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Thomas Daiber, Andrea Gawrich,
Peter Haslinger, Reinhard Ibler, Stefan Rohdewald
und Monika Wingender

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Discourse and Practice of Bilingualism

Contemporary Ukraine and Russia/Tatarstan

Edited by
Daniel Müller and Monika Wingender

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Bilingual Communication in Ukraine: Regional Features¹

Svitlana Sokolova (Kyiv)

1. Introduction

The issue of bilingualism among the Ukrainian population has been discussed more than once in scientific literature, and it has often become a subject of political manipulation, meaning that it requires deep and thorough research. U. WEINREICH (1979, 22) called the practice of the parallel use of two languages 'bilingualism', and people conducting this practice – 'bilinguals'. This concept has repeatedly been clarified, been defined variously, and finally entered specialized dictionaries (MIČHAL'ČENKO 2006, 31–32). Therefore, bilingualism is defined in the broadest sense as «відносне володіння другою мовою, здатність користуватися нею в певних сферах спілкування», – in a narrower one as «більш чи менш вільне володіння двома мовами: рідною і нерідною» (BACEVIČ 2007). Even with the theoretical definitions of various types of bilingualism (coordinate or subordinate), it is not always easy, in practical terms, to delimit what kind of bilingualism we are dealing with in every particular case, because the self-estimation of language skills – which is mainly used during mass surveys – often does not correspond to the real state of affairs; on the other hand, however, the external observation method cannot be properly applied to the evaluation of language skills in large groups. U. WEINREICH (1972, 28) remarked that, while investigating bilingualism, and in particular its types, it is also advisable to compare data from direct linguistic observations with data from psychological tests. In some psychological and pedagogical studies (e.g., LUCENKO / LELJUK 2008, 207), however, the language of instruction is taken as a parameter to determine pupils' language preferences, but this might not at all correspond with their actual linguistic preferences and daily language practice.² With regards to schoolchildren, their school language generally depends on their parents' appropriate instructions, in particular with regards to students of Ukrainian-language classes and schools in Russian-speaking regions. In general, and as U. WEINREICH (1972, 2) remarked, the comparative degree of

1 The research was conducted within the trilateral project "Bi- and multilingualism between conflict intensification and conflict resolution. Ethno-linguistic conflicts, language politics and contact situations in post-Soviet Ukraine and Russia", funded by the Volkswagen Foundation (Az. № 90217). The academic partner institutions in the trilateral project were: the Justus Liebig University Giessen (Institute of Slavic Studies), the Kazan' Federal University (Institute of Philology and Intercultural Communication, Institute of Sociology, Philosophy and Mass Communication) and the National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine (Institute of the Ukrainian Language).

2 It is also not acceptable, as the article mentioned has done, to take the comparative analysis of errors in dictation as the main criterion for assessing pupils' level of linguistic competence, since this only reflects spelling skills; the different principles of Ukrainian and Russian orthography determine their varying complexity; additionally, educational programmes on the subject of 'Russian language' vary greatly, depending on the language of instruction, while those on the subject of 'Ukrainian language' differ to a lesser degree.

proficiency in two languages cannot be formulated precisely in purely linguistic terms, and linguistics requires collaboration with psychology and social sciences in this field.

If bilingualism is common in society, then there is also the issue of self-identification, both linguistic and national. These concepts are closely interconnected, but not identical. Many researchers emphasize the importance of language as a sign for ethnic and national identity, e.g., M. WINGENDER (2015, 13) in her introduction to a monograph of an international team of authors, devoted to the study of language and political discourse in Russian- and/or Turkic-speaking communities.

Under conditions when «мовний конформізм українців, їх звичка підпорядковуватись диктатові російськомовних партнерів по комунікації стали масовим явищем» (MASENKO 2004), the research of concrete linguistic material (texts of different styles and genres), with regards to speakers' social parameters, has become increasingly important. In Ukrainian linguistics, there are several works devoted to the study of factors influencing the choice of language of communication by residents of different regions of Ukraine belonging to different age and social groups (BURDA 2002; KUZNJECOVA 2002; VIKOVA 2006; LYTVY-NENKO 2007; SOKOLOVA ET AL. 2013; ŠEVČUK-KLUŽEVA 2015; ТКАЧУК 2016, etc.). Examining interference, code-switching and borrowing, KOČUBEJ (2010) highlights the peculiarities of young Russian-speaking L'viv inhabitants' linguistic behaviour stating that «переключение кодов в речи львовян – это в большинстве случаев несколько инос, чем недостаточное владение языком или дефицит культуры речи; это – характерное для определенной темы, ситуации, языкового контакта явление, которое культивирует новые импульсы для оживления коммуникации.»

In October 2016, within the framework of our research project, focus group discussions on the linguistic situation were held in four cities of Ukraine – Kyiv, L'viv, Charkiv and Odesa, with two discussions in each city – one for younger (18–35 years old) and senior (36–65 years) age groups respectively. This made it possible not only to discuss the main issues concerning the interaction between the Ukrainian and Russian languages, and to formulate suitable questions for conducting a mass survey (which was the main purpose for these focus groups), but also to acquire original linguistic material – texts of conversations of provoked bilingual communication. This article analyses the features of switching and mixing of speech codes in terms of bilingual communication in cities showing a different linguistic situation.

2. The language situation in the cities of the focus groups

The differing language situation in the cities of the focus groups leads to a variety of views on the language issue, as do differences in the participants' own linguistic behaviour as bilinguals living in these cities. Comparing data from the latest census (*Vseukrajins'kyj perepys naseleńnja* 2001) on the ethnic composition of the analyzed cities, it emerges that ethnic Ukrainians predominate in all of them, albeit to different extents (61.0% in Charkiv, 61.7% in Odesa, 82.2% in Kyiv, 88.4% in L'viv); however, in Odesa and Charkiv, about one third of inhabitants are Russians, while in L'viv and Kyiv this percentage is considerably lower (8.7% and 13.1% respectively).

