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Power, Prestige, and Stigma:
Language Regard of Voronezh Russian Speakers toward the Voiced Velar Fricative

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Abstract

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This dissertation examines perceptions of Voronezh residents to the use of the voiced velar fricative in Southern Russian varieties (/noɣa/ vs. /noga/ ‘leg’). There is significant stigma assigned to Southern Russian varieties (Andrews 1999, Krysin 2004). This in part is due to the imposition of linguistic norms via prescriptivism (Milroy & Milroy 1991). Within Russia, prescriptivism has led to publication of normative works, whose effects have raised the prestige of the modern standard literary variety over other varieties (Benson 1961). This is reinforced by language ideologies that are monoglossic – they erase diversity by promoting a single standard variety over all others and stigmatize some speakers of other varieties as incapable of demonstrating language proficiency based on linguistic ideals (Rosa & Burdick 2017).

Lambert (1967) and Preston (2010) have shown that stereotypes about groups of people can be expressed through attitudes about speakers’ use of language. This study presents findings from online survey responses showing Voronezh speakers’ attitudes toward the voiced velar fricative. The survey had three parts: (1) demographic questions, (2) ten audio samples followed by scalar questions, and (3) open-ended questions about perceptions to the voiced velar fricative.

Ultimately, the following four questions, connected to the study of language regard that in Russia have had little study are addressed: (1) How do residents of Voronezh perceive and evaluate the use of *ghekanye* in speech? (2) Do Voronezh residents uphold the myth that in order

to obtain a good job, one must speak the standard variety? (3) Will Voronezh residents uphold the myth that *ghekanye* in speech means that a speaker is uneducated? And (4) Will Voronezh residents' implicit attitudes toward *ghekayne* differ from their explicit attitudes?

Dedication

I wish to dedicate this dissertation to my mamaw and papaw, Thelma Moore Collins and Bennett Ray Collins, who always believed in me and inspired me to work with stigmatized and marginalized varieties. I often remember of your talkin', singin', and storytellin' and you'll never know how much it has meant, but all in all it has led me to where I am today. Even though it's taken me a bit longer, than I'd've liked, I've stuck with it, cause in the end of it all, I was learnt good. You are gone, but your belief in me has made this journey all the more possible.

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CONVENTIONS:

This dissertation makes use of both abbreviations for various groups, titles of audio samples used as stimuli, and language groups, as well as romanization of the Cyrillic alphabet. The abbreviations and romanization table are provided here for reference. Alternations to the ALA-LC system are noted with an *. The primary differences are lack of diacritics on consonant and diphthongs.

This dissertation uses a modified version of the American Library Association – Library of Congress (ALA-LC) transliteration for romanization of the Russian Cyrillic alphabet as follows:

Аа	<i>Aa</i>	Ии	<i>Ii</i>	Сс	<i>Ss</i>	҃ъ	“
Бб	<i>Bb</i>	Йй	<i>Ii</i>	Тт	<i>Tt</i>	҃ы	<i>Yy</i>
Вв	<i>Vv</i>	Кк	<i>Kk</i>	Үү	<i>Uu</i>	҃ь	‘
Гг	<i>Gg</i>	Лл	<i>Ll</i>	Фф	<i>Ff</i>	҃э	<i>Èè</i>
Дд	<i>Dd</i>	Мм	<i>Mm</i>	Хх	<i>Kh</i>		
Ее	<i>Ee</i>	Нн	<i>Nn</i>	Цц	<i>Ts*</i>	҃ю	<i>Iu*</i>
Ёё	<i>Ёё</i>	Оо	<i>Oo</i>	Чч	<i>Ch</i>	҃я	<i>Ia*</i>
Жж	<i>Zh</i>	Пп	<i>Pp</i>	Шш	<i>Sh</i>		
Зз	<i>Zz</i>	Рр	<i>Rr</i>	Щщ	<i>Shch</i>		

ABBREVIATIONS:

ALA-LC –American Library Association – Library of Congress

LR – Language Regard

MGT – Matched Guise Technique

MGtest – Matched Guise test

PD – Perceptual Dialectology

SRLV – Standard Russian Literary variety

SRV – Southern Russian variety(ies)

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

«[...] чрезмерная нормализация зловредна:
она выхолащивает язык,
лишиая его гибкости.
Никогда не надо забывать
отрицательного примера Французской академии.»
-L.V. Shcherba (1958)¹

Something as natural as language can be used, among other things, as instrument to uplift and inspire its speakers, but also it is known that some varieties hold more prestige than others depending on the cultural or social context (Milroy 2001). However, within every language with abundant speech varieties, it can be difficult to determine which variety is more prestigious. According to Preston (2010) cognitive factors which can determine the shape of a response to a language event, can also help determine the level of prestige a variety is allocated. The speech event begins with the way in which we exercise our speech organs, it is heard, and then is processed by any given hearer. This, then, necessarily leads to a whole array of cognitive processes that the hearer uses to make assessments of the speaker at various levels, including but not limited to social status and level of intelligence. The hearer of these speech sounds, can change their entire regard, stance, and attitude toward and of a speaker in an instant, based solely, for example, on a single phoneme that has been transmitted through the air.

Back in the spring of 2016, I was working on a paper, the goal of which was to assess by content analysis how Russian speakers regard various linguistic features that are generally considered non-normative as compared to the Russian standard literary variety (here after RSLV). This analysis was, by and large, inspired by the fact that it has already been shown that certain speakers of varieties of any language may sometimes, and by some, be associated

¹ “[...] excessive standardization is pernicious: it emasculates language, depriving it of its flexibility. One should never forget the negative example of the French academy.” In this dissertation, all translations are mine unless specified otherwise.

with less intelligence, and having poorer social skills (Bradac 1990). This is especially true in the Russian context where the effects of standardization have led to the increase of prestige to the so-called literary variety (Benson 1961). As explicated by Milroy (2001), the rise in the prestige of the standard literary variety, its codification in widely used grammar books and dictionaries, and its promotion in a wide range of functions – all lead to the devaluing of other non-standard varieties.

From my 2016 analysis of comments made on carefully selected linguistic features by various fora users, it became clear that the features that gained the most attention, which were albeit negative, were described as belonging to southern Russian varieties (hereafter SRV). One of the themes that were discovered during this analysis were that the production of voiced velar fricative in the positions in which the voiced velar stop was expected (the phenomenon hereafter referred to as *ghekanye*) was regarded as: not cultured, funny, amusing, annoying, disgusting, awful, ugly, ungrammatical, respectful, calmly. The last two items in the list do not appear to be negative, but the general conclusion that emerged was that *ghekanye* was evaluated negatively by comments on social media and fora. It was overall clear that the social prestige of what appears to be regarded as the literary pronunciation in modern Russian society is higher than the social prestige of the pronunciation from other linguistic varieties, especially those that contain *ghekanye*. Below are examples of RSLV vs. SRV (cf. [g] vs. [ɣ] and [k] vs. [x])²:

- (1) RSLV vs. SRV
- a. [s^jn̥egə] vs. [s^jn̥eyə]
snow.GEN.SG.M vs. snow.GEN.SG.M
 - b. [got] vs. [ɣot]
year.NOM.SG.M vs. year.NOM.SG.M

² All of my own examples will be given using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

c. [mok] ³	vs.	[mox]
can.PAST.SG.M		can.PAST.SG.M

The respondents in the analysis often criticized a failure to maintain the rules of the standard literary variety in speech and writing. This analysis also informed several of open-ended questions that were to be investigated further and will be made explicit in the coming sections of this dissertation. The respondents' use of ethnic slurs and overall negative evaluation of the linguistic phenomena lead me to create questions to inquire if respondents have ever been made fun of for using *ghekanye* and if they think that those who live in the south of Russia where *ghekanye* is predominately found are overall uneducated. Even though a speaker's variety has nothing to do with many aspects of life, individuals who speak stigmatized varieties continue to be rejected on the basis of their speech (Wolfram 1999). The linguistic features of and lexical differences within SRV show the low prestige of and, in some instances, linguistic prejudice that are perpetuated by speakers of SRLV.

What has intrigued me the most, however, is that majority of the respondents were not, in fact, from areas where *ghekanye* is found. That is to say, the likelihood that the respondents would be exposed to *ghekanye* on a regular basis would be, at best, minimal. This, coupled with the idea that in literate societies one of the primary motivations for acquiring the prestige language is its identification with education, which transfers to its being valued as a class symbol (Kahane 1986), has led me to want to understand and observe how those who have grown up in an area where *ghekanye* can be encountered, and, thus, possibly acquired it as a feature of their native variety, would evaluate speakers who use *ghekanye*. Will prestige of and prejudice toward *ghekanye* change for a speaker of Russian

³ In Russian pronunciation, all voiced consonants at the end of the word are pronounced like their voiceless counterparts (see Avanesov 1956; Jakobson 1956; Halle 1959). In (1)c. [mok] is underlyingly /mog/, but due to the constraint of final consonant devoicing appears as [k], so in varieties with [χ], the surface form will be realized as [x], which in the present study is also accounted for as an instance of *ghekanye*.

speech variety who themselves exhibits linguistic features that are of lower prestige possibly to the point of *ghekanye* itself becoming a status symbol, a symbol of pride?

1.1. Purpose of the Present Study

The purpose of the present dissertation is to add to existing research in the sociolinguistic fields of perceptual dialectology, language regard, and language attitudes, as well as understanding of how perceptions and attitudes can affect the change in *ghekanye* speakers in regions where it was historically found. The present study in particular investigates how Voronezh speakers regard the phenomenon of *ghekanye*. Voronezh a city and the administrative center of Voronezh Oblast in the Russia Federation and the thirteenth most populous city in Russia as of 2010 (rosstat 2013).

There is significant stigma assigned to SRV (Andrews 1999; Krysin 2004). This, in part, is due to the imposition of prescriptive linguistic norms (Milroy & Milroy 1991). Within the former Soviet Union as well as the Russian Federation, prescriptivism has led to the publication of normative works (see, for example, Shcherba (1958), *Izbrannye raboty po jazykoznaniju i fonetike* (Selected works on linguistics and phonetics), Gartman (2018), *Reč kak meč. Kak govorиш по-русски правил'но* (Speech is like a sword. How you speak Russian correctly)), whose effects have elevated the prestige of the standard variety over all other varieties (Benson 1961). Despite a turn from prescriptivism in some works of the late 1970s and 1980s as well as into the 2000s, particularly by Krysin (1979, 1982, 1988, 1989, 2004, 2007), within the Russian linguistic tradition one still neglected area of research is the examination of language attitudes toward non-standard speech. While language regard and attitudes studies such as Andrews (1995) and Krause et al. (2003) have been conducted regarding metalinguistic knowledge of Russian speakers about the regional varieties of their language and on their attitudes towards them, to date no studies have been conducted to study the language regard and attitudes of southern Russian speakers toward the SRV phenomenon

of *ghekanye*. The city of Voronezh provides an excellent location for the conducting of the study of this phenomenon. The location of Voronezh within the southern territory of the Russian Federation will allow for the observation of attitudinal variation in an urban center where *ghekanye* has historically been observed to exist.

