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### **Язык русскоязычной иммиграции в Барселоне: морфосинтаксический уровень**

*Аннотация:* Статья посвящена изучению особенностей функционирования русского языка у первого поколения русскоязычных иммигрантов, проживающих в Испании в автономном сообществе Каталония на территории провинции Барселона. Русский язык диаспоры испытывает влияние испанского и каталанского языков, используемых большинством жителей региона. Рассматриваются критерии отбора информантов для сбора языкового материала. В данном исследовании анализируются данные, полученные в результате 40 интервью с представителями русскоязычной диаспоры в Барселоне. Все информанты относятся к первому поколению иммигрантов и обладают языковой компетенцией в испанском языке. Родным языком информантов является русский. Статья показывает испанские и каталанские интерференции на морфосинтаксическом уровне. Отмеченные интерференции сравниваются с аналогичными процессами в языке русскоязычных иммигрантов в других странах и с тенденциями развития русского языка в России. Отдельное внимание уделено сопоставлению полученного материала с данными, представленными в монографии А. Урбан «Русско-испанский языковой контакт в Аргентине».

*Ключевые слова:* морфосинтаксический уровень языка, интерференция, языковой контакт, язык русских иммигрантов

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### **The Language of Russian-Speaking Immigration in Barcelona: Morphosyntactic Level**

*Abstract:* The article studies the current state of the mother tongue of 40 Russian-speaking immigrants in the province of Barcelona, in the Autonomous Community of Catalonia, Spain. This is home to 12,212 immigrants from Russia. Their speech is influenced by Spanish and Catalan. The article analyzes how strongly Spanish and Catalan influenced the Russian of the immigrants. The paper shows the principles of selection of informants for the research and presents a description of the morphosyntactic level of the Russian spoken by the first generation of immigrants from Russia in Barcelona. The article describes Spanish and Catalan syntactic structures in the Russian speech of the infor-

nants. The results of the research are compared to the descriptions of the Russian spoken by immigrant communities in other countries. The findings are contrasted to A. Urban's results of her research entitled "Russisch-spanischer Sprachkontakt in Argentinien".

*Key words:* Russian immigration, morphosyntactic level, language contact, interference

## INTRODUCTION

There are two types of study of language spoken by Russian immigrants outside Russia. One of them focuses attention on the language of a receptor country and on the problems of language acquisition among the first generation of immigrants. The second type of research reviews characteristic features of the Russian language of immigrant communities abroad. There are numerous interferences<sup>1</sup> from foreign languages in the Russian spoken by immigrants. The examples of this type of research are the works by Perotto [2012, 2013, 2015], Perotto and Ambrosi [2009], Golubeva-Monatkina [1999], Zhdanova [2012], Protasova [2004] or Bagana and Blazhevich [2011]<sup>2</sup>.

The contact of Russian and Spanish is thoroughly studied in the monograph by Urban *Russisch-spanischer Sprachkontakt in Argentinien* [2004]. The scholar shows interferences of Russian in Spanish spoken by the target group of the research and analyzes the influence of Spanish on the language of the community. However, it should be taken into consideration that Spanish in Argentina has a number of characteristic features. Therefore, the language contact of Spanish and Russian in other countries of Latin America or in Spain can lead to some other types of interferences. Besides, some regions may be a ground for studying the contact between Russian, Spanish, and a local language. One such region is Catalonia. Some aspects of Russian spoken by immigrants in the autonomous community are described in the article by Tereshchuk [2015] dedicated to the lexical level of language. The present study shows the influence of Spanish and Catalan at the morphosyntactic level.