At the same time, Odesa and Charkiv are known as predominantly Russian-speaking cities, and the linguistic identity of the population does not correspond to the national composition of the cities, since only around one third of inhabitants consider their native language to be Ukrainian. In L'viv, we observe – what is essentially – a complete correspondence between linguistic and national identification, and in Kyiv the balance is shifted by about 10 percentage points in favour of the Russian language. This discrepancy is due primarily to the loss of ethnic identity of the Ukrainian language, with almost half of ethnic Ukrainians in Odesa and Charkiv considering Russian to be their native language,³ whereas the linguistic identity of Ukrainians in L'viv is almost one hundred percent, and in Kyiv it reaches over 85%.

This situation – a loss of linguistic identity at the primary level of determining one's native language – is inherent in the post-Soviet space, primarily in Ukraine and – to an even greater extent – Belarus. However, those post-Soviet countries (and republics within the RF) which display an interaction between genetically unrelated languages are characterized by the coexistence of different ethnic groups, whose representatives largely recognize the language of their ethnic group as their native one. Thus, in her previously cited article, M. WINGENDER (2015, 17) provides data evidence that, in 2009/2010, the frequency of recognition of one's own ethnic group's native language approaches nearly 99% among the titular population in Kazakhstan and more than 94% among the titular population in Tatarstan. However, more than 90% of Tatars are fluent in Russian, and more than 90% of Kazakhs understand it and can read and write it, while only about a quarter of Russians in Kazakhstan understand spoken Kazakh, and only around 3.6% of Russians in Tatarstan know Tatar.

The situation in Ukraine is characterized by the diffusion of bilingualism, with the communication form of 'everyone speaks their own language' (which is widespread) rarely causing communicative failures. Sometimes such communicative failures arise from the position: 'I don't understand you because I don't want to'. At the same time, this situation in which everyone speaks their own language and freely decodes the message sent by their communicative partner, is not considered to be a uniquely Ukrainian one, and such attitudes are mostly characteristic of cases where dialects of one language or closely related languages are concerned (WEINREICH 1979, 5).

Bilingual communication complicates the classic scheme of 'interaction' of language codes and subcodes, drawn by L.P. KRYSIN (2003, 375), in which «коды и субкоды находятся друг с другом в отношении функциональной дополнителности. Иначе говоря, каждый код (субкод) имеет свои функции, не пересекаясь с функциями других кодов (субкодов).» Spontaneous bilingual communication (dialogue or polylogue) provokes an increase in the frequency of switching speech codes. Additionally, the topics discussed by the

3 It should be noted that the national composition and linguistic identity of the population of the *regions* mentioned differs significantly from the situation in the *regional centres* with a shift of the balance in favour of the Ukrainian language and, in the Odesa region also in favour of national minorities languages, in particular, with almost two thirds (62.64%) of rural residents of the Odesa region (all nationalities) considering Ukrainian to be their native language, 13.6% Russian, and almost one quarter (23.81%) – other languages.

focus groups (linguistic behaviour and bilingualism) make it possible to discover the peculiarities and conditions of code-switching in a concentrated form, in a relatively small number of texts.

10 people of both sexes took part in each of the focus group discussions (in Charkiv, due to weather conditions, the discussion was attended by 9 and 7 members respectively – so there were 76 participants in total), with half in each group professing themselves to be Ukrainian speakers in everyday communication, and the remaining half – Russian speakers. The material of the discussions was recorded using audio and video, and the decoded texts were analyzed further. The total amount of text is about 540,000 symbols. Having previously asked the attendees whether it would not be too inconvenient a form of communication for them, the moderators in Kyiv, L'viv and Odesa spoke Ukrainian:

Я хочу спитати зразу до тих, хто говорить російською мовою – якщо я до вас буду звертатися українською, це буде для вас складати якусь проблему? [Kyiv 18–35];

ті, хто спілкується російською мовою, якщо я буду говорити з вами українською, це не буде для вас якимось дискомфортом, не буде складно? [Kyiv 36–65];

До тих, які говорять переважно російською мовою. Вам було би зручніше, щоб я до вас зверталась російською? Чи достатньо вас влаштує, якщо я буду говорити українською мовою? [L'viv 18–35].

In Kyiv and L'viv, the moderator's questions were almost reduced to a form of etiquette, whereas in Odesa it was more insistent and more focused on preventing communicative failures:

Наступне питання – чи зручно вам буде, якщо я буду говорити українською мовою? [...] Немає жодних заперечень? Якщо комусь буде необхідно, я перейду на російську мову, якщо якийсь питання буде незрозуміле [Odesa 18–35].

Later on, the moderators from Kyiv and L'viv clearly followed the chosen language code, and the moderator from Odesa allowed himself only a few remarks in Russian (all in reaction to Russian-language utterances of the discussants, but not to translate an obscure expression). However, the moderator from Charkiv immediately asked permission to speak Russian: «Ничего, что я на русском? Да? Ок.» [Charkiv 18–35], further on, almost a third of his utterances were in Russian or a hybrid of Russian and Ukrainian:

Ок, що робити, ми потім побалакаємо. А зараз основне питання собственно, действительно ли языковой вопрос в Украине провоцировал...? [Charkiv 18–35].

The participants in the discussions chose the language of communication freely, and therefore the discussion in all groups took place in two languages simultaneously, without this ever causing misunderstanding. It is therefore possible to describe all participants who, at the least, understood the second language well, as bilinguals, but there were differences in the characteristics of individual bilingualism (coordinate or subordinate with the predominance of either Ukrainian or Russian). BELENTSCHIKOW / HANDKE (n.d.) elucidate the peculiarities of a bilingual communication situation as follows: «Если собеседники определяют для себя

коммуникативную ситуацию как двуязычную, то при таких обстоятельствах говорящие могут использовать коммуникативные возможности двух языковых систем, а границы между языками становятся взаимопроницаемыми.» Bilingual communication not only creates grounds for interference, but also expands the potential arsenal of means of expression. O.O. POTEBNJA (1993, 166) believes that, when a person uses two languages «два рода умственной деятельности идут в одном направлении, переплетаясь между собой, но сохраняя свою раздельность.» Some researchers even use the term ‘transference’ (instead of ‘interference’) for describing the transfer of elements, features and rules from one language to another in the situation of bilingual communication, emphasizing its controlled nature (BELENTSCHIKOW / HANDKE n.d.). The participants in our discussions are aware of their bilingualism and their bilingual environment as well using units of the two languages (shifts are indicated by italics):

Vira (ukr.)⁴: Розмовляю і українською, і російською. Двоє діток, ходять до української школи, але в нас російський клас. *Мы живем в Одессе, понимаете?* [Odesa 36–65];

Jurij (ukr.): У мене по роботі телефонують люди, дуже багато розмовляють *на російській*. Телефонують і розмовляють *на українській*. Щоб швидше вони зрозуміли, що я від них хочу, я можу розмовляти і *на російській* [Kyiv 18–35].

