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POLYGLOSSIC SITUATION IN BISHKEK

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ПОЛИГЛОССИЧЕСКАЯ СИТУАЦИЯ В БИШКЕКЕ

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This article is devoted to some concrete problems of sociolinguistics, presenting key problems of nowadays* polyglossic situation in Bishkek. It also reveals a certain scope of code-switching features in polyglossic society. Manifested in the article analysis comprise monitoring and social stratification of language 'ladder in Bishkek; socio - economic factors, which affect polyglossia and code - switching motivations. The article also touches upon some linguistic features of multilingualism: it's pertained changes in phonetics and phonology; morphemic and syntactic structures; syntagmatic relationship of polysemantic.

Key word polyglossic situation, code - switching, domain net, polyglossic society, social stratification, monitoring, sociolinguistics, vernacular languages, etc.

The language repertoire of Bishkek population is a representation of a very interesting linguistic phenomenon from the point of investigation of sociolinguistics. Being a student center and administrative grouping of ministries, public funds and international organizations, Bishkek is a cross-road of mixing Kyrgyz, Russian, English and Turkish with other vernacular languages. The polyglossic community of Bishkek, consisting of "white-collars", students, pupils of secondary education establishments, can operate their abilities to quick switch from one code to another within the diglossic position (High-Low or Low-High). Well-known American sociolinguist William Labov, exploring the social stratification in New-York city, comes to the conclusion that this phenomenon is typical for the big cities [Labov W. 1966]. They also practice code switch in a wide range of domain from one language to another. As it is mentioned above, Bishkek represents a center of grouping or concentration of many languages, codes of many domains. From sociolinguistics we learn, that the term "polyglossia" is used for situations where a community regularly uses more than two languages [Holmes Janet 1992]. Diagram#l represented below is a vivid demonstration of polyglossic map of Bishkek city.

If we analyze the factors of constituent parts of polyglossic situation of Bishkek, it is obvious that the last but not least reasons of changed polyglossic situation in Bishkek are political, economic and social. It is a migration of population from rural areas, including also the flow of refugees from Tajikistan. The main reason of this social, i.e. economic problem is unemployment, because many small and middle sized industrial enterprises had been closed in many districts of the country since the collapse of former Soviet Union, and Russian population had to move first to Russian Federation, then secondly, to Bishkek which became the center of industry, education and administration shelter for them. Thus, the population of Bishkek has been

rapidly increased by unemployed population, first of all, young people who have been seeking job possibilities in Bishkek for the last 15 years [Mass-Media of Kyrgyzstan. 2004].

H Overwhelming majority of so called refugees settled in outskirts and suburbs of Bishkek.

The sum total of refugees has reached 7000 people up to the April 2004. In general, migration, which was a result of social, economic and political factors have brought 200.000 people to Bishkek for the last 10 years.

One of the main tasks of our sociolinguistic exploring is to identify the polyglossic situation of Bishkek schooling system (secondary education) of the city.

The diagram #2 represented below explains the school certification in Bishkek, and, therefore manifests the clear polyglossic situation in the biggest industrial, cultural, educational and administrative center of Kyrgyzstan. So, from diagram#2 we see that prevailing numbers of schools are in Russian language, which play a decisive step in creation of polyglossic map of Bishkek (77 schools in Russian comparing to 57schools in Kyrgyz and also 47 schools in Kyrgyz-Russian).

■ As a result of being a city of culture, education, science, technology, international trade and communication Bishkek has become also a Russian language center.

III Being in the orbit of higher and Specialized Educational System, Bishkek became a center of Kyrgyz, Russian and English languages, with High and Low varieties.