## METHODOLOGY

The present article seeks to describe the Russian language of the first generation of Russian-speaking immigrants in the province of Barcelona, in the autonomous community of Catalonia, Spain. The focus is on the morphosyntactic level of language. It should be taken into account that the interferences at this level are not as frequent as at the lexical level [Appel, Muysken 1996: 164]. Furthermore, the speech of the first generation of immigrants is analyzed; it is claimed that their language is less susceptible to the interference at this level than that of the second or third generation. Perotto, comparing the linguistic integration of the first and second generations of immigrants, affirms that the immigrants who received a school education in their homeland possess "established grammar categories" in their minds [Perotto 2013: 238]. For that reason, the research did not register any examples of confusion in the use of cases. Urban showed a few expressions with errors in the use of cases in the speech of informants of the second generation, for example, the use of dative instead of accusative: я жду тебе (*ya zhdu tebe*), 'I am

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<sup>1</sup> The phenomenon of interference could be described as "the deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i. e. as a result of languages in contact" [Weinreich, 1953: 1]

<sup>2</sup> It is evident that it is impossible to mention all the investigations concerning the subject; the presented list only shows the diversity of topics studied by different researchers in relation to the language of Russian immigrants.

waiting you', instead of я жду тебя (*ya zhdu tebia*) [Urban 2004: 242]. In Russian in some contexts the accusative case could be replaced with the genitive, but not with the dative, e. g. видно гору (*vidno goru*), 'the mountain is seen' / горы не видно (*goru ne vidno*), 'the mountain cannot be seen' [Lönngren 2013: 8]. The expression, registered by Urban, violates the norms of Russian. Nevertheless, sometimes, these phenomena occur in the Russian language spoken in Russia [Glovinskaya 2001: 476–478].

Hence morphosyntactic interference is rarer in the speech of the first generation of immigrants than in the speech of their descendants. Despite the fact that the phenomena of this kind are studied rarely, the analysis of interferential processes in the language of the first generation of immigrants can provide a valuable material for further studies of language contacts.

The Russian-speaking community in Barcelona is growing from year to year. According to statistical data provided by the *Statistical Institute of Catalonia*, the number of Russians in the autonomous community have multiplied considerably over the past 15 years, from 1,090 persons in 2000, to 15,293 in 2010 and to 21,319 in 2015 [*Institut d'Estadística de Catalunya*]. The province of Barcelona is home to 12,212 Russians, i. e. for 57,28% of all the Russians in Catalonia. The Russian population in the province of Barcelona shows the same dynamics of growth as in the whole autonomous community; the annual increase is 6–8 %. In 2000, the Russian community in the province consisted of 632 immigrants; in 2010, of 8,574, and in 2015, it came to 12,212.

The analysis of language of Russian immigrants in Barcelona is based on 40 interviews with members of the community. All of them belong to the first generation of immigrants. Three informants arrived in Barcelona before 2000 (in 1995, 1997 and 1999); the other immigrated in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: twelve informants in 2000–2005; ten in 2006–2010, and fifteen in 2011–2015.

11 male and 29 female informants were interviewed. The proportion of men and women reflects the percentage of gender groups in the Russian immigrant community in Barcelona (32,66–67,34%). All the informants are aged between 19 and 61. On the one hand, the research did not analyze the speech of those who had started to learn Spanish before 12. This age, marked by Lenneberg as a border in the Critical Period Hypothesis five decades ago [Lenneberg 1967], nowadays is described as the separation line between the child bilingualism and the teenager (adult) bilingualism [Chirsheva 2012: 58]. All the interviewed immigrants speak Spanish as L2; as is known, "second language learners are frequently found to have a detectable foreign accent even after learning / using the target L2 for years" [Li 2016: 76]. The study of language of children who began to speak Spanish before 12 requires a separate analysis; their speech cannot be compared to that of immigrants who came to Barcelona as adults. For that reason we set an age limit in selecting informants for the interview: the youngest interviewed immigrant was 19 years old (and he has been living in Spain since age 14). On the other hand, language acquisition in case of people of an advanced age is of a peculiar kind; therefore, it was decided not to interview senior people.

