borrowing are the same outside and inside Russia: one of them is «коммуникативная актуальность понятия и соответствующего ему слова» (Krysin 2004: 61), where foreign words are borrowed and remain in Russian vocabulary for nominations of a new profession, a new product, new concepts or ideas etc. Frequency of usage in local language is also a very important factor which may cause such examples of automatically applying English spelling to a Russian word as *Я с удовольствием, это будет Среда*.

The other group of borrowings may be called **2. Expressive borrowings**. The Russian-speaking community actively use the expressive resource of local languages such as lexical expressions *lucky you, ganbatte* (*come on! or Good luck!*), *kawaii* (complimentary or emphasizing adjective similar to *pretty, cute, lovely, charming, dear, darling*)¹³; lexical phrases (Becker 1975; Nattinger and Decarrico 1992) *So far so good, You are kidding! Give me a break! See, the thing is; That's beside the point*; idioms; morphological units; English macro and micro-organizers of the writing message like *The purpose is, In general, On the contrary, all this says is*.

...наденет себе ярмо на шею for life

Никто вас переубедить сейчас не сможет – вы переубедитесь сама, in due course.

Just ignore me я неправильно сообщение прочитал.

No doubt! Но – укажите мне, **плиз**, ссылочку.

*Помогите с выбором темы для Мастер дегриш! Онегай!*¹⁴

*или госа?!...мосикаситэ*¹⁵... хотя, однако, "масака"¹⁶... на тот самый вуз тянет

Камон, Дзю, браза, а зрелым пацанам разве запахло...

Гейство (unlike everything else)-генетически обусловлено?

Ну, конечно, высший пилотаж это когда он еще и being paid for.

*Agree*¹⁷... только тсс... это большая тайна

The one reason for their usage is the high frequency of this lexical group in any colloquial speech, which helps migrants to pick them up and memorize them very quickly. Another factor is common to many countries around the world: the socially prestigious status of English language. Obviously, this factor is less significant for Russian-speakers living in English-speaking countries, but very important for Russian-speakers in the mainland. Comparing lexical expressions from English in mainland Russian and Russian in English-speaking countries, we can easily recognize that they use different sources. As Russian-speaking migrants borrow English expressions from surrounding environment, the main source of expressive borrowings in Russia is the internet. For instance, in a speech translated for TV on 5th of August of 2010

¹³ About this word see: Alpatov 2008: 67, Nikiporets-Takigawa 2009: 58–59.

¹⁴ Onegai (colloquial form of Japanese word onegaishimasu – please).

¹⁵ Moshikashite (Japanese) – perhaps, possibly.

¹⁶ Masaka (Japanese) – by no means.

¹⁷ *Agreed* is correct form for this americanism, but we save the original spelling in every example.

Dmitry Medvedev used *as soon as possible*. It was shocking for listeners and was immediately commented on Russian forums (*Мда... Значит, не только мне резануло слух... AS SOON AS POSSIBLE – какая прелесть! Ну что же, продемонстрирована полная готовность к чтению лекций в американских университетах*), and newspapers (*Если министерство подготавливает соответствующие документы, что называется, as soon as possible, – Медведев неожиданно переходит на английский, – я их с удовольствием подпишу*¹⁸). However, it was not code-switching from Russian to English, but usage of a common adverb from the language of internet¹⁹, good knowledge of which Medvedev likes to emphasize. Another example of usage of English expressions in mainland Russian is *Хорошего вам дня, Приятного дня, Хорошего вам вечера* – a calqued English valediction. Reasons for the appearance of this calque are, probably, intensive migration and traveling, watching films with amateur translation, and also the already mentioned prestige of English language. *Хорошего вам дня, Приятного дня, Хорошего вам вечера* are viewed as norms among Russian-speakers living in English-speaking countries, whereas it still sounds erroneous within Russia and used mainly by shop assistants²⁰. *Хорошего вам дня/вечера* is only one example of translated word-for-word calque in our material. In general, Russian-speakers use expressive borrowings as non-integrated foreign words without transliteration or adaptation as they recognize them as fixed lexical units and simply add them to Russian sentences, rather than adopting them by language. Occasionally with English expressive borrowings (but always for Japanese, as not everybody can write and read Japanese) Russian-speakers use transliteration. The last example below is a curious example of creating a new expression from a Russian one with an English word:

*Зубник, про MPhil, я на Вашем месте просто промолчала бы))), видно сразу, что компетентности зероу.*²¹

Local words are actively used for expressivity in the Russian-speaking community, for instance: *Ну вы сравнили – со школой в рабишном*²² *райне; И потом у японцев другие каноны красоты, а наши дети пока модны своей кавайшностью*²³, *оригинальностью, не более того*. Moreover, the ability of Russian language creatively process foreign words during adaptation became both the theme and means of jokes in Russia:

*- Вау. Хелло, мен! Хау ду ю дуеешь? – Бьютефульно, у нас всё ОК, всё за бэст. – Мои конгратуляции. – Что мы всё абаут ми, да абаут ми, сам-то как? – Бэдово. – Как чилдренята? Как джобота? Воркуешь где?*²⁴

as well as in Russian-speakers' forums in different countries. Compare for instance *В Гомофорнии, Таксачусетсе или в деревне Майямовка (Маямовка)* from British and American forums and this text below from a Latvian forum:

Сейчас комплитю пару дел, чтобы препарейтиться к завтраму, надо меморайзитъ пару текстов, а вообще моя джобота стынет, зафейсбучился и теперь я куль мэн.

Finally, the third remarkable group of borrowings, which we would like to emphasise in this paper is **3. Conceptual borrowings** – borrowings for a social phenomenon which exists in

¹⁸ Советский спорт, 06.08.2010.

¹⁹ *Asan* is fixed in transliterated form in Wikipedia as “slang, adverb, originated from English digital language where the abbreviation ASAP is widely used”.

²⁰ Compare only one fixation of *Хорошего вам вечера*, only nine for *Хорошего вам дня* in Integrum database; see negotiations about wrong translation of *Have a good day* as *Хорошего вам дня, вечера* and suggestion to translate it as *Счастливо, Всего хорошего, Всего вам доброго*.

²¹ We suppose that *компетентности ноль* (219 examples in Google), *ноль компетентности* (70 examples in Google) can be considered a Russian expression.

²² Created from the word *rubbish*.

²³ See about this word Nikiporets-Takigawa 2009: 59.

²⁴ www.youtube.com/watch?v=Wqr4GjyJjG0&feature=player_embedded — Американизмы.

different countries whereas Russian-speakers do not perceive them as local people do. One example of this social phenomenon is **bullying** (*ijime* in Japanese):

*Не спорю, возможно надо давать понять (imho) что физиологические различия не повод для **bullying**.*

Идзуме процветает. Они и пальцем не пошевелят, только извиняются потом.

Bullying (*ijime*) can be translated into Russian as *издевательства, травля*. **Bully** – *хулиган, задира, забияка, сутенёр, хвастун, наёмный головорез, грубиян, насильник*. **To bully** — *запугивать, задирать, задрать, преследовать*. The presence of multiple Russian equivalents for **bully** and for **to bully** indicates the inadequacy of each of them: obviously, in Russian the semantic difference between *хулиган* and *задира*, *хвастун* and *забияка* is absolutely clear, and *сутенёр* and *наёмный головорез* are different professions. However, *травля* and *издевательства* fairly accurately reflect the essence of such phenomenon as **bullying**. In Russian forums they negotiate **bullying** and call it *травля*.