What consequences did it bring to the language distribution in the city? Are those consequences positive or negative toward Kyrgyz language? What phonetic, phonological, morphological and syntactic changes have taken place as a result of direct influence of Russian language to Kyrgyz language? How has the polyglossic repertoire of Bishkek affected to the enriching of modem Kyrgyz and other languages' vocabulary? One should remember the fact that Kyrgyz language had been sufficiently enriched by new terminology, neologisms through Russian language for 70 years of Soviet time and nowadays the Russian language alongside with English is still one of the main sources of new words and expressions, of new concepts, achievements of science and techniques, so-called borrowings from other languages. English is strengthening its position holding the third place in Bishkek and the fourth in the south of Kyrgyzstan. [KOOPT, KTP.2003 February 26] We are aware that Kyrgyz language is lack of special terminology, concerning technology, natural sciences, machine and other layers of vocabulary of some objective and historical reasons, so now it is a linguistic prestige which is given to Kyrgyz and other indigenous languages which benefit from the vocabulary of languages of international status like Russian and English. Nevertheless, the Bishkek Kyrgyz language (we dare use this term because of some reasons), underwent serious influence under the influence of Russian language. Let's make some linguistic analyses concerning phonological system (spelling remains the same), Kyrgyz language in Bishkek.

B The specific pronunciation feature of consonant phoneme "k" in literary Kyrgyz speech, becomes [g] in pronunciation. For example, at the beginning of words [kel] - [gel] and etc. But the distinguishing alteration of this consonant disappeared is Bishkek Kyrgyz language today.

■ Retroflex [r] which gives accentual stylistic and musical color especially in poetry, diction, like [tu-r-rbaisinby] becomes very simple and much like Russian [r] in words ["работа", "ссторона"].

A Another alteration which caused serious interest is connected with hardening of light consonant sound [1]. The sound system of Kyrgyz vernacular has rather soft (mild) type of consonant [1], but people, who usually speak Russian in many domains of both varieties, use the "hardened" type of consonant [1] in their speech. We can testify this linguistic feature comparing the pronunciation of the geographic name of the river [VoL'ga] and [Vol'ga], [Abduldaev E.; Davletov S.; Imanov A.; Tursunov A. 1986]

Diagram №1 on polyglossia in Bishkek

1	High:	Russian, Kyrgyz, English, Uzbek.
2.		Russian, Kyrgyz, Uzbek, Uygur, Tatar, Dungan. and other languages of communities - Lezgins, Avars, Dargins, Dagestan people, Kurds, Azerbaijanis, Turks and etc.

The most interesting phonological alteration has taken place concerning typical Kyrgyz rounded vowel phoneme "e" and "y", which are rather difficult to pronounce for non-Kyrgyz people or for those who are taught in Russian schools. In the sentence «Мен сени суйом"- "I love you", the rounded front vowel [e] which is phonetically between [o], and [u] is usually pronounced by Russian speakers as [o] - [suyom], [kuyom] - "I am burning" (figuratively, of course). Thus, the graduates of Russian schools of higher educational establishments meet some difficulties when pronouncing words like above mentioned if they have no pronunciation skills from childhood. There are the types of the [y]. One of them is short [y] phoneme. The second one is long [y:] phoneme. They are rounded, high (closed), front vowel phonemes. These two phonemes change the meanings of words. That is why they are different phonemes Ex. жун -жуун.

Code Switching in Polyglossic Situation

The main problem of polyglossia is a switching code or language within a domain or social situation, when there is some obvious change in the situation such as the arrival of a new person; it is easy to explain the switch. For example, we can imagine the situation where two people are talking on weather ij Kyrgyz. In the case of joining a new-comer (suppose he is Russian), they automatically switch their code into Russian. In some social domain where there is a dominant language is spoken (in Bishkek it is Russian), many local people, for example Kyrgyz, Uzbeks, Uygurs, Dungan and others used the words of that dominant language in their linguistic repertoire. Examples given below prove it.

Russian-Kyrgyz and Kyrgyz-Russian variants:

- 1. Давай, кеттик.
- 2. Давай, ушуну жасайбыз.
- 3. Вокзалга баратам.
- 4. Машинаны ондодунбу.
- 5. Документами даярдадынбы.
- 6. Университетке келдик.
- 7. Места бар экен.
- 8. Кел, садись сюда.