Another relevant sociolinguistic variable that was taken into consideration is the level of education. The informants were divided into 2 groups: immigrants with a secondary education (9 persons) and immigrants with a higher education (31 persons). There are 7 university students – sophomores and senior students. Research shows that their speech (in Spanish, Catalan, and Russian) is more similar to the speech of the informants with a higher education than those with secondary education.

The mother tongue of all the interviewed immigrants is Russian; they learned Spanish as a foreign language when they were teenagers or adults. All of them speak Spanish; 21 informants also speak Catalan, but only 5 of them use Catalan more often than Spanish.

The duration of every interview was approximately one hour. It consisted of reading a text in Spanish aloud (4–7 minutes), an orthographic test (3 minutes) and a semi-free conversation during the rest of time. The languages of the conversation were Russian and Spanish. During the interview there was a discussion of questions concerning the biography of an immigrant, his or her experience in learning Spanish, problems in the process of assimilation in Spain and the informant's plans for the future. Each interview was recorded with an Ipad and later transcribed with symbols of IPA (International Phonetic Alphabet).

### INVESTIGATION RESULTS

The results obtained after the analysis of the interviews were compared to the conclusions of the study by Urban [2004]. It should be taken into account that Urban's investigation considers the language not only of the first generation of immigrants, but also of the second and third. Therefore, only a part of Urban's findings can be compared with the present research. Also it should be taken into consideration the influence of Catalan on the speech of Russian immigrants in Barcelona and distinctions between diatopic varieties of Spanish in Argentina and in Catalonia.

The copying of syntactic constructions is considerably more frequent than the borrowing of morphemes. We noticed only one example of the latter in the texts of our interviews; the inference that the interference of morphemes from Spanish into Russian (spoken by the first generation of immigrants in Catalonia) is rather an exception than a regular law could be deduced. An illustration of this phenomenon is the expression *говорить на каталане* (*govorit na katalane*), 'to speak Catalan'. The Russian adjective *каталанский* (*katalanski*), 'Catalan' (referring to the language), is formed with the suffixes *-ск* and *-ий* (the latter morpheme marks the masculine singular form). In Russian spoken by immigrants in Barcelona this word loses these two suffixes, allegedly under the influence of Spanish (*catalán*). At the same time, it conserves the Russian declension. The registered form *каталане* (*katalane*) does not mark the grammatical gender of the word: the desinence *-e* in the Prepositional case could correspond to masculine, feminine or neuter gender. Anyway, this example shows no Spanish morpheme in Russian discourse; the substitution of two suffixes by another one can be observed. Urban mentions the form *купиште* (*kupiste*), 'you have bought', i. e. a combination of the root of the Russian verb *купить* (*kupit*), 'to buy', and the Spanish suffix *-iste* that marks the preterite tense in Spanish [Urban 2004: 236]. There is no doubt that the morpheme borrowing is a very rare phenomenon among Russian immigrants of the first generation.

Urban shows a few examples of changes in form of words under the influence of Spanish. One of these changes is *апельсина* (*apelsina*), 'orange', instead of Russian *апельсин* (*apelsin*). She comments that this change is due to the analogy with Spanish *aranja*, 'orange', that is, the masculine grammatical gender in Russian switches to the feminine in the Argentinian Russian. However, in the modern Russian language (spoken in Russia) in informal speech exists a diminutive form *апельсинка* (*apelsinka*), also in the feminine gender; the form registered by Urban possibly takes origin from informal Russian.

Sometimes the changes in the word structure could be explained not by the interference of Spanish / Catalan morphemes, but by the phonological influence or the lexical borrowing. For example, the change of lexical stress registered among members of the Russian community in Barcelona in such words as *директор* (*direktór*), 'director', *телевизор* (*televizór*), 'TV set', *футбол* (*fútbol*), 'football', is an accentological phenomenon that should be classified as an interference at the phonological level. On the other hand, the use of such lexeme as *супермеркат* (*supermerkat*), 'supermarket', instead of *супермаркет* (*supermarket*), is an example of lexical interference [Tereshchuk 2015: 296–297]. In this case it is not a separate morpheme that is introduced to Russian, but the whole Spanish / Catalan word.