However, when posed the direct question as to whether or not they were bilinguals, not everyone gave a positive answer. Before the conversation started the participants were asked to name the language they prefer in everyday communication. In general, the main language of the participants during the discussion coincided with their so-called language of everyday communication. However, one of the L’viv participants, having declared himself to be Russian-speaking in everyday life, used Ukrainian throughout the discussion and, in 63 utterances switched to Russian only four times, in very short replies answering Russian-language utterances.

Due to the fact that communication took place in two languages at the same time, the participants demonstrated different types of linguistic behaviour – from absolute linguistic stability to the constant switching of language codes, both under the influence of external factors (language of the interlocutors, in particular in the previous utterance), and internal ones (meaning of a statement and associations that it reflects). In some cases, there was a mixture of languages which was difficult to explain; it was ‘suržyk’ in fact:

Oleksandr (rus.): Лучшая защита – это не запрещать.

Vira (ukr.)⁵: Да. Не *вимогать*, не захищати. Просто не запрещать.

Vitalij (ukr.): Захищати від кого?

Vira (ukr.): Ну да, вопрос. *Від української мови*, я так понимаю.

Moderator: Можливо не захищати, а підтримувати.

Vira (ukr.): Тогда неправильно звучит [Odesa 36–65];

4 Hereinafter, the matrix language of the participant is indicated.

5 The matrix language of this participant is Ukrainian. However, in this conversation fragment, she begins all phrases in Russian.

Nadija (ukr.): Тому що... *Общаюсь я, конечно, по-украински. Так як в... моїй сім'ї теж всі по-українські, общаемся. Хотя муж у меня русский. Читаги по-українськи не вмис, але розмовляє краще, ніж я [Odesa 36–65].*

Some of the informants considered themselves to be 'suržyk' speakers:

Oleksandr (rus.): Олександр, я на суржике разговариваю. То так, то сак, сам себя не понимаю [Charkiv, 18–35].

In order to assess the degree of linguistic stability, we analyzed the correspondence of each utterance of a participant to his 'matrix language' in all texts of the focus group discussions. Under 'matrix language' we understand the language which one chose deliberately as the main language of everyday communication, although this does not completely coincide with the classical definition of 'matrix language': «одна з мов бі- чи полілінгва, якою він володіє найповніше; основа вербального втілення його когнітивних і психічних процесів; або мова, звична для конкретного учасника спілкування, якою він почав комунікацію» (BACEVIČ 2007). We can assume that, in some cases, the participants' statement concerning their 'matrix language' may be erroneous, as they may have agreed to fill out the lacking role (Russian or Ukrainian speaker) in linguistically equally represented groups – mainly with regard to those who are fluent in both languages. Probably, the participant in the L'viv group, mentioned above, classified himself as Russian-speaking not because he usually communicates it in everyday life, but just because of the fact that, unlike other L'viv inhabitants, he speaks it fluently.

In linguistics it is common to differentiate between the concepts of 'code-switching' and 'code-mixing' on the basis of whether the transition to another code is conscious or unconscious:

Перемикання (переключення) кодові – усвідомлений перехід мовця у процесах мовного (зокрема міжкультурного) спілкування з матричної мови (діалекту, стилю) на іншу мову (діалект, стиль), пов'язаний зі зміною параметрів комунікативного акту (BACEVIČ 2007);

Змішування кодів (у міжкультурній комунікації) – неусвідомлюваний, немотивований мовцем перехід у процесах мовного спілкування з матричної мови (діалекту, стилю) на іншу (впроваджувану), не пов'язаний зі зміною умов комунікації, параметрів комунікативного акту, найчастіше внаслідок низької мовної компетенції в одній із використовуваних мов (ibid.).

If a code change is not caused by the addressee's misunderstanding, it is not always possible clearly to determine the speaker's degree of awareness of changing language code; in case of an unconscious shift, it is not always possible to conclude low language competence. In general, the most common instance for changing language code is adaptation to the code of the previous utterance.

3. Motivated and unmotivated code-switching

In analyzing all cases of transition to another language and foreign language inclusions, we singled out motivated and unmotivated transitions. Under motivated transition we understand primarily internal motivations, that is, the conscious identification of using another language, quoting a speech fragment:

Rymma (ukr.): Я теж стикалася з тим, що коли в Росію приїжджала і я за звичкою розмовляю українською, мене просили так припинити. Ну, мені казали *прекрати*. А я кажу, що, якісь проблеми з цим, вам неприємно чути українську чи що? *Ну, что ты как село* [Charkiv 18–35];

Bohdan (rus.): раньше это считалось, как будто с деревни приехать – *з-під Одеси*. То есть, если человек на украинском разговаривает, то он *з-під Одеси*. Сейчас это, мне кажется, не так [Odesa 18–35];

Borys (rus.): Там во Львові я купив квиток на тролейбус, а в Івано-Франківське я купив каву попий.

Moderator: Це зараз?

Borys (rus.): Да, *купити кави попийти треба тільки на українській* [Kyiv 36–65];

Natalja (ukr.): Я народилася в Кіровоградській області. Там розмовляли суто українською мовою. Може це був суржик, я не знаю. Але розмовляли українською. Коли я в 14 років переїхала до Одеси, моя сестра мені каже: «*Наташа! Не говори на українському мові! С тобою ніхто розговариватиме не буде!*» [Odesa 36–65].

At the same time, a switch to the language of the interlocutor, that is under the influence of the previous utterance, was not considered to be motivated, since it only proved a speaker's linguistic tolerance/persistence, which we tried to compare across representatives of different regions and different age groups.