The explicit mentioning in linguistic literature of two phonetic realizations of what is understood to be the Russian phoneme /g/ can be seen as early as in the 18th century with Lomonosov's (1755) *Rossiiskaia grammatika*⁴ (Russian grammar). According to Lomonosov (1755:48), in the Russian language, there are velar stop consonants /g/ and /k/ as in *glaz* 'eye' and *rog* 'horn' "which correspond to the Latin 'g'" and fricative consonants /ɣ/ and /χ/ as in *blago* 'blessing, benefit' and *bog* 'god' "which correspond to the Latin 'h'". Trediakovski (1849:260-1) also remarks on the pronunciation of 'g' by saying, "...without any argument, all of us Russians pronounce our 'g' like the Latin 'h'. ...[though] none of us pronounce the word *gus* 'goose', and countless others, as it is written, that is like Latin 'h', but instead as the Latin 'g'. However, we write all of these words using 'g' despite pronouncing /g/." It must be noted, that the term *ghekanye* is not used by either Lomonosov or Trediakovski to describe the dual realization of the Russian phoneme /g/. I am using the term *ghekanye* for the phenomenon due to the usage by native speakers today. As far as the present-day language is concerned, the social prestige of the two pronunciations is not identical: the production of the voiced velar stop (hereafter *non-ghekanye*) in speech which corresponds to the phonetic norm is more prestigious than *ghekanye* (Andrews 1995; Krysin 2003, 2004).

1.2. The Study

The purpose of the present study was achieved by means of online survey, which used eight recorded news headlines as audio stimuli with either the *non-ghekanye* or the *ghekanye*

⁴ All examples that are quoted will be transliterated using the American Library Accusation – Library of Congress (ALA-LC) transliteration.

pronunciation. Many researchers, including Lambert (1960, 1967), Preston (1999b, 2002) and Niedzielski (1999), have determined that perceptions of and stereotypes regarding groups of people can be found in perceptions of and attitudes toward the language which speakers in those groups of people use. The online survey utilized in the present study was given to native speakers of the Russian speech variety from the city of Voronezh and was comprised of three parts: 1) demographic and background questions, 2) a series of short-recorded news headlines followed by scalar questions about each individual speaker, and 3) direct, open-ended questions regarding the use and significance of *ghekanye* to Voronezh speakers⁵. As designed, the study addresses the following research questions (RQs) and hypotheses (Hs), each of which will be discussed and further explicated in depth in Chapter §4:

RQ1. How do residents of Voronezh perceive and evaluate the use of *ghekanye* in speech?

H1. Voronezh residents will more negatively evaluate the evaluate *ghekanye* in speech, particularly in status categories relating to superiority.

RQ2. Do Voronezh residents uphold the myth that in order to obtain a good job, one must speak the standard variety?

H2. Respondents will maintain that in order to achieve a good job one must get rid of one's non-standard variety.

RQ3. Will Voronezh residents uphold the myth that *ghekanye* in speech means that a speaker is uneducated?

H3. Respondents will maintain that *ghekanye* is a sign of low education.

RQ4. Will Voronezh residents' implicit attitudes toward *ghekayne* differ from their explicit attitudes?

⁵ A full version of the survey in both English and in Russian is located in Appendix B of this dissertation.

H4. Respondents will hold clearly defined implicit bias against *ghekanye*, while explicit attitudes will be less negatively marked.

To interpret responses to RQ1, I, first, conducted a quantitative analysis of respondent evaluations of the audio samples. The results have shown that Voronezh speakers do in fact more negatively evaluate *ghekanye*.

With the RQ2 and RQ3, I wanted to gain a greater understanding of attitudes and beliefs in Voronezh and how these attitudes can play a role in the social status one is able to achieve in the areas of career and education. Respondents tended to uphold the myth that in order to get a good job one must get rid of their non-standard variety, *ghekanye* included. The myth regarding education was more varied and contradicted the evaluative matched-guise portion of the survey within the scope of RQ1. There is a trend to not mark explicitly a speaker as uneducated if *ghekanye* is present, but instead ascribe them rural status, while the evaluations from the matched guise portion of the study stigmatize *ghekanye* speakers.

With RQ4, I wanted to allow for greater understanding of both implicit and explicit language attitudes toward *ghekanye*. I analyzed respondent attitudes toward speakers. The intent of this analysis was to ascertain implicit attitudes and regard which participants from Voronezh have for the use of *ghekanye*.

In addition to contributions to the understanding of the linguistic community in Voronezh, this study provides some small benefit in adding to the sparse literature on evaluation and perception of this phenomenon in general. These results will, hopefully, provide additional understanding of at least some aspects of linguistic identity and social stereotypes in contemporary Russian society.

1.3. Dissertation Structure

Following this introduction, chapter §2 contains a detailed account of the phenomenon of *ghekanye*, including the areal breakdown of *ghekanye* as well as relevant

scholarly research on the attitudes and ideologies of this phenomenon. The areal breakdown and relative chronology of the development of the phenomenon of *ghekanye*, will be used to position it first into a larger context of other Slavic languages where, specifically, it is found in the standard varieties and where it is accounted for as simply a dialectism, that is outside of the standard variety. Proceeding from this, relevant scholarly research on attitudes and ideologies will be used to show the historic and contemporary treatment of and attitudes toward *ghekanye*.

In chapter §3, I describe the theoretical framework I use regarding sociolinguistic research on language regard and attitudes. This chapter describes work relevant to the development and understanding of language attitudes in linguistics by giving an overview of different methods of measuring and quantifying attitudinal data, as well as summarizing relevant works in the field of perceptual dialectology. This chapter will attempt to connect language regard and perceptual dialectology to standard language ideologies.

Chapter §4 presents the detailed methodology of the study, including research questions and hypotheses, and the construction of the various survey sections as well as the creation of the guises used in the study. Here I also give a detailed account of the respondents, who they are based on a breakdown of demographic information, and explain the methods used to elicit and analyze both the implicit and explicit attitudes from the respondents.

Chapter §5 contains a quantitative analysis of the results of the matched-guise portion of the survey presented in both descriptive and inferential statistical forms. The analysis looked at the respondents' evaluations of the audio guises by evaluation within 18 attributes. The first assessment was for the standard guise as it compares to the *ghekanye* guise. A second assessment was comparing the same guises when the gender of the speaker is different. This was useful in seeing if there are any significant differences within the

perception of the gender of the individual as it relates to the guise. The statistical procedure took into account age, gender, and education, as well as employed a two-tailed *t*-test for independent samples. I separated the respondents by gender, age, and education which resulted in smaller samples for which the statistical significance was calculated.

Chapter §5 also contains results of a qualitative analysis of the open-ended questions. Here, the speakers voiced their attitudes regarding the general notion of standard language vs. dialectisms and then in particular regarding *ghekanye*. This portion of the study was devised so that by collecting data from speakers on topics related to differences in speech more nuanced beliefs about intelligibility, regionalism, and correctness could be gathered (following Niedzielski & Preston 2000:97-126). The process of qualitative data coding, as described by Saldaña (2009), was closely followed and the themes in the responses that emerged through the process of cyclical coding were explored. An analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions was conducted by coding the responses for polarity on a scale from positive to negative, and identifying themes present, similar to interpretive repertoires (Hyrkestedt & Kalaja 1998, as referenced in Garrett 2010:161). I also juxtaposed four myths that are commonly discussed on internet fora in relation to SRV. By examining the discourse of members of a community that have grown up in a linguistic environment that itself is viewed as a substandard one or is in close contact with variety perceived as substandard, I hope to better understand how their discourse on issues of cross-dialectal contact, and possibly conflict, reflects or rejects current myths relating to how Russian society operates with respect to *ghekanye*. The primary data was analyzed by encoding responses to the questions as either accepting the myth or rejecting the myth. In this way, I was able to analyze the manner in which the speakers of Voronezh accept or resist these kinds of formulations that place them in a position of disadvantage.

Chapter §6 consists of a detailed discussion of the results. The implicit attitudes expressed in the evaluative results are discussed against the context of standard language ideologies in Russia, and then compared with the explicit attitudes expressed in the open-ended question results. This was done in order to address issues identified by Preston (1989, 1994, 1998) regarding sole use of implicit language attitudes studies and aimed to identify discrepancies between respondents' reported explicit attitudes and elicited implicit attitudes. For this study, this was done by comparing the results of the speakers' evaluation questions and attribute evaluations with the results of a series of direct questions about language use.

Finally, chapter §7 summarizes the major findings of this study and suggests questions to be explored further in future research into language regard and attitudes in Russia and the study of perceptual dialectology in general.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW – A FOCUS ON *GHEKANYE*

“Съ другой стороны действительный недостатокъ оказывается первое въ томъ, что одною буквою ‘г’ принуждены мы означать два разные голоса...”⁶

-A. A. Barsov (1830)

2.1. Introduction

This chapter presents an overview of the history of the linguistic situation as it pertains to *ghekanye* both in general and with respect to the Russian language in particular, including the areal breakdown and the relative chronology of development of *ghekanye*, as well as relevant scholarly research on the attitudes toward and ideologies associated with this phenomenon. Section §2.2 summarizes the relative chronology of the development of the phenomenon referred to here as *ghekanye*; §2.3 gives a brief overview of RSLV orthoepic norms, with specific focus on the functional usage of the voiced velar fricative; §2.4 presents a summary of literature related to the history of Russian dialectology with the focus on the classification of Southern Russian; §2.5 provides an overview of literature related to former and current studies into language attitudes toward *ghekanye*; §2.6 presents a summary of this chapter.

2.2. An Areal Breakdown and Relative Chronology of *Ghekanye*

Before touching on attitudes and orthoepic (pronunciation) norms as they relate to both *ghekanye* and the Russian linguistic context, it is important to discuss and understand the history and relative chronology of what I call here the phenomenon of *ghekanye*. As explained in chapter §1, and repeated here for convenience, *ghekanye*, as it will be understood in this dissertation, is the use of the voiced velar fricative, in the context which in other varieties, the voiced velar stop is found.

⁶ On the other hand, the real drawback turns out to be primarily in the fact that we are forced to signify two different sounds with one letter ‘g’

As such, *ghekanye* is a very well-known phenomenon, which is historically posited as the unconditioned spirantization of late Common Slavic *g that occurred in various dialects (Vondrak 1924; Trubetzkoy 1925; Andersen 1977; Shevelov 1977; Zhovtobrjux et al. 1979; Danylenko 2005). Spirantization is a type of lenition (a sound change through which consonants become more sonorous) whereby stops become fricatives (spirants) (Kenstowicz 1994). The sound change that gave rise to *ghekanye* was also unconditioned, i.e., it modified the sound in all contexts in which the sound occurred.

The relative chronology of the phenomenon is up for some debate among Slavists, though the start of the spirantization of *g in Common Slavic is dated somewhere between the 10th and 13th centuries with the core of the change being centered in modern southwestern Ukraine (see *fig. 1* below), in the Transcarpathian region (Andersen 1969; Danylenko 2005). The change eventually covered a vast area from Bavaria, in the west, to the Oka in the east. In terms of major present-day Slavic languages, the spirantization of *g affected the following languages: Belarusian, Czech, Slovak, and Ukrainian (see label 1 in *fig. 1*); Upper Sorbian, westernmost varieties of Slovene, some northwestern Chakavian varieties of Croatian as well as SRV (see label 2 in *fig. 1*). For the languages of Belarusian, Czech, Slovak, Ukrainian, and Upper Sorbian the spirantization has made its way into the standard variety, while in Russian the spirantized *g remains a regional form found in the southern areas. (Vondrak 1924; Trubetzkoy 1925).