Another type of interference at the morphosyntactic level is the calque of some Spanish / Catalan syntactic constructions in Russian discourse. The most specific example is an excessive use of patterns with the verb *делать* (*delat*), 'to do'. In the speech of interviewed informants following expressions have been detected: *делать мастер* (*delat master*), 'to study a Master degree'; *делать резиденцию* (*delat rezidentsiu*), 'to obtain a residence permit'; *делать манифестацию* (*delat manifestatsiu*), 'to rally'. In Russian these expressions are formed without the verb *делать*: *учиться в магистратуре* (*uchitsia v magistrature*), *оформлять вид на жительство* (*oformliat vid na zhitelstvo*), *проводить манифестацию* (*provodit manifestatsiu*)<sup>1</sup>. It could be suggested that the excessive use of constructions with the verb *делать* in the speech of members of the studied immigrant group could be related to the fact that the variety of Spanish spoken in Catalonia tends to a more frequent use of models with *hacer*, 'to do', than other geolinguistic varieties of the language [Wesch 1997: 303–304]. This phenomenon is explained by the influence of Catalan. The verb *fer* ('to do' in Catalan) plays an important role in the Catalan syntax; there is a number of Catalan predicate expressions with this verb which Spanish analogues are formed without *hacer*, e. g. *fer anar – mover*, 'to move'; *fer saber – comunicar*, 'to communicate'; *fer llum – dar luz*, 'to illuminate', etc. It is known that constructions with the verb coming from the Latin *facere*, 'to do' are widespread in all the languages of the northwestern part of the Iberian Peninsula [Zelikov 2001: 112–114]. On the other hand, the excessive use of the verb *делать* was also detected in the Russian language of some other immigrant communities. Urban registered constructions with *делать* with causative meaning: *Ты мне сделал напомниться* (*Ty mne sdelal napomnitsia*), 'You reminded me'; *Ты мне сделал обидеться* (*Ty mne sdelal obidetsia*), 'You offended me'. Bagana noticed in the speech of Russian immigrants in Portugal an expression *Когда ты делаешь годы?* (*Kogda ty delaesh gody*), 'When is your birthday?', under the influence of Portuguese *Quando fazes anos?* [Bagana, Blazhevich 2011: 14]. Zhdanova described the speech of Russians in Germany; she showed some expressions with the excessive use of *делать*, e. g. *Он делает славистику и германистику* (*On delaet slavistiku i germanistiku*), 'He follows Slavonic and German Studies', calqued on German *Er macht Slawistik und Germanistik* [Zhdanova 2012: 687]. These examples show that the explanation of this phenomenon due to the characteristics of Spanish in Catalonia could not be taken for granted. It is required to conduct a further research in this field that would show if the frequency of constructions with the verb *делать* in the speech of Russian immigrants in Catalonia is higher than in other regions of Spain or Spanish-speaking countries; also the language of Russian communities in other countries in relation to this subject should be studied.

<sup>1</sup> It should be noticed that in spoken language some of these constructions could be also expressed with the verb *делать*: *делать вид на жительство* (*delat vid na zhitelstvo*).