Ljudmyla (rus.): Если я этого человека раньше знала и общалась с ним на русском языке, говорю на русском. Если это незнакомый человек и говорит со мной на украинском, я говорю на украинском. [...]

Moderator: А от є ситуація, коли ви от ні за що не перейдете на іншу мову? Ну, наприклад, ви говорите російською, до вас звертається людина україномовна і ви от не перейдете все одно на українську або навпаки?

Ljudmyla (rus.): *Нема такої причини* [L'viv 36–65].

In some cases, foreign language inclusions may be phraseologized (belong to the category of stable phrases), but their use is not motivated enough, since there is a corresponding phrase in the matrix language:

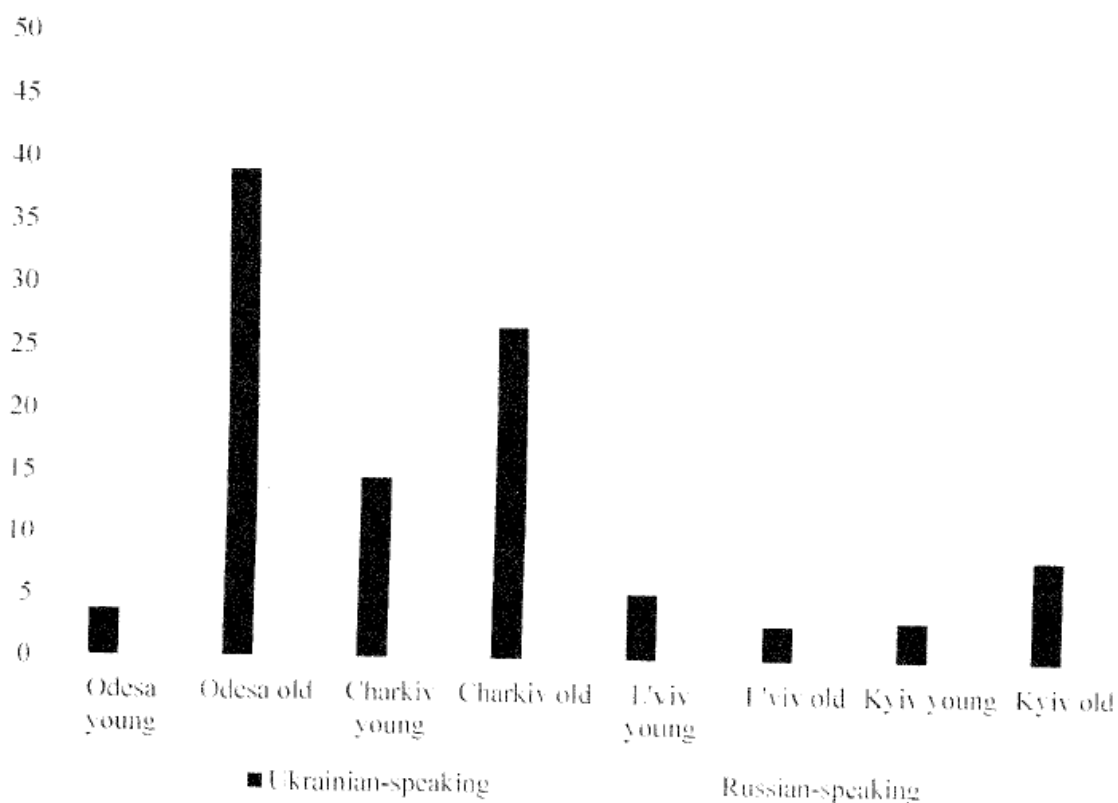
Zinovij (ukr.): Ви маєте право розмовляти на якій хочете / цей, маєте право вчитися на будь-якій мові, але це *ваше личное дело* [L'viv 36–65] (compare in Ukrainian: це ваша особиста справа).

However, this may be another way to draw the interlocutor's attention to a statement.

We considered short utterances to indicate agreement or disagreement (*так, ні; да, нет*) to be appropriate to the matrix language code, because they cannot always be clearly segregated in the speech stream and therefore recognized. Moreover, in the case of a collective response, someone answered verbally, and someone expressed agreement or disagreement non-verbally.

We analyzed all utterances of every speaker in each focus group against this background. Figure 1 illustrates the relative frequency of changing the language code among Ukrainian- and Russian-speaking participants by group. Despite the fact that the selection of participants was not focused on the indicator of language persistence/tolerance, the results turned out to be quite predictable.

Fig. 1: Change of the language code among Ukrainian-speaking and Russian-speaking participants (in %)



In Figure 1 we can see that, with regards to the senior age group, those who changed the code most often were those whose linguistic orientation contradicts the linguistic situation in the respective city – above all Ukrainian-speaking Odesa inhabitants (almost 40% of the utterances) and Russian-speaking L'viv citizens (over 40%).⁶ That is quite natural, taking into account their life in a mostly foreign-language environment. Very often, albeit to a lesser extent, Russian-speaking young L'viv inhabitants changed the language code (almost a third of the

⁶ Without taking into account the data of the participant, who, having declared himself Russian-speaking, spoke Ukrainian.

utterances), Ukrainian-speaking Charkiv residents and Russian-speaking residents of the capital from the older age groups (about a quarter), Russian-speaking Odesa residents of the senior group (almost 20%), etc. The greatest linguistic stability (3–10% of the utterances) was shown by young Odesa residents and young Kyiv residents (regardless of language preferences), Russian-speaking Charkiv residents (regardless of age) and Ukrainian-speaking L'viv and Kyiv inhabitants (regardless of age).

Language stability among the Ukrainian-speaking youth, even in mostly Russian-speaking Odesa and Kyiv (and to a lesser extent in Charkiv), can be explained by the development of Ukrainian-language education (at least at the school level). In L'viv, the general language background works, as it does for Russian-speaking residents of Odesa and Charkiv. The high linguistic stability of Ukrainian-speaking Kyiv residents in both the elder and especially the younger age groups can probably be explained by the fact that, in mostly Russian-speaking Kyiv, the Ukrainian language is quite prestigious and undoubtedly commonly well-understood, meaning that Ukrainian speakers do not have to overcome the psychological resistance of the linguistic environment (as they do in Charkiv, for example).