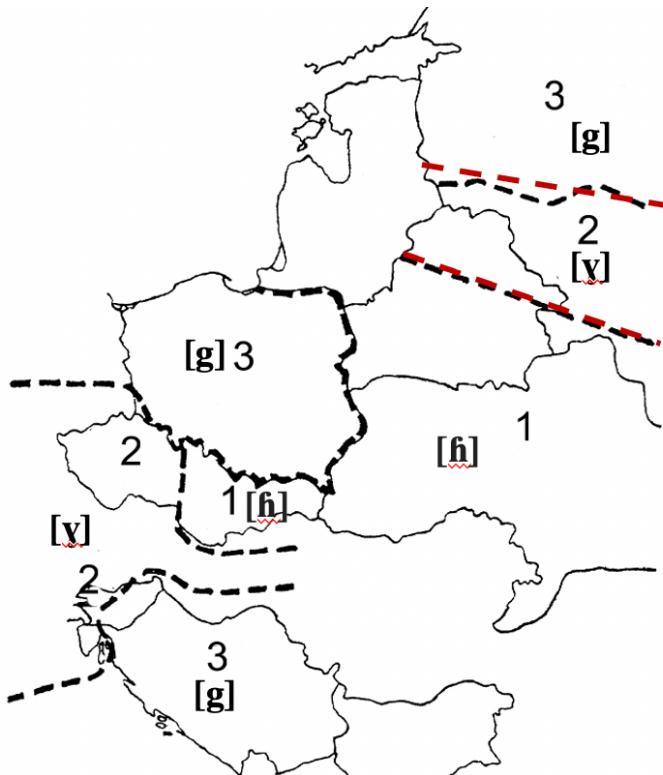


Figure 1. Spirantization of *g
Adapted from Andersen (1969)
Proto-Slavic *g has been spirantized in areas 1 and 2, but not in 3.
Between the red line is the territory of southern Russian

Following the account of the change being centered in modern southwestern Ukraine, as can be seen from *fig. 1*, regions labeled 2 can be considered to be peripheral. These peripheral regions include, among others, many regions parts of southern Russia, whose varieties, according to Sussex and Cubberley (2006:523), “clearly show features transitional to Ukrainian” (see examples 2a,b,c), thus making them distinct from both central Russia and northern Russia. (cf. [g] vs. [ɣ] vs. [h] in examples 2a, b, and c below):

(2) Northern and central Russia	vs.	southern Russia	vs.	Ukrainian
a. [s̪n̪iegə] snow.GEN.SG.M	vs.	[s̪n̪ieɣə] snow.GEN.SG.M	vs.	[s̪n̪iɦə] snow.GEN.SG.M
b. [gələva] head.NOM.SG.F	vs.	[ɣələva] head.NOM.SG.F	vs.	[ɦələva] head.NOM.SG.F

c. [gnjizdo] nest.NOM.SG.N	vs.	[vnjizdo] nest.NOM.SG.N	vs.	[fnjizdo] nest.NOM.SG.N
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While for East Slavic languages such as Ukrainian and Belarusian, as was mentioned above, the spirantization of **g* (resulting in either [ɣ] or [ɦ]) made its way into the modern standard literary varieties, in Russian it has had a unique and rather turbulent history, which can be seen throughout the process of defining different varieties of Russian as well as the codification and standardization of orthoepic norms.

2.3. Orthoepy and Standard Language Ideologies within the SRLV

2.3.1. Orthoepy: Standard Pronunciational Norms

The Russian sound system has undergone very significant changes in the pronunciational orthoepic norms. The history of the SRLV variety has developed in such a way that during all periods of its development, for various reasons, it was characterized by the non-uniqueness of pronunciational orthoepic norms, which were due to temporal, territorial, or stylistic factors and which arguably began to level out only by the middle of the 20th century (Vinokur 1971).

If we proceed from Shcherba's (1957) and L. A. Verbitskaya's (2013) understandings, then orthoepy is the set of rules that define the normative phonemic structure of words. In SRLV, there are two chronologically different pronunciational standards, called old-Moscow, which developed back in the first half of the 17th century, and old-Petersburg orthoepic norms, which was the cultural center and capital of Russia in the 18th-19th centuries (Comrie, Stone & Polinsky 1996; Verbitskaya 2001). The differences between the two standards, while still prominent in the first half of the 20th century, have significantly lessened in contemporary Russian. The emergence of a general pronunciation standard that integrates the features of both Moscow and St. Petersburg pronunciations is discussed in

detail in Comrie et al. (1996) and Verbitskaya (2001). Here, the focus will be on the voiced velar fricative alone.

The voiced velar fricative in the normative consonantal inventory of Russian is listed as an allophone of the phoneme /x/ (Kniazev & Porzharitskaia 2008; Yanushevskaya & Bunčić 2015). The occurrence of the phoneme /x/ before voiced consonants other than /v, v̊, j/ and sonorants, where its voiced allophone [ɣ] occurs. It must be noted that despite being listed as an allophone of /x/ in Kniazev & Porzharitskaia (2008) and Yanushevskaya & Bunčić (2015), in the Russian grammars of the recent decades it is unsurprisingly missing from the consonant inventories (Shvedova 2005). Despite this, the voiced velar fricative does appear transcribed in contexts as laid out by Kniazev and Porzharitskaia, and Yanushevskaya and Bunčić (see 3a, b taken from Shvedova (2005:61-2, 67)), ever so briefly, in the environments listed above as a voiced allophone of /x/.

(3) Occurrence of [ɣ] according to the Shvedova (2005)

- a. *sverkhdal'ni* ‘super-long’: /sv̊erxdal̊n̊ij/ vs. [sv̊ery'dal̊n̊ij]
- b. *tsejkgauz* ‘armory’: /tsejxgauz/ vs. [ts̊iɣ'gaʊs]

Despite the seeming overall marginal presence of *ghekanye* within grammars and orthoepic dictionaries, the historical development will show that that *ghekanye* at one point in time was, in fact, allotted more prestige than what it is allotted in the SRLV, but has since lost, most if not all of its former prestige.

2.3.2. Entangled in Orthoepy: Standard Language Ideologies

2.3.2.1. Standardization

Before diving directly into the idea of standard language ideologies, standardization, and how these phenomena interact with orthoepy, it is important to understand and give a brief explanation of the terms standardization and standard variety. To explain standardization and standard variety, I first want to pose Finegan’s (2007:13) views of a

standard variety: (1) “a standard variety is used by a group of people in their public discourse i.e., newspapers, radio broadcasts, political speeches, college, and university lectures”, or (2) is a variety that “has undergone the process of standardization, by which it is organized for description in grammars and dictionaries and encoded in such reference works.”

Additionally, a standard language above all else can be thought of as the language that serves for the cultural and intellectual communication of a speech community and allows it to use its own standard language to deal with all the domains deemed important: publication and presentation of important texts, formal speeches, debates, etc. (Garvin 1993). Garvin (1993:41) says that a standard variety is “[a] codified variety of a language that serves the multiple and complex communicative needs of a speech community that has either achieved modernization or has the desire of achieving it.” Ammon (2003:1) notes a similar definition for standard variety as Finegan by stating that a “[s]tandard in language’ is, roughly speaking, the normal language usage in public speaking and writing. Therefore, anyone who regularly speaks and writes publicly may contribute to forming this norm. Especially individuals who are widely considered ‘good’ speakers or writers will be able to initiate new standard norms.” It can be gleaned from these definitions that a standard variety is some variety of a language that is acceptable for use in public spheres i.e. where others will be exposed to the speech and thus, outside of the private home.

It is important also to look at standardization from a broader sense, and thus, to better understand possible ramifications upon any linguistic system. By taking a step back from the purely practical linguistic sense of standardization, Milroy (2001:531) offers a broad-strokes definition of the abstract concept of standardization: “[s]tandardization consists of the imposition of uniformity upon a class of objects”. Furthermore, with respect to the internal form of language, the process of standardization works by promoting invariance or

uniformity in language structure. Language which has to be standardized is therefore not uniform therefore variable and thus uniformity or invariance must be imposed.

The process of standardization usually, though not exclusively, involves one variety of a language taking precedence over other social and regional varieties of a language (Radovanović 1992).

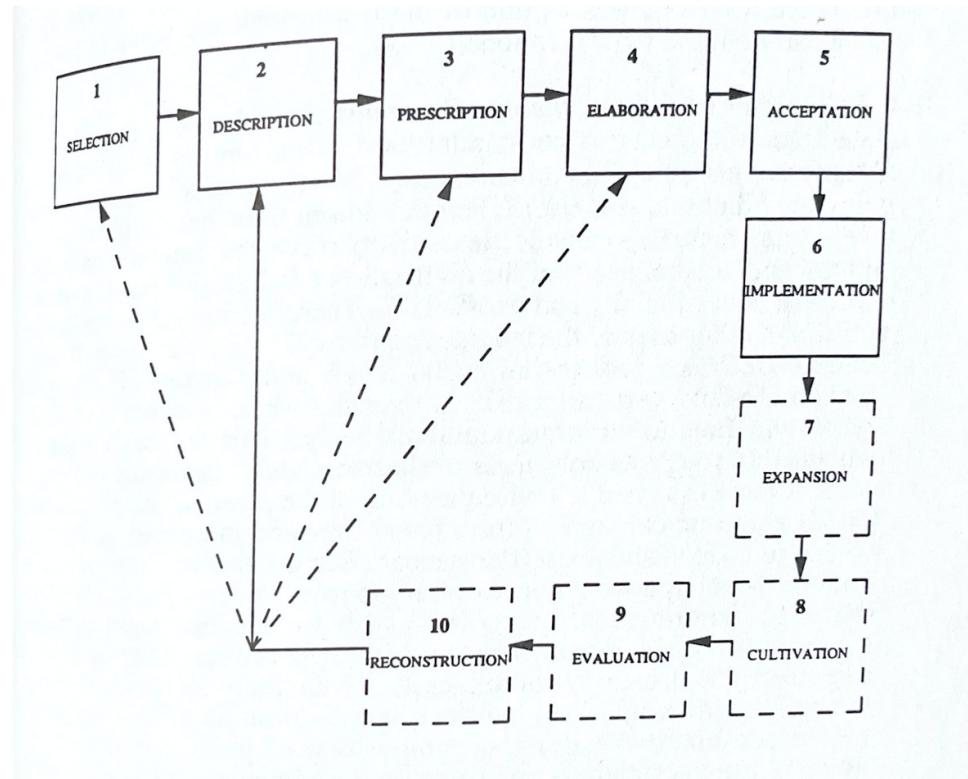


Figure 2. Schematization of the processes of standardization taken from Radovanović (1992:95)

As seen in fig. 2, Radovanović (1992) lays out the optimal ten-step schematization for the standardization of any language. The first step is to select a variety to be standardized. Description follows next (see step two), Radovanović here implies that description is the creation of descriptive grammars, dictionaries, orthographic manuals that can be part of the corpus planning. The third step of prescription implies that the language must be applied in public and as well as other areas thus serving the communicational and general needs. It must then be accepted on official and unofficial levels. Step four assumes the language then must be cultivated through educational systems, media etc. Step five, as stated by Radovanović

(1992:96) states that then “it [standard variety, N.M.] must be applied in public and other uses of the language, and for this to be achieved it must be ‘extended’ (step seven, N.M) as a tool for all social levels and domains of life.” The variety then must be cultivated (step eight) usually through schools, media and other institutions and occasionally be evaluated (step nine) to see if there is need for revision (step ten) within the prescribed norms. If one variety of a language is chosen, that variety comes to be understood as supra-dialectal and the best form of the language (Ferguson 1968). The choice of which variety or language takes precedence has important societal consequences, as it confers privilege upon speakers whose spoken (Wiley 2003). The standard that is codified as the norm is generally used by the most powerful social group within the society, who in turn often attempt to impose the standard variety upon the less powerful groups as the form to emulate. This often reinforces the dominance of the powerful social group and makes the standard norm necessary for socioeconomic mobility (Ferguson 2006).