*Мой сын (тоже 3-й класс) находится в состоянии **травли** уже где-то год. Хотя, конечно, **травится** не всем классом, а только несколькими хулиганистыми мальчишками. С этого года стал заниматься футболом регулярно, подтянулся физически, пошел на бокс. Главному обидчику пока сдачи давать не стал, но начал огрызаться словесно (получает за это, да, но, чувствую, боится меньше). И постоянно с ним разговариваю: ты сильный, ты сможешь за себя постоять. Параллельно ищу другую школу. Слышала мнение авторитетного педагога – если у ребёнка проблемы с коллективом, не надо очень сильно бояться менять этот коллектив (переводить в другую школу).*

*Неправда, что **травят** тех, кто не может сам себя защитить. **Травят** тех, кого не защищают. (Слезы мамы на родительском собрании или презрительная жалость учительницы: "Да не связывайтесь вы с этим нюней, он же опять мамочке жаловаться победит" – это не защита, а наоборот.) И в младших классах почти всегда начинается с учителя. Тем или иным способом он дает понять: "А вот этого я защищать не буду". И класс тут же срывается с цепи, а учительница разводит руками – ну, что же, мне за ручку вашего ребенка водить? Не научили давать сдачи ("общаться", "понимать юмор", "быть как все", "завоевывать авторитет") – на себя пеняйте. Потом, когда **травля** набирает силу, учитель уже даже если захочет ее остановить – не остановит.*

We allowed ourselves this detailed quotation not only for demonstration of the usage of the word *травля*, but also in order to describe the phenomenon of bullying in Russia, the Russian view of the way to solve the problem, and the Russian attitude to it. Russian-speakers' forums in Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine suggest ways similar to those described above to stop bullying: to rely on themselves (*вырабатывать характер, противостоять, заниматься карате или боксом*) or on parents (*поговорите с родителями зачинщика, зарядитесь терпением и верьте в своего ребёнка*), or to change school. No one expects help from the school: from teacher, head, parents' board, school psychologist, etc. because *Учительнице нашей все пофигу*. and because these countries still face such problems as teachers who are bullying pupils. 'Novaja gazeta' claims, that «по данным фонда «Право ребёнка», психическое и физическое учительское насилие в школах касается 20% детей — каждого пятого», basing this claim on «свежие примеры из приличных московских школ»²⁵. There is also the problem of reverse bullying: *на Украине в частных школах ГОРАЗДО хуже, чем в обычных. Дети посылают учителей сразу и без раздумий, а на любое замечание напоминают, кем работают их отцы*. And obviously attitude to bullying differs greatly from the local one: *Школа жизни, **травили** и **будут травить** и тот, кто с этим не справится – не справится и с другими трудностями жизни*. Transliteration **буллинг** appeared in Russian in 2006²⁶ and since then **буллинг** has been using alongside with the word *хейзинг*, mainly, by sociologists and psy-

²⁵ Novaja gazeta, 02.03.2010.

²⁶ Fist fixation in Integrum database.

chologists for discussion on bullying in school and offices. As specialists argue, the modern attitude to the problem is not shared in Russia (Kon 2006):

“Школьный буллинг рассматривается в современном мире как серьезная социально-педагогическая проблема. Почему этот опыт плохо известен в России? Почему нас вообще мало волнует буллинг, пусть даже под другим именем? В художественной форме эта проблема была психологически точно поставлена уже в замечательном фильме Ролана Быкова «Чучело». Если детей нужно рожать главным образом ради того, чтобы не ослабела мощь государства и наши природные богатства не достались другим народам, кому какое дело до буллинга? Это всего лишь нормальный способ воспитать в ребенке умение постоять за себя. Неважно, кто его бьет, лишь бы он научился давать сдачи, а еще лучше – нападать первым.

We don't intend to continue this quote as well as to answer to the questions in this quote. But we need all the examples and quotes above in order to demonstrate how close the attitude to this phenomenon among the Russian-speaking community living in Australia, Britain, and Japan is to the attitude in Russia. When Russian-speaking parents who come to live in these countries take their children to school, they see, at least generally, a less aggressive environment compared to that described above on the one hand, but a wide spectrum of actions which are considered bullying there, on the other hand. However, educational experience and cultural capital learned from their past make them ignore bullying and see it as innocuous children's quarrels. They consider that the problem is exaggerated (*я не верю в серьезность проблемы, сделали из мухи слона*); they are not worried about bullying (*Меня так сильно буллинг не беспокоит, потому что парень у меня крепкий и я скорее опасаясь, что он сам кого-нибудь забулит*); they believe that in response to bullying *нормальные мальчишки могли бы и подраться* or *выдать по паре оплеух*; they do not share the local attitude to this problem and the local educational approaches to bullying (*с этой идеей что сдачу давать нельзя, а надо жаловаться... мы мужчин то вырастим здесь?*).