The frequency of *motivated* code-switching is approximately the same in all the groups analyzed, and varies from 3–4 to a maximum of 10–11, but the highest frequency was nevertheless detected among Russian-speaking participants of the discussion, thus illustrating their Ukrainian mentality, which indicates the realities of Ukrainian life:

Ілія (rus.): Я жил в Ростове в 90-х годах. И вы знаете, какая самая популярная группа в России была в 94 году? *Океан Ельзи українською мовою. Слухали всі!* Потому что Вакарчук смог преподнести украинский так, что россияне заслушались! [Odesa 36–65].

Ukrainian splashes in Russian utterances are a consequence of quoting, in particular the repetition of a part of another participant's utterance:

Ворыс (rus.): Должна быть, как говорит Сергей, *єдина державна українська мова* [Kyiv 36–65].

A quoted word or phrase can be separated from the source by one or more other utterances when it is directly related to the topic:

Moderator: А взагалі російська мова потребує *захисту* в Україні?

Andrii (rus.): *Защита* – это некорректно. С моей точки зрения, должен быть официальный статус.

Viktor (rus.): Не *защита*, а атака (сміється).

Janina (rus.): Лучшая *защита* – нападение.

Andrii (rus.): Он не является чем-то ущербным, чтобы его *защищать*. Нужен официальный статус.

Janina (ukr.): Спекулювати так можна тільки з некультурними людьми.

Julija (rus.): Провокационное само вот это понятие *захисту* [Kyiv 18–35].

Quite often, these splashes are associated with names of the Ukrainian reality, which the speaker learned in Ukrainian (names of social phenomena, institutions, educational subjects in school and university, etc.):

Viktor (rus.): Был случай – у меня друг, он из Феодосии. Он знал исключительно русский язык, он учился в Академии внутренних дел. И преподаватель *держави і права зарубіжних країн*, такой предмет, принимал у него экзамен. Тот ему рассказал – всё хорошо. А друг Александр был отличником, образованный, грамотный. Тот говорит:

– Всё то же самое, только на украинском языке.

– Вы извините, я не учил. У нас в Феодосии в школе не было украинского языка. Я даже книжку *Государство и право* нашел в библиотеке. Ну, не могу я.

– Давай и всё.

Трижды ходил на пересдачу. В итоге пошел к другому преподавателю [Kyiv 18–35].

4. The opposition *мова* – *язык*

Despite the fact that, in the various focus groups, the participants revealed significantly different quantitative indicators for changing the language code, the reasons for these changes are quite similar. The topic discussed by the focus groups (i.e., language behaviour and bilingualism) contributed to the emergence of interference phenomena related to the concept of ‘language’ – ‘a set of deliberately reproducible phonetic signs, generally accepted within a given society for existing phenomena and concepts, as well as generally accepted rules for combining them in the process of expressing thoughts’ (*Slovník ukrajins’koi movy* 1970–1980, Vol. 4, 768). In the Ukrainian literary language, the feminine noun *мова* is used, which has several meanings, while in Russian the masculine noun *язык* is used, which is also polysemous, but also has another volume of additional meanings (see Table 1).⁷ Moreover, the two lexemes manifest themselves differently with regards to syntax, e.g., ukr. *говорити* / *розмовляти українською* / *російською мовою*; rus. *говорить* / *разговаривать на русском* / *украинском языке*.

Table 1: Correlation of the basic meanings of the nouns 'мова' (ukr.) and 'язык' (rus.)

Semantics	Ukrainian	Russian
1. The ability of a human being to speak, to express his thoughts. <i>Має добре слово в світі сирота.., Та ніхто про матір на сміх не спита, А Йвася спитають.. Не дадуть до мови дитині дожити</i> (Т. Ševčenko).	мова (fem.)	язык (masc.)
2. A set of deliberately reproducible phonetic signs, generally accepted within a given society for existing phenomena and concepts, as well as generally accepted rules for combining them in the process of expressing thoughts. <i>Найбільше і найдорожче добро в кожного народу – це його мова</i> (Panas Myrnyj).	мова (fem.)	язык (masc.)
2a. A certain type of this combination in the process of expressing thoughts showing particular characteristic features. <i>Хто нікчемну душу має, То така ж у нього й мова</i> (Lesja Ukrajinca).	мова (fem.)	язык (masc.)
3. Speech peculiar to somebody; manner of speaking. <i>Лякають дитину й дядьків погляд, і його буркотлива мова</i> (М. Stel'mach).	мова (fem.), мовлення (neutr.)	язык (masc.), речь (fem.)
4. Someone's words, utterances. <i>Старий Семен говорив довго; його мова чимдаліш пливла вільніше та скоріше, як вода на лотоках</i> (М. Кочубyns'kyj).	мова (fem.)	язык (masc.)
5. A public speech on a certain subject; address. <i>Оборонець говорить довго та гарно, а Гнат цілою істотою відповідає на його мову: «так, так»...</i> (М. Кочубyns'kyj).	мова (fem.)	речь (fem.), разговор (masc.)
6. Something that expresses a certain thought, that can be a means of communication. <i>Одним з головних завдань студента-композитора є набуття ним майстерності досконалого володіння матеріалом.., музичною мовою</i> (Mystectvo).	мова (fem.)	язык (masc.)
7. The tongue is a muscular organ in the mouth of most vertebrates that manipulates food for mastication, it is used in the act of swallowing and determines taste.	язык (masc.)	язык (masc.)

This divergence in the semantic structure and the different grammatical characteristics of the Ukrainian noun *мова* and the Russian noun *язык* contribute to certain deviations from the norms of usage.