2.3.2.2. Orthoepy and the Standard

The history of the standardization of Russian has been a long process. As explicated by Vlasto (1986), active development of SRLV started in the 18th century, when Peter the Great undermined the prestige of Old Church Slavonic. After the revolution in 1917, there was another wave of standardization. Comrie and Stone (1978:6) remark that “one might have expected that in a society ruled by the working class, the linguistic norms of the working class would prevail; that the old standard language would be rejected and replaced by a new one based on working-class varieties.” Things, however, did not go that far, but changes in prestige did in fact occur.

As Kirkwood (1989:3) lays out, “the Soviet approach to the standardization of Russian has been uncompromising. It might be thought that the vast expanse of Soviet territory together with the very wide range of different nationalists who learned Russian ...

would suggest an approach tolerant of regional variation... However, it was Soviet practice to insist that ... learners of Russian conform to the standard language, which is based on the Moscow dialect." As a result of this, grammatical correctness became the most important criteria for language competence.

During the Soviet era we find the language still developing and changing toward its modern incarnation. A few Soviet linguists commented on the idea of what a standard is, including Soviet linguist Gvozdev (1965:9), who states that the "[b]asic features of linguistic standard are: unity, uniformity, the absence of fluctuation, the general acceptability of linguistic forms. This entirely comes from the general purpose of the language – to serve as an instrument of communication – and is rooted in the fact that the language is common to all people." He adds that the use of non-standard forms can interfere seriously with the speaker's or reader's comprehension. Ozhegov (1952:10) writes that the "[s]tandard is the system of linguistic forms which are most suitable for serving society" (as cited in Benson 1961). However, there were opponents of such standard language ideologies. Shakhmatov (1967), in particular, did not consider the selection of preferable variants to fall within the competence of the linguist. Avanesov and Ozhegov (1960:4) wrote in the foreword to *Russkoe literaturnoe proiznoshenie i udarenie* (Russian Literary Pronunciation and Stress): "[t]he editorial staff has striven to achieve the strictest possible normalization of pronunciation and stress."

Correctness remains an important indicator of language competence even today. Interestingly, some linguistic forms have acquired a social significance: in particular, the forms one uses can be used to determine whether one is considered educated or non-educated. Ryazanova-Clarke and Wade (1999:315) provide an example of this in the area of word stress with "cf. non-standard: *spála* 'she slept', *ozhila* 'she came to life', and non-

standard initial stress in *náchala* ‘she began’, *dóbyla* ‘she acquired’ and others.” They also state that “[w]rongly positioned stress, especially in public speaking, is a matter of concern to many linguists, who regard correct stress pattern as a ‘litmus paper’ of linguistic competence.”

Verbitskaya (2013:69) couches the need for the standard norms and why breaking orthoepic norms should be avoided in the idea of primitive language which can be seen below:

“The norm is the ideal for which all speakers should strive. The success of this aspiration depends on the purity of the Russian speech and also the future balance of the phonetics of Russian. This is why we are concerned with the deteriorating speech of our youth and our language becoming more primitive. Primitive language is the result of a primitive view of the world and primitive thought. Such primitive language clearly concerns even children.”

This notion of language primitiveness which is correlated to an unsophisticatedness and/or simplicity in the view of the world by a speaker, can be thought of as a direct result of non-normative speech and, thus, not striving for the ideal of the normative forms, those of which will be demonstrated in the following section in relation to *ghekanye*, which as stated previously falls outside of the pronunciational orthoepic norms of SRLV.

As seen in Verbitskaya (2013), speakers should be constantly striving toward ideal forms of normative speech. Much of the modern ideologies surrounding the attitudes toward variation and varieties of Russian can be traced back to the time of the Soviet Union. The Soviet Union was tasked with the goal of spreading education and literacy to the masses. Their tool of choice was in fact the standard variety. This function of education and literacy can be tied to what Garvin (1993:48) classifies as a unifying function of the standard: “The

function of a unifying link in spite of the differences between the varieties is the most widely developed standard language function [. . .] where traditionally the differences between dialects have constituted a barrier to understanding.” Promoting literacy and education can be seen in both the former Soviet and the modern Russian context. The goal was to unify speakers i.e., give them a sense of community, solidarity, and “sameness” (Garvin 1993:13). Though education and literacy are positive endeavors for a society, the unification function of a standard variety must not overshadow the fact that if you are unifying a group of people, you also therefore must be separating it from another group of speakers. According to Garvin (1993:48), “[t]he separatist function of the standard variety is to assert a separate identity of a speech community and distinguish itself from other speech communities that may be related or politically dominate.” A way to manifest the separatist function of a standard variety is, arguably, achieved through linguistic purism. Linguistic purism (which in Verbitskaya’s view is paramount to the success of the aspiration of striving toward the norm) is the prescriptive practice of defining or recognizing one variety of a language as being purer or of intrinsically higher quality than other varieties (Veisbergs 2010). Linguistic purism is usually, though not exclusively, institutionalized through language academies and their decisions often have the force of law (Thomas 1991).

As stated by Milroy (2001:534), another “extremely important effect of standardization has been the development of consciousness among speakers of a correct form of language.” As seen in the former Soviet Union and since in the Russian Federation, this can lead to a rise in the production of normative-prescriptive works (Benson 1961). This consciousness among speakers of a correct form of a language variety and the production of normative-prescriptive works lead to a lowering of status and prestige assigned to varieties that do not adhere to the standard variety. This lowering of prestige assigned to *ghekanye*

speakers (and, for that matter, any other non-normative variation that renders the speech as impure) can be viewed as linguistic prejudice which is understood here as the “ideologies and structures which are used to legitimate, effectuate, and reproduce unequal division of power and resources which can be both material and non-material between groups which are defined on the basis of language” (Skuntnabb-Kangas et al. 1989:46). Linguistic prejudice can be open i.e., conscious, visible or else hidden i.e., unconscious, invisible and passive (Skuntnabb-Kangas et al. 1989). An example of this distinction can be seen by the fact that some speakers do not like when other speakers produce *ghekanye* in place of *non-ghekanye* because the *ghekanye* speakers sound uneducated. A form of linguistic discrimination would be, in this case, that the *ghekanye* speaker could struggle to obtain a good job or have access to socioeconomic mobility solely based on the fact that the speaker spoke with *ghekanye*.

With *ghekanye* not being included in the modern orthoepic pronunciation norms, thus, not being viewed as correct speech, there could be possible negative attitudes toward any individual solely based on presence of *ghekanye*.

2.4. Defining the South: A brief history of Russian Dialectological Division and the Position of *Ghekanye*

It is important to remember that going back as far as Lomonosov (1755), both *ghekanye* and *non-ghekanye* pronunciations can been seen, in other words, commentary on the fact that in the Russian language, there are velar stop consonants /g/ and fricative consonants /ɣ/ is not new. After Lomonosov, much attention to the issue of classification of Russian varieties was given by Nadezhdin (1837), who tried to lean not only on historical data, but also on data from modern dialects. In Nadezhdin (1837) and Nadezhdin (1841), it is claimed that geographical conditions contributed to the emergence of various varieties. The water ways between the Baltic and Black Sea have divided the Russian language into two main dialects: Southern and Northern. According to Nadezhdin, the SRV has its one of its

major basis in the features *non-ghekanye* vs. *ghekanye*. Maksimovich (1893:123) also vaguely mentions in passing that in what he refers to as the Great Russian variety “the hard pronunciation⁷ of the sound ‘g’ is found in the beginning and middle of words, as in Polish and Serbian. Central Russian and partly Upper Russian are excluded.” As well, he points out that Central Russian leans more toward Southern Russian.

The further development of Russian dialectology in the late 19th to early 20th centuries saw the creation of the Moscow Dialectological Commission. The result of many years of work by the Moscow Dialectological Commission was the creation of the dialectological map of the Russian language, compiled in 1914 and published in 1915 (Durnovo, Sokolov & Ushakov 1915). This map showed the territories of the distribution of the North Great Russian, South Great Russian, Belarusian and Little Russian varieties (Kasatkin 1999). Most linguists of the 19th and early 20th centuries relied on “the ethnological views that prevailed until 1917, which were radically revised in the post-revolutionary era” (Krys’ko 2004:18), that is to say, that the SRV were connected to the Little Russian (*malorossiiski*) dialect and the Belarusian dialect (now allocated as Ukrainian and Belarusian).

As is seen even in the earliest works addressing Russian varieties to a certain extent, *ghekanye* has always tended to be associated with the SRV. The exception of this is that Maksimovich used the Central Russian label to account for the area that includes present-day Voronezh, whereas more recent dialectological maps and works tend to divide the varieties of Russian into three groupings: Northern varieties, Central varieties (which includes Moscow). Southern varieties which the city of itself Voronezh within the territory they are spoken in, also include all of the varieties spoken in the following oblasts: Belgorod, Bryansk, Voronezh, Kaluga, Kursk, Lipetsk, Oryol, south of Pskov, Ryazan, Smolensk, Tambov, Tula, and south of Tver (Avanesov & Bromlei 1986; Zakharova & Orlova 2004; Pozharitskaia 2005).

⁷ Here Maksimovich’s “hard pronunciation” is what the present study refers to as *non-ghekanye*.

2.5. Attitudes toward *Ghekanye*

As stated at the end of §2.2 above, *ghekanye* has had a unique and rather turbulent history, which, in turn has had a profound effect on the descriptions and attention given *ghekanye* among dialectologists and other linguists throughout the history of the former Soviet Union and Russian Federation. Many scholars of the 18th century voiced opinions that for them the letter ‘g’ stood for two sounds: in some words – *ghekanye*, in others – *non-ghekanye*. *Ghekanye* was always mentioned first during the 18th century, due to the fact that it was associated with “high style” words (Panov 1990:365). According to Lomonosov (1755:400), “The letter ‘g’ is pronounced in different ways: ‘h’ as in foreign languages. Examples: *boga* ‘god’, … *gospod’* ‘lord’, *glaz* ‘eye’, *blaga* ‘blessing’, *gosudar’* ‘sire’, *gosudarstvo* ‘government’, … *blagodaryu* ‘I thank’. In other instances, the letter ‘g’ represents Latin ‘g’.”

Panov (1990:365) states that during 18th century two trends were in conflict: *ghekanye* was for high style, for which “[t]he consonant [y] itself had acquired a hieratic meaning” and *non-ghekanye* – “for the common style” (367). Each of these two phonemes were a marker of a certain style, where any word could have either pronunciation depending on the style the speaker wished to use at any given time. Panov (1990:367) goes on to state that “these two styles fought, clashed, pushed one another aside. The norm fluctuated. It was difficult to decide in which word which consonant should be considered normative.” He (1990:368) also points that in the second half of the 18th century that “in all cases choice [of which consonant to produce, N.M.] was not given to the speaker: it was brutally determined lexical affiliation of the word or the style of the text.” Panov (1990:194-5) also claims that during the first half of the 19th century, *ghekanye* was distinguished by “enviable stability”, even going as far as remarking on the fact that during this time period, “its

[*ghekanye*] death was still far off". The removal of choice of which consonant to produce and having to depend on style of text and lexical domain of the word can be seen by Vostokov (1879:181-2), where he states that "the soft g (by which he is referring to what in this present study is referred to as *ghekanye*, N.M.) becomes [x] before hard consonants and at the end of words, for example, *Bog* 'god', *jug* 'south', *chertog* 'hall', *podvig* 'heroic deed' and g becomes [k] in words such as *sneg* 'snow', *lug* 'meadow', *dolg* 'debt; duty', *izverg* 'fiend'."