И ваапче себя вспомни в детстве. То, что в обычной советской школе было нормальным тут млин в буллинг записывают.

Фильм/книгу "Чучело" помним? А еще лучше "Повелитель мух"? Если детей оставить без присмотра, мы получим такое, что мама не горюй, они обязательно будут издеваться над кем-то, кто не так говорит, над слабыми, над толстыми, новичками и т.д.

Very rarely there is some sort of discussion, negotiation, some opposite opinion, and some concern about bullying. Although, generally, bullying is discussed and negotiated as an outside local phenomenon which has no relation to their own children – to the Self (we hardly can find any examples about their own children as victims of bullying on Russian-speaking forums), but which has relation only to the Other – to local children (as seen in a lot of examples which intend to show how bad the local system of education is). Linguistically this attitude is shown in the use of a local word for nomination: despite the presence of a Russian equivalent, or understanding that an equivalent exists (*издевательства aka²⁷ bullying ни одного подростка могут довести (и доводят) до самоубийства*), the Russian-speaking community mainly uses transliterated *буллинг, були, булит, антибуллинговые* программы, *идзиме, иджиме* or, occasionally, non-transliterated word **bullying**. Rarely in forum discussion we can see the word *травля* (*Мое дите первое время травили, сообщая на перерыве: "Все русские должны умереть!"*) or *издевательства* (*Издевательств на национальной почве в Японии нет.*)

Obviously, Russian-speakers use **conceptual borrowings** when strong cultural interferences prevent them from properly accessing and understanding a local concept (bullying and attitudes to bullying in the example analysed above). In this situation they do not translate the nomination of this concept, nor try to find an equivalent, but prefer to use borrowings for

²⁷ Abbreviation for also known as – internet slang, widely used in Runet also.

nominations as a buffer between “what is very understandable and similar to mine” and “what is absolutely un-understandable, local and not mine”. The main reason for using the **conceptual borrowing** is cross-cultural clash and clash of two cultural capitals: own and local.

To conclude, focusing on the digital communication of Russian-speaking communities in three countries we have tried to prove that:

- Despite the fact that every Russian-speaking community abroad is embedded in local life, language, and culture, which is reflected in their native language, digital communication of Russian-speakers linguistically forms transnational and translocal (deterritorialised) space.
- It has much in common with the Russian language of digital communication in the mainland.
- Not only linguistically but also discursively Russian-speaking digital communication creates a homogeneous structure. Both language and cultural capital unite participants of this communication, in and outside Russia.
- This cultural capital interrupts the process of adaptation to local concepts and can provoke misunderstanding and even cultural conflict in cross-cultural communication.
- **Inevitable borrowings** are an objective result of language contact and may vary in different countries where Russian-speakers are present. However, **expressive borrowings** as a performance of knowledge of a foreign language, and **conceptual borrowings** which reflect linguistic turbulence in Russian-speakers’ attempts to “come to terms” with the legacy of their past in their home-country and, at the same time, with their present and future in their host-country, – both these groups show general features which are not so much related to the place of current residence, but have many links with the migrants’ place of origin.

Expressive borrowings and conceptual borrowings thus manifest cross-cultural conflict and meeting points for common identity of participants of Russian-speaking digital communication and Russian-speaking communities. They clarify a great deal about this community’s imagined and real identity and, in fact, they are a performance of identity. They allow us to bridge linguistic phenomenon and cultural capital, language and identity, thereby providing us with a very exciting and rewarding avenue of research. However, the further development of these ideas is an issue for further papers.

List of analysed forums

australia-ru.com
baltgames.lv
community.livejournal.com/psy_baby
gday.au
forum.rusalberta.com
oriental.ru
oztrovok.org
pravoslavie.ru
rus-obr.ru
http://region.33b.ru/topic776022_0.html
www.gday.ru/forum
yaponskayajizn.getbb.ru

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