On the one hand, there occurs the *conscious* use of the noun *мова* in Russian-language utterances marking the Ukrainian language itself, in particular as the state language or the native one, whereas *язык* in a Ukrainian-language context may mark Russian or generally another language:

Dmytro (rus.): Это вот вы, действительно, я слушаю, вот вы все разговариваете *нормальной украинской мовой*, я спокойно это всё понимаю. А там такой грубый язык. И главное вот предложение, в котором может быть два слова русских, причём чисто, знаете, вот чисто такой русский язык. А остальные все украинские [Charkiv 18–35];

Iryna (rus.): То есть, человек может разговаривать на русском языке, но знать, что *государственный язык, державна мова – украинский*. Поэтому я считаю, что на сегодняшний день достаточно украинского языка. И дети учат, знают [Odesa 18–35];

Vitalij (rus.): *Рідна мова – это та, на которой разговаривает твоя семья, твоя семья, которая дома, на которой ты общаешься*. То есть, если человек общается дома на русском, то *родной язык – русский* [Kyiv 36–65];

Illja (rus.): Общеизвестно. *Рідна мова – это та, на которой человек думает* [Odesa 36–65];

Natalja (ukr.): В Одесі буде вся документація державного значення / буде вестись *українською мовою, чи тим язиком, який визначать регіонально?* [Odesa 36–65];

Dmytro (rus.): У меня один мой знакомый был когда-то на Шустер, не знаю, как он называется, назывался. Вот он рассказывал, говорит, не буду называть имён этих политиков, они и сейчас у власти, они *на такой украинской мове разговаривали*. А вышли в курилку и все *на великом и могучем начали разговаривать* [Charkiv 18–35];

Rymma (ukr.): Мені здається, якщо *української мови* не буде взагалі, якщо зроблять єдиною мовою *російську*. *То будет язык* [Charkiv 18–35];

Kostjantyn (rus.): Пусть люди общаются на каком хотят языке, а мова, она *государственная*, одна. И никаких проблем [Charkiv 36–65].

Sometimes this conscious usage is associated with citation (in particular repeating an interlocutor's utterance) or the inclusion of a whole Ukrainian-language sentence in the Russian-language context:

Vorys (rus.): Я просто скажу, я поддерживаю Владимира и Виталия, не должно быть никаких предпочтений [...] Должна быть, как говорит Сергей, *«єдина державна українська мова»* [Kyiv 36–65];

Daryna (rus.): *Я вважаю, повинна бути одна-єдина мова – українська*. Если мы приезжаем в Англию – нам не делают русский или украинский дубликат. То есть, мы должны быть на территории своей страны и общаться на государственном. В быту – по-одному. А документально, это больше в учреждениях, должны на украинском [Kyiv 18–35].

Citation may be associated with negative emotions, for instance, remembering an insult related to language behaviour:

Serhij (rus.): Все детство мы прожили / спальный ныне район, и я вот вспоминаю, как переезжали дети с разных сел и говорили *на украинском языке*, и их называли чертями, *чертячья мова* [Charkiv 36–65].

Furthermore, citation may allude to a commonly known piece of discourse:

Bohdan (rus.): Для них *украинский язык*, пардон – *«теляча мова»*. Никто не собирався учить *язык* [Odesa 18–35].

Obviously, the participant hinted at the well-known *Youtube* video where a police officer in Odesa refused to communicate with a driver in Ukrainian and called this language «ваш телячий язык» ('your calf's tongue') (*Dorožnyj kontrol'* 2011). In the Ukrainian public space, this phrase is used without explanation, compare, e.g., L. VOLOŠYNA's (2017) article *Чому україномовні українці мають виправдовуватися?* ('Why do Ukrainian-speaking Ukrainians have to justify themselves?'): «Коли продавець або дрібний клерк вперто не бажає звертатися до клієнта мовою держави, навіть більше – вимагає, щоб це клієнт припинив катувати його *вашою телячою мовою*, – це приниження.»

On the other hand, the usage of the Ukrainian lexeme *мова* in a Russian-language context may also be completely *unmotivated* and *unconscious* (beyond the opposition *українська мова – російський язык*). It seems that we have to deal with a general trend here which is caused by the fact that state documentation (including laws) is conducted in Ukrainian, and that terms (social, political, etc.) therefore also get fixed in the minds of Russian speakers predominantly in Ukrainian, as is manifested in the spread of Ukrainian-language socio-political and other terms in the Russian speech:

Viktor (rus.): По *региональной мове* сложно что-то сказать. Мне кажется, того, что уже есть, достаточно, и этот закон совершенно не нужен [Kyiv 18–35];

Oleh (rus.): Унитарное государство, целостное что-то. А не «*мовність*», это одно. Естественно, я на 100% поддерживаю Веру, потому что Швейцария 4 *языка*. И что, она от этого хуже живет, или что? Или в той же Бельгии *две мовы*. Она от этого хуже живет? [Odesa 36–65];

Oleksandr (rus.): Как говорится, мы универсально знаем *две мовы*, а то и ещё больше. И чем больше *языков* ты знаешь, тем лучше для тебя [Charkiv 18–35];

Al'ona (rus.): Тот же самый Казахстан, там *российская мова*... [Charkiv 18–35].

The unmotivated use of the Russian lexeme *язык* in a Ukrainian-language context does not occur that often:

Ljudmyla (ukr.): Ну, як в *україномовній* (школі), там *український язык* [L'viv 36–65];

Hlib (ukr.): Регіональність *языка* от це яось... [Charkiv 18–35].

We can also state that the noun *мова* acquires a conceptual value for Ukrainians, regardless of the language they speak. This is confirmed by the data of a mass survey carried out within the framework of the already mentioned project on the whole territory of Ukraine (except Crimea and the temporarily occupied Donec'k and Luhans'k regions), in which the majority

of respondents (63.8%) gave an affirmative answer to the question “Do you agree with the statement that language is not only a matter of culture but also a matter of national unity and state security?”, although the answers differed greatly according to region. In regions with the lowest number of positive answers (East – 52.3%, in particular Donbas – 47.8%, South – 45.3%) we observed the greatest uncertainty (option “yes and no” or no answer – 29.6%, 36.8%, 36.6% respectively).

Table 2 shows the number of normative and deviant uses of root morphemes denoting the concept of ‘language’ in the utterances of the focus group participants. In general, there are not so many deviations: among Ukrainian-speaking participants, words with the root *-мова-* were used more than 2.5 thousand times, whereas words with the root *-язык-/языч-* were pronounced only 8 times in a Ukrainian-language context, all without a negative connotation, albeit to designate a non-Ukrainian language in half of the cases. However, Russian-speaking participants, denoting the concept of ‘language’ with help of the Russian root more than 1,200 times, turned to its Ukrainian counterpart 90 times.