According to Panov (1990:97), by the mid 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the place and *ghekanye* was becoming more limited than in the 18th century. Already by this time, it was possible to find /g/ used in words and roots that previously contained /ɣ/. This occurred particularly in the younger generation and in words such as *bogatyi* 'rich', *ubogii* 'poor', *blagodarnost'* 'gratitude', *bogatyr'* 'bogatyr' etc. Also, "many borrowed words that featured the [*ghekanye* pronunciation] began to be found with [*non-ghekanye*] instead: *Gamlet* 'Hamlet', *Gera* 'Hera', *germeticheskii* 'hermetic', *gimn* 'anthem; hymn', *Genrikh* 'Heinrich'" etc. (Lundell 1890:12). Additionally, during this time period, the *ghekanye* pronunciation occurred in words with the root *bog-*, which is connected to the orthodox church and Christianity, where words with a capital letter that had as their root *bog-* 'god' used /ɣ/, while those words using the lower-case letter and generally indicating pagan pantheons used /g/.

The phenomenon of *ghekanye* which at one time was very significant in society, by the mid 20th century was fading out of fashion. According to Panov (1990:28), there is no point to even include it in the list of phonemes of Russian (which, as I demonstrated from a modern Russian grammar, it is indeed excluded). He goes on to state that by the beginning of the 20th century the voiced velar fricative was found in only a few roots and there was not a

special letter for it, which could support and keep the prestige of this sound. Also, during this time an atypical [x] - [g] voiceless-voiced pair began to become widespread in the word ‘god’: *bo[x]*, *bo[g]a*, *bo[g]u* etc. This pairing is atypical due to the fact that in the SRLV, all voiced obstruents at the end of the word are devoiced and pronounced like their voiceless counterpart. This would mean that voiced consonant /g/ should surface as [k], but for the word ‘god’ it is very common to have /g/ surface as [x]. In example 4(a, b), we can see that underlyingly there is the voiced velar consonant /g/ but the surface form differs between ‘friend’ - [k], and ‘god’ - [x].

(4) Atypical voiceless-voiced pairing

- a. /drug/ → [druk]
‘friend’_{NOM.SG}
- b. /bog/ → [box]
‘god’_{NOM.SG}

Parikova (1966:130), in their work on the pronunciation practices of the intelligentsia of the city of Oryol, concludes that “the complete mastery of the pronunciation of the voiced velar stop in the linguistic environment of southern Russia is more likely a happy exception, than it is an ordinary occurrence”. This suggests that even in the south where *ghekanye* was said to occur, already by the mid-1960s it was less of a normal occurrence than it was until that point. Zemskaia (1981:24) believes the preservation of *ghekanye* “to be quite a common feature that does not violate the prestige of culture, while such a trait, for example, as *tsokanye*⁸, does not penetrate into the literary language at all. If someone kept *tsokanye* pronunciation, his speech would be perceived as non-standard”.

Disagreeing with Zemskaia (1981), Krysin (2003) admits that the social and cultural prestige of *ghekanye* and *non-ghekanye* is not identical. According to him, *non-ghekanye*

⁸ Here, *tsokanye* is the merger of the voiceless alveolar affricate /ts/ and the voiceless postalveolar affricate /tʃ/.

which corresponds to the phonetic norm is more prestigious than *ghekanye*. Kyrsin (2003:81) goes on to say that “in socially responsible, culturally significant communicative spheres and situations of communication - in radio and television speech, in theater, cinema – the velar stop [*non-ghekanye*] pronunciation is normative.” *Ghekayne* pronunciation, then, is “used either as a necessary speech coloring or is reconciled with it as unavoidable within the speech of people coming from the southern areas of the Russian Federation who are playing a role in the political and cultural life of the country” (Krysin 2003:81-2).

This trait is not only geographic, but also, and probably first of all, social. According to Krysin (2004), the higher the level of education, the greater the probability that the fricative phoneme [χ] of the /g/ will disappear. Andrews (1995) in his research on the examination of subjective reactions to non-standard regional pronunciations in Russia, corroborates Krysin’s comments on the prestige value of *ghekanye* with findings that indicate that non-standard pronunciations in Russian are stigmatized in the traditional status domains, in particular, education. Andrews (1995:990) does make the following note regarding the social status that can be ascribed to a speaker of SRV:

“Certainly not intelligent, the southern speaker may hold an important job, be financially well-off and self-confident. The Southerner is therefore not as provincial as the *okane* speaker, with both the positive and negative trait this implies. A peculiarity of Soviet socialism may have contributed formation of this impression. Several subjects told me after their tests that a preponderance of Soviet-era political leaders were from southern Russia. Some subjects even claimed that the politically ambitious would occasionally adopt this pronunciation, even if they were from the central regions.”

Medvedev (2018), in his work entitled *Language as a channel of forming social solidarity*, points out that speaking differently is unlikely to be perceived as one’s own. Official propaganda in Soviet times was conducted in the literary correct, but also official state language. This language was significantly different from the language (more precisely,

languages and varieties) of everyday communication of almost all segments of the population. Therefore, the language of television was not perceived by the masses as theirs. For example, during this time Gorbachev, a Russian and former Soviet politician, could not be perceived by many representatives of the Moscow and Leningrad intelligentsia as their own, even by those who generally approved of the policy of perestroika. Medvedev (2018:559) highlights the reasons that Gorbachev would not be perceived as one's own by those in Moscow and St. Petersburg stating that “[h]e spoke, firstly, using party-administrative jargon, and secondly, with a southern accent (fricative g, etc.)”.

When some forms are viewed as more correct than others and the use of the incorrect forms cause a speaker to be evaluated as lesser thus, the speaker and along with it their speech becomes stigmatized. In the context at hand, we have *non-gyekanye* vs. *ghekanye*. As posed by Adger et al. (2014:58) and here, I linken it to *ghekanye*, “people who speak stigmatized dialects [varieties, N.M] … continue to be rejected based on their speech even when their dialect [variety, N.M] has nothing to do with many aspects of life.” Krysin (2004:332-34) notes on what I consider this kind of stigma by saying “the normative point of view knows no fluctuations, as there are certain phonetic and phonological phenomena, for example the voiced velar fricative [ɣ] and its voiceless correlate [χ], that are outside the literary standard pronunciation.” The stigmatization of *ghekanye* in Russian can be seen further through the following selected statements toward *ghekanye* taken form internet fora:

(5) “This [ghekanye] is not a dialect, but incorrect pronunciation. Personally it grates my ears and I cannot listen to this kind of speech for very long. My opinion – if a person believes themselves to be cultured, they should adhere to the correct literary speech. This is not only for the sake of respect for those who listen, but also for oneself.” <<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/1968923473>>, 2021

(6) “This [ghekanye] is a lack of culture in speech”
<<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/1712777578>> , 2015

(7) “Yes! F***, it [ghekanye] is so annoying! It makes me sick! Disgusting!”
<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/1901342759>, 2018

(8) “Fix it [ghekanye], if you will work as an announcer or a journalist.”
<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/433229013>, 2013

This kind of stigmatization and low prestige could potentially bring about linguistic insecurity within the speaker using *ghekanye*. Linguistic insecurity encompasses feelings of anxiety, self-consciousness, or lack of confidence in the mind of a speaker regarding the use of their own language. Usually, such feelings are linked to the thought that the speech of the speaker does not conform to the standard variety (Bucci & Baxter 1984). From this, it seems *ghekanye* has caused certain them to become, consequently, stigmatized.

2.6. Summary

The result of the lenition of Common Slavic *g, which has been incorporated in standard forms of modern languages such as Czech and Ukrainian, had an unstable normative status assigned to it throughout the years in the territorial lands of what is today modern Russia. Once thought to be a mark of high style, its prestige status has been seemingly lost and, the lexical domain and lack of choice to whether a speaker has regarding *ghekanye* has become increasingly limited. Thus, it has been excluded from the SRLV pronunciation norms and the *non-ghekanye* form has been propagated in education, administration and is afforded high prestige.

From the time of the former Soviet Union to now, sociolinguists and scholars of Russian have demonstrated that this feature is not only geographic, but also social, that the higher the level of education, the greater the probability that *ghekanye* will be eliminated in speech (Krysin 2004). Despite this, there is an importance to understanding how speakers in the south interact with *ghekanye*, “since language use is very often a social activity, it has social consequences” (Preston 1998:258), and identifying which beliefs and attitudes are

important not only for sociolinguists, but for policy makers, educators, and anyone involved in language use. Identifying realities of the fate of *ghekanye* in Russia will go much further toward informing the possible change in progress, that is to say, a shift away from *ghekanye* among southern speakers due to a low prestige assigned to this phonetic feature.

In the coming chapter §3, a theoretical framework that this dissertation will be using to capture regard toward *ghekanye* and beliefs about *ghekanye* speakers will be discussed.

CHAPTER 3: CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

“[...] monoglossic ideologies erase this diversity by promoting the notion that there is a single standard variety.”
-J. Rosa & C. Burdick (2017)

3.1. Introduction

Linguistic varieties and features are only partially defined by the so-called objective data uncovered by linguists i.e., production, distribution, and variation. Many individual speakers infuse subjective notions, beliefs, and associations into the objects of linguistic studies, and these folk-linguistic beliefs may, in fact, fail to coincide with the objective data supplied by linguistics. They also may even go as far as contradicting the other and/or potentially contributing to deeply pernicious processes such as social subordination and denial of work and educational access (Labov 1972; Lippi-Green 2011). These beliefs about language held by non-linguists should not be ignored and have been increasingly recognized as a legitimate and even important object of serious study (Niedzielski & Preston 2003; Paveau 2011).

This chapter presents an overview of some of the relevant literature that has informed the perceptual dialectology and language attitude studies, which will be used as the theoretical and conceptual framework for this dissertation. §3.2 summarizes work relevant to the development and understanding of both language regard and attitudes in linguistics, §3.3 gives an overview of different methods of measuring and quantifying attitudinal data, §3.4 summarizes relevant works in the field of perceptual dialectology. §3.5 connects language regard and perceptual dialectology to standard language ideologies, and §3.6 summarises the chapter.

3.2. Language Regard and Attitudes

Within sociolinguistics, the field of language attitudes investigates the attitudes that hearers and listeners hold toward given language varieties or linguistic features (Giles & Billings 2004). The variety a speaker chooses to use is “the dimension of intrapersonal variation”, which is “linked to variation in situational context” (Coupland 2001:188). How a speaker determines which variety to use, is connected to social, community, relational, and identity goals as well as expressive and contextual goals (Coupland 2001).

Preston (2010:110) introduces the concept of Language Regard (LR) studies, referring to “all approaches to the study of non-specialist beliefs about and reactions to language use, structure, diversification, history, and status” and uses it as an umbrella concept incorporating both regional and social Perceptual Dialectology (PD) (see §3.4 Perceptual Dialectology, below), the social psychology of language and language attitude studies, as well as speech perception and variety studies. With PD studies, researchers began to address necessary questions not about language production, but about the folk beliefs and perceptions of that production, its context, and its regional association (Preston 1989, 1999). Separately, language attitude studies aimed to identify specific conscious and subconscious attitudes towards both the varieties of language production as well as the speakers themselves (Garrett 2010).

As a language regard event occurs, whether communicative or contrastive, cognition begins with identifying the object of an attitude, defined as “a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor” (Preston 2010:8). The basic outline in *fig. 2* is formed by *a*: language (in the broadest), *b*: conscious responses, and *c*: nonconscious responses. This provides a broad outline of a *regard event*.