*Делать* is not the only verb that is widely used in the speech of Russians in Barcelona under the Spanish / Catalan influence. In the texts of the interviews a redundant use of the verb *иметь* (*imet*), 'to have' has been noticed. In Russian this verb is often replaced by an impersonal construction with the verb *быть* (*byt*), 'to be': *я имею* (*ya imeiu*) = *у меня есть* (*u menia est*), being the second option much more extended in the modern language. The verb *иметь* cannot be substituted by the impersonal construction only in the imperative mood and in some set phrases, e. g. *имейте терпение* (*imeite terpenie*), 'be patient'; *иметь глупость* (*imet glupost*), 'to be silly enough to do something'. At the same time, in some contexts only the impersonal construction could be used: *У тебя есть минута?* (*U tebia est minuta*), 'Do you have a free minute?' ≠ *\*Ты имеешь минуту?* (*Ty imeesh minutu*). Nevertheless, a preference of nominal predicates with the verb *иметь* to impersonal constructions in Russian spoken by immigrants in Catalonia could be observed: *Он имеет три машины* (*On imeet tri mashiny*), 'He has three cars'. The phrase is grammatically correct, but in modern Russian it is less natural than the impersonal variant *У него есть три машины* (*U nego est tri mashiny*). At the same time, some uses of the verb *иметь* that are inadmissible in Russian were registered. The expression *Он имеет страх* (*On imeet strah*), 'He is afraid', is a calque on Spanish *Tiene miedo* or on Catalan *Té por*<sup>1</sup>. The example registered in Barcelona was detected in the speech of a male informant who immigrated in 2004, that is, he has spent more than a decade in the Spanish / Catalan-speaking society. He speaks both languages of the autonomous community, consequently it is impossible to determine whether this interference comes from Spanish or Catalan, but it could be established that instead of choosing an appropriate Russian expression *Он боится* (*On boitsia*) or *Он испытывает страх* (*On ispytyvaet strah*), the informant prefers to form the phrase according to norms of Spanish / Catalan syntax.

The similar phenomenon was also registered by Zhdanova in Germany. She detected the phrase *Я имела языковой курс* (*Ya imela yazykovoï kurs*), 'I attended a language course', instead of *Я прошла языковой курс* (*Ya prosha yazykovoï kurs*) among Russian immigrants in this country [Zhdanova 2012: 690]. The German sentence that was taken as a pattern is *Ich hatte einen Sprachkurs*; nevertheless, it should be noticed that more adequate German phrase in this context is *Ich machte einen Sprachkurs*, without the verb *haben*, 'to have'. Another option is to use the Present Perfect, *Ich habe einen Sprachkurs gemacht*. The verb *haben* in this case is auxiliary.

The fact that some interferences registered in situations of Russian-Spanish / Catalan and of Russian-German contact coincide can be explained by a certain degree of similarity that Romance and West Germanic languages share in some aspects in comparison with Russian. One of these interferences, present in the speech of Russian immigrants in Catalonia, is *взять поезд* (*vziat poezd*), 'to take a train', instead of *сесть на / в поезд* (*sest na / v poezd*), literally, 'to sit in the train'. This expression is widespread among the Russian community in Barcelona (referring not only to the trains, but also to other modes of transport); it is a calque on Spanish *coger el tren* or Catalan *agafar el tren*. We did not find analogous examples in the researches concerning the language of Russian immigrants in other countries, but it could be suggested that the same expression might be characteristic for the speech of Russians living in Romance and Germanic-speaking countries, in which the equivalent of 'to take a train' is used (cf.: Germ. *den Zug nehmen*; Fren. *prendre le train*; Ital. *prendere il treno*; Port. *tomar o comboio*).

<sup>1</sup> Urban also noted in Argentina *Я имею страх* (*Ya imeiu strah*), 'I am afraid' [Urban 2004: 242].

## CONCLUSION

In Russian language spoken by the members of Russian community in the province of Barcelona, in Spain, similar interferential processes are observed as just like in other countries. Even the immigrants of the first generation tend to imitate Spanish and Catalan syntactic structures and introduce them into their speech. The influence of the local languages results in production of expressions that are inappropriate in Russian spoken in Russia, but are understandable and acceptable among members of the immigrant community. It is impossible to determine which language (Spanish or Catalan) has a more ostensible impact on the studied linguistic variety at the morphosyntactic level; the registered interferences can take origin from any of the local vernaculars.

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