Table 2: Use of root morphemes denoting the concept of ‘language’ in the utterances of the focus group participants

Focus group	Words containing root morphemes			
	<i>-мова-</i>		<i>-язык-/языч-</i>	
	Groups of speakers			
	Ukrainian-speaking	Russian-speaking	Russian-speaking	Ukrainian-speaking
L’viv 18–35	290	7	132	1
L’viv 36–65	447	3	45	1
Kyiv 18–35	459	9	137	0
Kyiv 36–65	321	3	164	0
Odesa 18–35	292	6	156	0
Odesa 36–65	449	20	188	2
Charkiv 18–35	231	14	224	3
Charkiv 36–65	100	4	195	1
Total	2,589	90	1,241	8

An increased frequency of use of the noun *мова* and its derivatives is evident in utterances of Russian-speaking youth – L’viv (7), Kyiv (9) and Charkiv (14), as well as those of Odesa inhabitants of both age groups (6 – younger and 20 – older age group). This usage is recorded in the speech of different representatives while some other language deviations (for example, the use of the adjective *русский* in a Ukrainian context) only occur as individual phenomena. It seems likely that the speech of Russian-speaking Ukrainians (especially under conditions of bilingual communication) is influenced by a Ukrainian-language conceptualization of the surrounding world, manifested, in particular, through the use of the word *мова* (to mark the concept ‘Ukrainian language’ above all). In Russian utterances, an adjective referring to the concept of ‘language’, isolated or distant from the noun *язык*, is quite often used in the

feminine form, although it should be in agreement with the noun *язык* in terms of gender, showing the masculine form. Conceptionally, it probably refers to ukr. *мова* (fem.). At the same time, in the context of bilingual communication, cases of elementary mixing of units of the two languages were observed, not related to conceptualization. The use of the word *язык* in Ukrainian utterances, which definitely shows features of conceptualization (with a negative connotation) in journalism, was only found in rarer cases in our material, primarily as a mistake.

5. The opposition *мова – язык* and grammatical interference

It is mainly the bilingual communication situation (and not confusion about the gender of a particular noun under the influence of the contact language)⁸ that, in Russian-language utterances, preceded by a Ukrainian one, leads to the discrepancy between the gender of the noun *язык* (masc.) and that of a dependent adjective located in a distant or isolated position:

Vitalij (rus.): *Государственный язык* (masc.) есть в каждом государстве: в Англии – *английская* (fem.), во Франции – *французская* (fem.), в России – *российская* (fem.), и соответственно у нас должна быть *украинская* (fem.) [Kyiv 36–65].

Moderator: Тобто у вас рідна *російська* (fem.). А *мова* (fem.) *повсякденного спілкування у вас яка* (fem.)?

Oleh (rus.): Тоже *российская* (fem.). Но иногда надо говорить по-украински, хоть и ломано. Надо отвечать и общаться. А *повседневный – русский язык* (masc.) [Odesa 36–65];

Moderator: А що ви вкладасте в такє поняття, як «рідна *мова* (fem.)»?

Tetjana (ukr.): Це *мова, якою* (fem.) розмовляють твої батьки.

Julija (rus.): *Которой* (fem.) научили разговаривать с детства [Kyiv 18–35];

Moderator: ... *якою мовою* (fem.) має вестися діловодство? Діловодство в державних установах тих регіонів, де переважає *російська мова* (fem.). *Якою мовою* (fem.) там має вестися діловодство?

Jurij (ukr.): *Українською* (fem.).

Daryna (rus.): Конечно, *украинской* (fem.). Кому надо – садите переводчика. Почему мы, приезжая в другие страны, должны себе нанимать переводчика? [Kyiv 18–35];

Dmytrij⁹ (rus.): В большей степени, хотелось бы, чтобы *украинская* (fem.), так как мы – Украина [Kyiv 18–35].

⁸ Practical evidence from interference studies shows that mistakes in the use of the gender of nouns occur only if the corresponding lexemes are borrowed or if their grammatical design is identical, but with different gender affiliation: ukr. *ярмарок* (masc.) – rus. *ярмарка* (fem.); ukr. *собака* (masc.) – rus. *собака* (fem.) (КОСЦУБЕJ 2010).

⁹ This group had two members with the same name. We therefore refer to one of them as Dmytro, and to the other as Dmytrij.

Sometimes, after the appearance of the noun *язык* in the text, the gender of the corresponding adjective is changed in accordance with the noun:

Julija (rus.): Сама идея хорошая. Но мне кажется, что на этой почве, само понятие *региональная* (fem.), могут возникнуть какие-то конфликты, какое-то разделение. Само слово *региональная* (fem.), оно означает какое-то разделение на какие-то регионы. А если предыдущее, что мы обсуждали, *официальный язык* (masc.) – он более мягче, он эти углы сглаживает. Не регионы – мы что-то делим. А просто мы что-то вводим, мы разрешаем. *Официальный язык* (masc.) здесь больше подошел бы [Kyiv 18–35].

However, among all the focus groups, only one Ukrainian-speaking participant from Odesa used adjectives concerning the concept of 'мова' (fem.) in the masculine gender subconsciously referring to the word *язык* (masc.):

Iryna (rus.): Да. Тогда, может, независимости были пару лет. Наши родители с Советского Союза больше разговаривали *на русском языке* (masc.), поэтому это не было настолько престижно. Чем дальше, тем больше.

Moderator: Тобто вже дійсно переходить в якусь норму спілкування. Єдина країна – *єдина мова* (fem.).

Stepan (ukr.): *Російський* (masc.) був типу як *міжнародний* (masc.). Величезна країна, *міжсоюзний* (masc.). А зараз *англійський* (masc.) [Odesa 18–35].

Not everyone who spoke Ukrainian followed the strong norms of non-prepositional verbal government *говорити / розмовляти мовою*, and some even occasionally used forms of non-prepositional and prepositional government in parallel within the same utterance:

Oksana (ukr.): Я вважаю, що державна мова вона одна і вона є. Але, якщо є люди, які розмовляють *іншими мовами*, то повинні заохочувати розмовляти *на державній мові* і в ніякому разі не нав'язувати. Тобто, люди самі повинні прийти до того, що будуть розмовляти *державною мовою*. Нехай вже там ті покоління, які розмовляли *російською*, там люди старшого віку, нехай вони вже розмовляють *на російській*, як їм зручно. А якось, не знаю, заохочувати, привчати людей розмовляти добровільно. Ні в якому разі не заборонами якимось там [Charkiv 18–35].