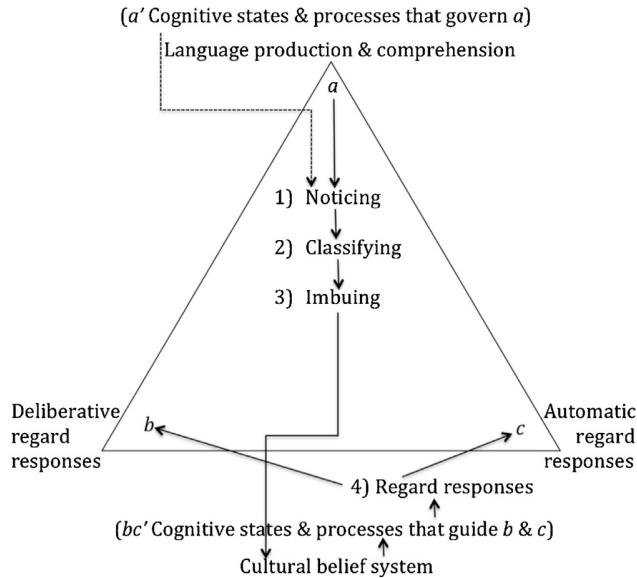


Figure 3: Language use, language regard responses, their underlying states, and the path of a language regard event.
Taken from Niedzielski and Preston (2003:xi).

Once an instance of *a* is noticed⁹, either consciously or unconsciously the process begins, and regard details emerge from associations between the noticed linguistic feature and beliefs about speakers and groups. Preston (2010:8) explains that “the attitudes with which the object is evaluated are associated with three components: affect/emotion elicited with an attitude, beliefs which estimate the likelihood that a condition/relationship is correct, and behaviors as physical manifestations of attitudes”. Each of these components is associated with attitudes, and often is used as an indicator of the underlying attitudes. The conditions which elicit attitudes include several factors, such as the setting of the event, the attitude object itself, the associated representations of the object, and the task to be performed (Preston 2010). Acting as a whole, these conditions initiate either connected to working memory (conscious) or automatic (unconscious) processing, which is then passed on to what is called the “attitudinal cognitorium” (Preston 2010:11-12). Preston (2020:12) states, that the **attitudinal**

⁹ More detailed discussions of the conditions that trigger the noticing of language variety can be found in Sibata (1999), Silverstein (1981), and Preston (1996).

cognitorium “houses the beliefs and concepts that are crucial to the attitude formation process” and holds all of those beliefs in a system “based on the idea of neural networks”.

Within the cognitorium, Preston (2010, 2017) places cognitive factors which determine the shape of a response to a language event. The language event acts as a cue for the attitude object to be evaluated against the contents of the cognitorium, which is then translated into either a conscious or unconscious reaction, or a combination of both (Giles & Marlow 2011). Preston (2010, 2011, 2017) explains this reaction using a four-step example process, which I adapt here to the focus of the present study – the phenomenon of *ghekanye* in Russian:

- (9) Southern Russian speaker produces allophone [ɣ] instead of the phoneme /g/.
 - a. Step 1: Hearer notices event as different from their own usage
 - b. Step 2: Hearer classifies event as “Southern”
 - c. Step 3: Hearer retrieves caricatures and beliefs of “Southern” from cognitorium and imbues event with them.
 - d. Step 4: Hearer has a regard response.

The markers of linguistic awareness are essential to identifying regard responses. If, during step 2, the hearer was linguistically unaware that [ɣ] was typically viewed as “Southern”, or, with respect to step 3, if the hearer had no awareness or concept of the caricatures and beliefs associated with “Southern-ness”, their regard response would be entirely different than that of a speaker with a high degree of awareness. This process must be slightly modified in some cases, for regard responses may arise even though classification differs. There is the possibility of an *a* having been imbued so often by *bc'* material that it may carry characteristics with it directly, a process Irvine (2001:33) calls “iconization”, in which a linguistic fact has taken on characteristics with no further reference to the group as a necessary part of the association. For example:

- (10) A speaker of Southern Russian produces the allophone [ɣ] instead of phoneme /g/ in the word *gorod* ('city').
- a. Step 1: A hearer notices it.
 - b. Step 2: The hearer classifies it as **uncultured**, having imbued it with this identity so often that beliefs about Russian Southerners are no longer necessary factors.
 - c. Step 3: The hearer accesses beliefs about **uncultured language** from Language regard beliefs, guided by *bc'*, and imbues fact *a* with them.
 - d. Step 4: The hearer has a regard response (*b* or *c*), guided by *bc'*.

The act of noticing is the way in which hearers bring into conscious or unconscious focus certain language production facts (from *a*) in addition to their strictly message-carrying functions. In example 2, through **iconization**, the arbitrary link that exists between the structure of language varieties on one hand and their speakers on the other is construed a necessary one. Here, *ghekanye* has become iconic, that is *ghekanye* somehow depicts or displays a social group's inherent nature or essence, in example 10b it is the classification of **uncultured**, which is readily found in the discourse surrounding SRV.

3.2.1. Language and Prestige

The discussion of attitudes in linguistic literature has been traditionally correlated with the presence of two types of prestige, overt and covert. In his study of linguistic variation in Norwich, England, Trudgill (1983) shows how the non-standard speech variety contains elements of **covert prestige** to which upper- and middle-working class attach themselves (for other works on prestige see also Rubin 1968; Blom and Gumperz 1972; Gal 1987; Schieffelin et al. 1994; Choi 2003). Trudgill explains that the covert prestige characteristics are **toughness** or **roughness**; in-group loyalty comprise of hidden values that are not openly expressed but are shared, especially by male members of the upper- and middle-working classes, as well as even members of the middle-working class (also mentioned in Edwards 1994). He sees this positive covert prestige toward non-standard speech forms as an embodiment of working-class speech, which imbues the non-standard

speech form with more status and prestige than the overtly prestigious variety, for the male respondents in this particular social class.

In Labov's (1966) study of the social stratification of /r/-lessness in New York City speech communities, he asserts the presence of two opposing norms that govern the speech associated with different social classes. Speakers of the prestige norm, exemplified in variables, such as the postvocalic /r/ in a certain variety (i.e. /fɔɪθ flɔɪ/) tend to constitute the dominant norm, which evaluates speakers higher with regards to overt prestige attributes, such as **refinement**, **sophistication**, and **job suitability**. On the other hand, Labov (1966:198) claims that the working-class speech form enjoys elements of covert prestige "which attributes positive values to the vernacular", such as **toughness** and **friendship**, to which these class members subscribe.

In Watts' (1999) discussion of language situation surrounding Swiss German in Switzerland, the label German has come to represent a local German which is marker of the Swiss-ness of its speakers, and it has covert prestige. Watt explains that it is local dialect ideology which motivates attitudes toward Swiss German. Within its discourse, the local variety indexes traits of local German in-group solidarity, such as **directness**, **modesty** and **honesty**, based on the belief of its ethnolinguistic uniqueness which makes it the emblem of the local group's Swiss-Germaness. Again, it can be seen that the local group enjoys elements of covert prestige which have been indexed as a marker of Swissness.

A kind of covert prestige has also been noted, even if not directly, by Parikova (1966). In her work *O iuzhnorusskom variante literaturnoi rechi* (On the southern Russian variant of literary speech), she discovers that despite *ghekanye* being well-known as non-literary, it was still encountered in the speech of the informants from the Russian city of Oryol. Parikova (1966:129) states that "the *illegality* (my emphasis here with italics) of [y] is well known by the majority of representatives of the intelligentsia of southern Russian cities. Therefore,

many try to become proficient in the stop [g] and in certain settings try to demonstrate literary speech.” In her concluding remarks, Parikova (1966:135) also points out that “the pronunciation of the fricative [χ], although it is a well-known non-literary feature of the Russian language, is still usually defended by the population of the *ghakanye* (Parikova’s spelling of what I use in the present study as *ghekanye*) zone, it is even a matter of peculiar pride: those who pronounce the stop [g] are considered strangers, not local.” This demonstrates in-group loyalty that imbues the non-standard variety with more status and prestige than the overtly prestigious variety. It is important to make note here that even though *ghekanye* is a point of pride, there are still speakers who are attempting to adhere to the standard variety and orthoepic norms which seems to signal that there could be a shift happening within the covert prestige ascribed to *ghekanye*. The present study will be able to demonstrate if speakers in Voronezh have this same pride for *ghekanye* or if in fact the ideological shift toward the standard variety has consequently shifted their perception of this linguistic feature.

3.2.2. Language and Power

As seen in the examples above, the existence of social hierarchies, social classes, and variables such as social status and group identity all appears to be influenced by the concept of power. As emphasized by Fairclough (1989:3), “power is not just a matter of language”. Physical force, monetary remuneration, codified oppression, political patronage and even cultural ideology may involve language as a medium of transmission or focus but these manifestations of power can certainly exist outside of the linguistic realm as well. According to Rosa and Burdick (2017), language practices have been found to be the subject of hierarchies of not just prestige and power, but they are also caught up in projects of material valuation. This material valuation is tied to how political economies impact the linguistic choices people make, how language practices are related to perceptions of class,

and how language constitutes a form of symbolic capital. There is a tendency of individuals to distinguish themselves in their speech, to demonstrate in it that they belong to a different circle, that they know what upper class is and what is non-upper class (Sietsema 1974). This distinguishing can be achieved through the access of social, economic, or political power that a language variety can afford.

Bourdieu (1991:502) discuss the notion of material valuation of language and power by naming it **symbolic domination** which, as by their definition it is the power relationship “between a producer, endowed with a certain linguistic capital, and a consumer (or a market), and which is capable of procuring a certain material or symbolic profit”. Woolard (1985:741), in her discussion of a matched-guise test conducted in Catalonia, renames Bourdieu’s **symbolic domination** as **linguistic hegemony** and describes its two aspects: “knowledge or control of a standard, and acknowledgment or recognition of it”. In other words, linguistic hegemony exerts and legitimates power by presenting the dominant language variety as an instrument or tool to be used by those who acquire it (Clark 2013). According to Wiley (2000:113), **linguistic hegemony** is also said to be “ensured when some people or their agents can convince those who fail to meet linguistic standards to view their failure as being the result of the inadequacy of their own language.” The test for the legitimacy of linguistic hegemony is “the extent to which the population that does not control that variety acknowledges and endorses its authority, its correctness, its power to convince, and its right to be obeyed, that is, the extent to which authority is ceded to those who do control that variety” (Woolard 1985:741). An extreme form linguistic hegemony is proposed by Suarez (2002:514) can be seen in a situation where “linguistic minorities will believe in and participate in the subjugation of the minority language to the dominant, to the point where just the dominant language remains.” This extreme form of linguistic hegemony

cannot only subjugate one language over another but it can absolutely cause the subjugation and domination of one variety over all others.

For the phenomenon of *ghekanye*, its possible social power as well as the material power will be important to examine. For this reason, the current study will make sure to have evaluative attributes related to this power not only in the matched guise test, but also to specifically and bluntly ask respondents to voice their thoughts on what kind of social mobility there is for speakers of *ghekanye*.

3.3. Attitude Measurements

According to Cooper and Fishman (1974), attitude measures have become associated with sociolinguistic surveys because language attitude is a central concern in sociolinguistics. Fasold (1984) points out that methods for determining attitudes about language can either be direct or indirect. In a methodology that is in toto direct, subjects respond to a questionnaire or interview questions that ask their opinions about one or another variety. An entirely indirect method is designed to keep the subject from knowing that their language attitudes are being investigated. Perhaps the most distinctive of these measures are those involving the use of oral stimuli.