- 9. Воскресенье куну эмне кыласын.
- 10. Центральный парка барасынарбы.
- 11. Виз тоодо лыжа тегттмк.

This list of code-switching is endless.

Code switching forms (variants) in polygiossic map of Bishkek are the following:

- 1. Kyrgyz-Russian
- 2. Russian-Kyrgyz (It doesn't mean that the speaker is Russian, the speaker might be a representative of any nationality).
 - 3. Uzbek-Russian
 - 4. Turkish-Kyrgyz
 - 5. Turkish-Russian
 - 6. Uygur-Russian and Russian-Uygur
 - 7. Tatar-Russian and vice versa
 - 8. Dungan-Russian and vice versa
 - 9. Any vernacular-Russian and vice versa.

But in some cases the ignorance of basic language aspects brings us to some comic confusions in translation, especially in advertisements: "У подруг салону", "Умай эне cosmetic", "Кармоочту карма", "Кыргызстандын 10 жылдык эгемендуулук куну", "Женилденип ал", "Relax, Успокойся".

Ignorance of phonetic laws of pronunciation and spelling comes out of "skewing" in utterance of some names of companies. For example, "five stars" [faif staiz], but not [faiv sta: z] = [файф старз] Beta Stores -[Beta sto:z], but not [Beta Storez], Summing up our research work, we have come to a very wide range of conclusions. The polyglossic situation in Bishkek presents the linguistic and social stratification of languages existing in Bishkek. The language system of a city has a very strict hierarchy of some dominant and minority languages. The top of this hierarchy is occupied by Kyrgyz as a state and Russian as an official language, f The Law of Kyrgyz Republic on State language. 2004] But Russian is spoken more wider and in many domains of both varieties (High and Low) of language in Bishkek. The influence of Russian language on other languages, especially on Kyrgyz, is immensely enormous. In phonetics and phonology this may lead to quantitative and qualitative changes in modern Kyrgyz language in Bishkek.

Diagram № 2 Distribution of schools in Bishkek

Content	Total sum of schools	Total sum of pupils from preparatory to i 1 th form '
Total sum of schools	87	104.469
Including Kyrgyz	57	35656
Russian	77	68813

In grammar it affects first of all syntactic system of Kyrgyz language which is losing its imagery, its specific figures of speech, color, peculiarities in stylistic originality (образность, своеобразие). At the same time Kyrgyz language obtains stereotyped grammar constructions of high variety, strictness and vividness and clarity in expressing new, modern terminology.

In word-stock Kyrgyz language benefits much from Russian language, because of borrowing of terminology and other specific words coming through Russian.We have mentioned that Kyrgyz language lacks special

Schools with some vernacular languages	6	4249
Including Dungan Uygur		
Schools with single language Kyrgyz Russian	40 9 31	44958 8142
Schools which are in two or more languages Including Kyrgyz- Russian	4747	59511

terminology system, denoting technical, scientific and other layer denominations, notions, concepts. It was Russian which brought Kyrgyz and other languages of Kyrgyzstan into and orbit of world civilization.

In conclusion, it must be underlined that the language must borrow the meaning of the word from an other language but not its pronunciation, stress and accent. The borrowed words must be adapted to the borrowing language. This is dialectical, philosophical decision of the problem.

Diagram № 4 Digiossia in Kyrgyzstan

		H(ihg) variety	L(ow) variety
1	Religion	+(sermons)	Chunch / mosque affairs
2	Literature	+	
3	Newspaper(ed itorial)	+Quality Newspapers	+Yellow newspapers
4	Broadcasting: TV-news	+	
5	Education (written material, lectures)		
6	Education (lesson discussion)	+	+
7	Broadcasting: radio		+
8	Shopping		+
9	Gossiping		+
10	Visiting friend		+
11	Going to the native village		+
12	University authorities	+	
13	Conversation with the foreigner	+	
14	Application for a job	+	

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