Sometimes (but not always) a parallelism of prepositional and non-prepositional forms is associated with complementary distribution with respect to the denoted languages (*українською мовою* versus *на російській мові*):

Jurij (ukr.): Я навчався в технікумі, і у нас не було такого, що вчитель казав, що потрібно розмовляти *українською мовою*. Я відповідав *українською мовою*, так як мені це було зручніше. В мене були однокурсники, які відповідали *на російській мові*. Вчили завдання *на російській мові* і відповідали *на російській мові*. В мене навіть був вчитель, який викладав соціологію *на російській мові* [Kyiv 18–35].

A similar parallelism is observable in Russian-language utterances, although the non-prepositional construction is not characteristic in Russian, thus constituting a fact of interference:

Dmytrij (rus.): Я считаю, престижно – *украинским*, так как мы живем на Украине и у нас очень много русскоязычных людей. То есть, даже тех, кто знает украинский, но по большей степени, как я, разговаривают *на русском* [Kyiv 18–35].

6. The lexemes *російський* – *руський* (ukr.) and *российский* – *русский* (rus.) in bilingual speech

The subjects discussed in the focus groups led to the active use of the names of the two languages (Ukrainian and Russian) and of the ethnic groups to which they relate (Ukrainian and Russian). In Ukrainian, the noun *росіяни* denotes both representatives of the corresponding East Slavic people (nation), and inhabitants of Russia as a whole, whereas in Russian these meanings are lexically differentiated as *русские* and *россияне*. Accordingly, the Ukrainian adjective *російський* has two correspondences in the Russian language – *русский* (concerning the East Slavic people, in particular their language) and *российский* (applying to all residents of Russia or the country itself).

We may certainly consider the use of the adjective *российский* to be wrong in the word combination *российский язык*:

Moderator: Не відходимо від мови. А от якою мовою, от вас питають, що ви запишете собі в перепису? *Російську мову*, так?
Jurij (rus.): *Росийский язык*, да [L'viv 36–65];

Ol'ha (rus.): Ну мне почему-то глупо, ну извините, но разговаривать *на украинском* только потому что против *российского языка* [Charkiv 36–65].

Meanwhile, in Ukrainian-language contexts, we observed the adjective *руський* and the adverb *по-руськи* denoting the Russian language, which may be a case of citing:

Tetjana (ukr.): Ви знаєте, у мене була цікава ситуація, мій батько бачив мене у Мос-кві, в художній академії, у них у всіх – у батьків, у дідів – співуча така мова, в кого підкиївська, в кого черкаська, тут же поверталися до мене і *по-руськи*, бо у дитини – *за руським будуще*. Тому я думаю, що це просто те, що людина сама собі обрала вже. От у мене така думка. Я для себе обрала – переважно *українська*, але *російська* ще не вийшла з мене [Kyiv 36–65].

In the following utterance of a Kyiv inhabitant, the form *руський*, denoting a representative of the Russian ethnos, may be considered a phenomenon of interference:

Ol'ha (ukr.): У моїй сім'ї зять у мене *руський*, дочка українка, зять *на російській* розмовляє, онучки теж, але вони можуть зі мною спілкуватися і *на українській*, і *на російській мові*, але у більшості розмовляють *на російській мові* [Kyiv 36–65].

In the speech of L'viv inhabitants, the form *руський* and the corresponding adverb denoting 'Ukrainian' is rather a regionalism,¹⁰ compare its use in a local toponym:

Natalja (ukr.): Мама сюди приїхала вчителювати в 59-му році і батько в мене взагалі, хутір з-під *Рави-Руської*, тобто такий стовідсотковий галичанин [L'viv 36–65].

7. Final remarks

The situation of simultaneous communication in two closely related languages (using the principle 'everyone speaks their own language') creates conditions for permanently switching speech codes, both consciously and unconsciously. In general, unconscious switching prevailed in all groups under investigation.

Among the youth, a certain linguistic stability can be observed, even regardless of linguistic preferences. Exceptions are Russian-speaking L'viv inhabitants, who are more influenced by the general language background of their place of residence. Concerning the Ukrainian-speaking youth, language stability can be explained by the impact of the educational process, which is also Ukrainian-speaking in mostly Russian-speaking regions (Odesa, Kyiv, to a lesser extent, Charkiv).

In contrast, representatives of the older generation are more strongly affected by the general language background of their place of residence, as the highest degree of code-switching is to be found among senior Russian-speaking L'viv residents and senior Ukrainian-speaking Odesa and Charkiv residents. With regards to senior Russian-speaking Kyiv residents, who also demonstrate a high degree of code-switching, they were most likely Ukrainian-speaking in their youth. They probably came to Kyiv from Ukrainian-speaking regions but were educated in Russian and used it in professional activities.

The speech of Russian-speaking Ukrainians is influenced by a Ukrainian-language conceptualization of the world, which is manifested, in particular, through the use of the word *мова* (to mark the concept 'Ukrainian language' above all). At the same time, in the context of bilingual communication, cases of elementary mixing of units of the two languages are observed, not related to conceptualization. Thus, the rare use of the word *язык* in Ukrainian-language utterances tends to occur rather as a mistake, unlike in journalism where it shows features of conceptualization (with a negative connotation).

The rare use of the adjective *россійський* denoting 'русский' in the Russian speech of Ukrainians, as well as the use of the adjective *руський* in Ukrainian utterances has purely linguistic reasons (related to interference, citation, dialect features) and is not related to conceptualization.

The linguistic analysis of texts of focus group discussions in bilingual audiences provides excellent material for the study of the peculiarities of switching language codes, and can be used in the future as a fruitful method of research.

¹⁰ The dictionary contains the corresponding meaning of the adjective *руський* with the stylistic mark *застаріле, західне* ('outdated, western') (*Slovník ukrajins'koji movy 1970–1980*. Vol. 8. 913).

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