3.3.1. The Matched-Guise Technique

Language attitudes research often utilizes the matched-guise technique (MGT) pioneered by Lambert et al. (1960). The essence of an MGT is comparing listeners' reactions to pairs of stimuli (guises; though as a matter of fact there may be more than two guises) that differ only in their use of given languages varieties or features, which are produced by the same speaker. The speaker alters an aspect of their speech for each reading in order to include the variables being studied. Respondents are told they are listening to multiple speakers and are then asked to evaluate the speakers for various character attributes, and those attributes reveal implicit bias towards the language used by the speaker. This method allows

researchers to investigate the social meaning of languages, varieties or features – the impact that using a certain feature has on how speakers are perceived – such as French vs. English use (the original Lambert et al. 1960 study), *okanye* vs. *ghekanye* varieties of Russian (Andrews 1995), Welsh vs. English accents (Coupland et al. 1999), or [ɪn] vs. [ɪŋ] realizations of the English *-ing* morpheme (Campbell-Kibler 2008; Loudermilk 2013). As Giles and Billings (2004:190) touch upon, this method presents several distinct advantages, among them the ability to control for extraneous variables and the elicitation of “apparently private attitudes” that the hearer might not reveal if asked directly, given taboos against the overt expression of unfavorable opinion (e.g., the “political correctness effect” explored by Bucholtz et al. 2008:76ff). Listeners are typically asked to perform evaluations via ratings on semantic differential scales (e.g., friendly–unfriendly); within various studies, these ratings generally cluster around status (e.g., educated) or solidarity (e.g., helpful) constructs (Edwards 1999:102).

In spite of the successful use of the MGT in many language-attitude studies, the technique itself has a number of problems (Fasold 1984). In order to control the context of the language samples, the purest application of the MGT requires that the same passage be read by each speaker in each variety. But this introduces one variable as it controls another; the speakers may be judged as performers of readings, and not on the basis of the language variety they are using (Fasold 1984:49). Edwards (1985) however notes that, while the MGT has been criticized, it does seem to provide useful information which can be confirmed by other means, for example, by questionnaires or by ratings of actual speakers. He says that in general, the technique presents to the listener samples of speech “which are thought to act as identifiers allowing the expression of social stereotypes” (Edwards 1985:147).

In spite of some of the criticisms that the MGT has received, Villareal (2016:16) notes, there are “several criteria for valid tasks, which I label opacity, naturalness, and

generalizability.” Combined with considerations such as the feature under investigation and the researcher’s tolerance for noise, **opacity**, **naturalness**, and **generalizability** also influence choices for design features of the task such as the number of trials, the method by which guises are created, and how the task is framed for listeners.

Opacity means that listeners are unaware of the guise manipulation, such that listeners believe they are judging “supposedly different speakers” (Giles & Billings 2004:189). Opacity may be fulfilled partially through the number and order of guises that listeners hear. If listeners are to hear two guises, these trials must be separated by enough filler trials so the speaker in the relevant trials is not recognized.

According to Villarreal (2016:17), “naturalness and generalizability arise from the property that guises substantively differ only in the relevant feature.” Naturalness means that both guises are plausible as something that the speaker could say. Generalizability means that each guise adequately represents one variant of the feature being studied and that the difference between guises must be perceptible at some level. In studies for which matched guises are created for multiple speakers, generalizability takes on the added dimension of requiring that a certain guise be represented to an equivalent degree by all speakers. In other words, in order to conform to the principles sent out by Villarreal (2016), created the guises that the listeners would be unaware and thinking they are judging different speakers by arranging the order of the task in such a way to not allow the same recorded speaker to follow after another and also I added distractors. I also made sure that all the guises were as natural as possible that being that they are plausible for a speaker to say. The generalizability principle was conformed to by having the guises differ in only if there was *ghekanye* or *non-ghekanye*.

For the present study, I ultimately determined that re-recording (e.g., Cargile 1997; Lambert et al. 1960; Purnell et al. 1999) was the only suitable method for creating these

guises; the procedures by which variables were selected and text used were also designed with the criteria of naturalness, generalizability, and opacity in mind. For more on the method for creating the guises and the procedures by which the variables were selected see chapter §4, and for the text used for the guise creation – §Appendix A.

3.3.2. Questionnaires

Language attitudes have also been measured with the use of questionnaires. For instance, they have been used to assess two varieties and to find out which of the two should be used for what purposes. Within these questionnaires, open-ended or closed questions have been utilized. Open-ended questions allow the respondent maximum freedom to present his or her views. Unfortunately, as Fasold (1984) points out, they allow the respondent to deviate from the subject and are also extremely difficult to score. Fasold insists that closed questions are alternatively better, in that they are easier to respond to and score. Unfortunately, they force respondents to answer in the researcher's terms instead of their own.

In the present study, in order for me to mitigate the issue of forcing a respondent to use terms I have laid out, I have combined both open and closed ended questions for a follow-up portion to the matched guise study. A full list of the questions used can be seen in Appendix B.

3.4. Perceptual Dialectology (PD)

Preston (1989:4) argues that “the total context of communication and ideational structure behind communication events are as worth studying as linguistic performance data”. To study that total context, though, requires studying the beliefs that speech-producing, non-specialist people have toward language and style, and understanding why those beliefs are held (Preston 1989, 1998; Coupland 2001). This is done by studying what people say about, and how they react to, language styles in context. This is important because “linguists and non- linguists may differ radically in their conceptions of language” (Preston 1998:255),

particularly in regard to language correctness and in cultures where standard language ideology is strong (Preston 1998:273; Milroy 2001:535).

The field of PD seeks to understand speakers' mental maps (Gould & White 1986) of dialect variation over geographical space (see 3.5.2 Linguistic Space, below); that is, PD is the folk linguistics analogue of areal dialectology. Preston (1999:xxiv) suggests that PD "provides the answer to the age-old question of where one language stops and another starts" (Long & Preston 2002:xxi). Precisely, Preston has led the recent movement for American PD and his methodology has been adopted by most authors in the field.

Preston (1989, 1999, 2010b) developed a five-point framework for PD studies based on his understanding of the importance of "folk knowledge of regional and ethnically based linguistic characteristics" (Preston 2018a:31). This framework answers six particular questions. Those questions are (Preston 2018b:177):

- "1. In what places, geographically speaking, do people believe that speech differs?; 2. Do PD boundaries differ from those offered by professionals?;
- 3. What linguistic cues do people use to identify varieties?; 4. In what ways do people believe speech differs?; 5. Which variant linguistic facts influence comprehension?; 6. What attitudinal factors trigger, accompany, and influence any of the above?"

The practical application of Preston's framework, some issues, and its potential application to the relevant situation in Russia, will be examined below in greater detail. The primary techniques used in PD constitute what Preston (1999:xxxiv, as well as referenced in 2018a, 2018b) refers to as five-points framework:

- "1. *Draw a map*. This task asks respondents to draw dialect boundaries and regions on a map based on their own personal perception. This can be done at the macro and micro level and helps to conceptualize the mental dialect maps of respondents.; 2. *Degree of difference*. Similar to the techniques developed during the first and second waves of PD studies, respondents are asked to rank different geographical regions on a scale of dialect difference compared to their own. This adds clarity to the mental maps and helps to identify which regions are significant and insignificant to the respondents.; 3. *Correct vs pleasant*. Similar to the degree of

difference task, respondents rank different geographical regions or speech samples for the correctness or pleasantness of their speech. This adds additional clarity and helps to identify which factors are most salient for the respondents, whether correctness or pleasantness.; 4. *Dialect identification*. In this task respondents are presented with speech samples and are asked to assign each sample to the geographical region where they believe it belongs. This helps to clarify and identify respondent awareness of dialect information and regional association.; 5. *Qualitative data collection*. In this task respondents provide impromptu answers to direct and open-ended questions about language varieties, speakers, and the circumstances of speech. This can be used particularly to clarify respondent intentions, attitudes, and beliefs from the above technique, and elicit direct attitude responses.”

Preston’s framework allows additional aspects of sociolinguistics, ethnolinguistics, and language attitude studies to be easily incorporated into PD methodologies. This includes use of voice samples for respondent evaluation of both attributes and perceived geographical distribution, and respondent reproduction and imitation of regional varieties.

In various studies, Preston (1996, 2002, 2016) explains how he sees a need for attention to listener’s awareness of the studied variety. Preston specifically (1996:40) describes “awareness” as “consciousness” or “overt knowledge” of a variety. A listener’s linguistic awareness is based on four factors: 1) Availability – the range of “attention to linguistic features” a respondent is able or willing to give (Preston, 2002:50); 2) Accuracy – the level of accuracy with which a respondent can represent linguistic factors of a variety (Preston 2002:51); 3) Detail – the range of specifics a respondent can characterize, from global to specific (Preston 2002:51); 4) Control – The range of ability a respondent has to imitate a variety (Preston 2002:51). Without taking respondent awareness of a variety into account, a study truly could become a venture into partial truth or exaggeration. For example, an average individual from St. Petersburg or Moscow will not have the same awareness of *ghekanye* as a respondent from Voronezh, as the variety would likely only be available in caricatured form to the former.

Preston's framework of folk perception of language is, in essence, a study of attitudes using a direct approach (Garrett 2010), with a focus on how real people understand language, instead of linguists (Preston 1998). When paired together, both direct and indirect approaches to language attitudes can yield strong results.

3.5. Language Ideologies: Production, Perception, and the Creation of Social Meaning

In the previous chapter §2, I discussed the phenomenon of *ghekanye* and its sociolinguistic perception as though production and perception were wholly separate processes. In reality, the two are intricately linked; nowhere is this clearer than in variationist research which applies an analytic focus to linguistic variables as “resource[s] for the construction of social meaning” (Eckert 2005:1). At the root of this pursuit is the question of how facts about language, which lack inherent value (Giles et al. 1974), take on the sorts of social meanings that can eventually become the subject of overt commentary by non-experts.

According to Rumsey (1990), language ideologies, broadly speaking, are common ways of understanding language that become naturalized and largely invisible. In the case of standard language ideologies, the common understandings center on beliefs about superiority and correctness. Specifically, standard language ideologies allow for the belief in one, identifiable and stable language variety that is inherently correct and leads to so-called better communication among the masses (Milroy 1999). Silverstein (1996) argues that there is an assumption of widespread support for the standard, which works to hide other power interests in particular language varieties. This widespread support is associated with both correctness and the perception of the standard as unaffiliated. Cameron (1995:120) explains that standard language ideologies position standard varieties as varieties that anyone can use and that will not influence the meaning of the communication. According to Silverstein (1996), standard

varieties also must be perceived as widely available, accessible, and attainable in order to be fully endorsed and hide power relations.

Attitudes and ideologies share similarities in the sense that they both connect social structures to linguistic practices (Gal & Woolard 2001:1), but ideologies are additionally interpreted as “elaborate cognitive systems rationalizing forms of behavior and codifying group norms and values” (Baker 1992:14). Thus, language ideologies can be considered as a justification for language attitudes because they represent beliefs ranging from “seemingly neutral cultural conceptions of language to strategies for maintaining social power, from unconscious ideology read from speech practices by analysts to the most conscious native speaker explanations of appropriate language behavior” (Woolard & Schieffelin 1994: 58). Fought (2006:222) associates language ideologies with “ingrained, unquestioned beliefs about the way the world is, the way it should be, and the way it has to be with respect to language, shared by a community”. Hence, language ideologies, which are not considered here as synonymous for false consciousness (Eagleton 1991) or political manipulation, establish or reinforce a particular view of a variety shared by individuals within a particular community or network (Carlton 1977).

Irvine and Gal’s (2000) trio of semiotic processes of linguistic differentiation offers coherent and powerful tools for explaining language ideologies. **Iconization** suggests some sort of naturalized linkage between linguistic features and social attributes, imbuing, in other words, linguistic objects with inherent value. **Fractal recursivity** creates an opposition on some level of relationship (social, linguistic) by relating this relationship to an opposition on another level. Finally, **erasure** works in the opposite direction, removing degrees of complexity from the sociolinguistic field by denying the presence of certain groups, practices, or phenomena.

These semiotic processes allow linguists to ground several observations about the perceived relationships between language and place shown in LR and PD research (see §3.4.2. Language Regard, above). For instance, the stereotypical dichotomy between US Northern vs. Southern speech (see e.g., Preston 1989) shows all three processes at work. To begin, this dichotomy is made possible in the first place by fractal recursivity, as it projects historical sociopolitical/cultural differences onto language (or folk geography onto folk dialectology). Preston (2011:19) notes that this dichotomy allows for a dichotomized notion of speech rate and friendliness: “speakers of Southern American English are said to speak slowly because they are slow (but hospitable); speakers of Northern American English (especially East Coast urban Northern) speak fast because they are fast (and rude and inhospitable).” In other words, there is an iconized connection between speech rate and cognitive rate (i.e., intelligence) which has erased via non-acknowledgement all of the other complexities of the linguistic variety. Thus, when related to the status/solidarity opposition, this means that a fast speaker is boiled down to an unfriendly speaker.

3.5.1. Indexicality

The notion of the construction of social meaning via linguistic variables has been formalized as indexicality, “the creation of semiotic links between linguistic forms and social meanings” (Bucholtz & Hall 2005:594). Ideologies transmit powerful social conceptions which can, in the long run, be accepted as truth-value. Thus, ideologies can go unnoticed when they are considered as simple expressions of common sense (Fairclough 1989) or as not necessarily deliberate or organized thought (Woolard 1998). The difficulty of their traceability is a proof of their efficiency (Fairclough 1989) and of the legitimizing power of the dominant group (Eagleton 1991) which control large-scaled ideology-regulating bodies such as mass media (Blommaert 2005; Busch 2006) and the education system (May 2001; 2005). These two contexts are essential for the study of the relation between attitudes and

ideologies because, firstly, they connect the openly public domain to the speakers' individual and private sphere and, secondly, they represent two settings for the naturalizing effects of ideologies on specific language perceptions and language attitudes.

Silverstein (1992) inductively extends indirect indexicality by replacing Ochs's static structure of two indexing relationships to theoretically infinite "orders of indexicality," as n^{th} -order indexicality can always give way to indexicality at order $n+1$ (Silverstein 1992:212). Silverstein (1992:217) further relates indexicals at orders n , $n+1$, and $(n+1)+1$ with Labov's (1972:534–35) trichotomy of linguistic variables as indicators (unconscious variables that are straightforwardly correlated with group membership), markers (unconscious variables that show stylistic stratification), or stereotypes (variables that are the subject of overt commentary and may, as a result, disappear from actual speech).

Eckert (2008:454) builds upon Silverstein's orders of indexicality to propose the idea of the indexical field, a "constellation of ideologically related [social] meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable." In Eckert's account, the social meanings of a given variable are not fixed but subject to ideological mediation in ways that can either draw upon pre-existing social meanings within the indexical field or extend the indexical field outward.

3.5.2. Linguistic Space

Linguistic features can index all sorts of social attributes (for example, ethnicity, class, gender), but when studying indexical relationships between language and geography we can consider the central human-geographic notion of place within a sociolinguistic framework. In short, geographers differentiate place from space in terms of social meaning, in that any location can be a space, but only those imbued with some sense of human meaning are places (Cresswell 2004). A linguistic sense of place includes not only linguistic properties of the variety (or varieties) associated with a certain place (lexicon, phonology, grammar) but also

social evaluations of this variety (unmarked/standard vs. marked) and its speakers (class, intelligence, etc.). A linguistic sense of place is never constructed in a vacuum, since it is likely to have developed out of the foundations laid by other (ethnic, class, etc.) indexicality and since indexicality at order $n+1$ is “always already immanent as a competing structure of values” (Silverstein 2003:194). This perceived space shapes our spatial behaviors. If we perceive a place as frightening, attractive, relaxing etc., it may well affect our likelihood of going there, or our readiness to engage in interaction with people in or from those places (Britain 2011). As Massey (1999:264) highlighted, “space is open and dynamic … it is not stasis, it is not defined negatively as an absence of temporality, it is not the classic ‘slice through time’, [it is] constantly in the process of being made”. This dissertation makes it patently clear that linguistic change cannot be fully understood solely through an appreciation of the process of time but must also factor in a sensitivity towards the process of language attitudes and social space.

3.6. Summary

LR studies offer unique insight into both explicit and implicit beliefs and attitudes towards language and language variation, often exposing contradictions between folk use and folk perceptions. These folk perceptions and attitudes are monumental in the creation and reproduction of dialectological and linguistic space and regions. According to Johnston (1991:67), “[r]egions are self-reproducing entities, because they are the contexts in which people learn. They provide role-models for socialization, and they nurture particular belief sets and attitudes”. And “since language use is very often a social activity, it has social consequences” (Preston 1998:258), and identifying these beliefs and attitudes, as well as their correlations and contradictions, is important not only for sociolinguists, but educators and anyone involved in language use.

As can be gathered from the above, there is an overarching sentiment that adherence to the normative standard pronunciation is imperative for functioning in society, even though usages of other varieties may be more acceptable in private settings with friends, family, and close relatives. These kinds of ideologies and thoughts toward the standard norm can be thought of as its valorization. This notion of valorization of the literary norms is supported by Edwards (2009:259) who states that “for Russian the implications of this are that some usages are incorrect, improper, illogical, lack communicative effect and are overall of low aesthetic value”. Speaking and using the literary language is not only good for getting a job, but also is a necessity so you can be successful, be respectful of yourself, express yourself, speak beautifully, and be correct. This study provides some additional insight into the relationship between perception and evaluation of *ghekanye* and the associated ideologies. Identifying attitudes toward *ghekanye* in southern Russia will go much further toward informing on relationship between language and space in terms of both folk beliefs and conditions on variation in change.

CHAPTER 4: METHODOLOGY

“*The establishment of the idea of a standard variety, [...] and its promotion in a wide range of functions – all lead to the devaluing of other varieties.*”
-J. Milroy (2001)

4.1 Introduction

This dissertation investigates attitudes of Voronezh residents regarding the phenomenon of *ghekanye* via a language survey. The survey’s primary goal was to explore the connection between *ghekanye* and the attitudes of listeners regarding personal attributes toward those speakers, in whose speech *ghekanye* is found. The survey asked respondents to listen to audio samples and rate the speaker in the sample according to 18 attributes. Additional open-ended questions were then presented, including possible myths that are associated with *ghekanye* in order to shed light on whether or not such myths are upheld or rejected.

The following sections discuss the research questions developed for this study (§4.2), define the 18 attributes utilized in the survey (§4.3), describe the methods for this study, including the subjects (§4.4.1), the matched guise survey (§4.4.2), open-ended questions (§4.4.3). The data analysis procedures will be laid out in §4.5. Finally, §4.6 summarizes limitations and delimitations that are present within this chosen methodological framework.

4.2 Research Questions

In order to properly study language attitudes related to the evaluation of *ghekanye*, the following four research questions (RQs) as well as the accompanying hypotheses (Hs) were developed:

RQ1. How do residents of Voronezh perceive and evaluate *ghekanye* in speech?

H1. Voronezh residents will more negatively evaluate *ghekanye*, particularly in status categories relating to superiority.

RQ2. Do Voronezh residents uphold the myth that in order to obtain a good job, one must speak the standard variety?

H2. Respondents will maintain that in order to achieve a good job one must get rid of one's variety.

RQ3. Will Voronezh residents uphold the myth that *ghekanye* in speech is a sign that a speaker is uneducated.

H3. Respondents will maintain that *ghekanye* in one's speech is a sign of low education.

RQ4. Will Voronezh residents' implicit attitudes toward *ghekanye* differ from their explicit attitudes?

H4. Respondents will hold clearly defined implicit bias against the use of the voiced velar fricative, while explicit attitudes will be less negatively marked.

With regards to RQ1 and RQ3, the goals are to obtain evaluative subjective reactions i.e. beliefs about *ghekayne*. Evaluative beliefs about language varieties can be divided into two main types: beliefs about different language varieties and beliefs about speakers of different language varieties. Beliefs about language coalesce along three main evaluative dimensions: **structure** (e.g., logical), **value** (e.g., pleasant), and **sound** (e.g., soft; Schoel et al. 2013). Beliefs about speakers, much like person perception more generally (Fiske et al. 2002), coalesce along two main evaluative dimensions: **status** (e.g., competent) and **solidarity** (e.g., warm; for additional dimensions, see Zahn & Hopper 1985). People's beliefs about language varieties and about speakers are closely related. For instance, beliefs about language variety's structure correlate strongly with beliefs about speakers' status, whereas beliefs about language variety's way of sounding correlate strongly with beliefs about speakers' solidarity. Also, both types of beliefs are equally strongly correlated with general measures of language attitudes (Schoel et al. 2013).

RQ2 addresses issues related to the notion of the market value of language. This refers to the ability of a language variety to bring social and economic benefits to its speaker. Language varieties have a market value and a non-market value. A language variety has market value if said variety can be used for monetary gain, or if the variety can be assigned a price. For example, if someone speaks language variety X, they may have easier access to the

economic and social well-being in the X-speaking communities, which in turn may lead to their financial gain. Blommaert (2009) provides a clear example of how the high market value of the American English variety creates jobs for those who speak and know how to teach this variety while also allowing some to consume this skill in the form of learning. Bourdieu (cited in Murcia 2003:122) theorizes that English language in general has become a valued linguistic currency which is a form of cultural capital. He then notes that English is a way to gain prestige and is a sign of distinction. Being able to shed light on what kind of market value of (or lack thereof) there might exist for *ghekanye* will help bring greater understanding of the linkage between the SRLV and social mobility within the community of Voronezh.

RQ4 addresses issues identified by Preston (1989, 1994, 1998) regarding sole use of implicit language attitudes studies and aims to identify discrepancies between respondents' reported explicit attitudes and elicited implicit attitudes. In this study, this was achieved by comparing the results of the speaker evaluation questions and attribute evaluations with the results of a series of direct questions about language use. An analysis of the responses to the direct questions was conducted by coding the responses for their polarity (positive vs. negative), and identifying themes present, similar to "interpretive repertoires, by which is meant the recurring systems of terms, or 'building blocks' that characterize the responses" (Hyrkestedt & Kalaja 1998, as referenced in Garrett 2010:161).

4.3 The Attributes

For subjective response experiments such as the one on which the present study is based, Zahn and Hopper (1985:115-19) discuss attributes "competence, status, character, solidarity, and dynamism", which they then reduce to three major groups to which the attributes belong of **superiority**, **attractiveness**, and **dynamism**. **Superiority** is also referred to as **status**, and **attractiveness** as **solidarity**. However, Zahn & Hopper (1985:119) expand

the group of superiority to include attributes of social status, intellectual status, and speaking competency. Zahn & Hopper (1985:119) also expand solidarity to include attributes which “reflect both social and aesthetic appeal”.

The 18 attributes used for the present study have been carefully selected relying on previous work by Krysin (2000), Andrews (1995) and my own pilot studies into how speakers talk about *ghekanye* on internet fora and how heritage speakers react to *ghekanye*. Although Andrews does not explicitly state where and why they chose the 18 attributes, after looking into Zahn and Hopper's (1985) distribution, I have decided to use the following distribution: within the grouping of superiority (educated, smart, literate, cultured, has an important job, well-to-do), within attractiveness (interesting, kind, beautiful, trustworthy, someone I can relate to, honest, polite, friendly, has a good sense of humor, hardworking), within dynamism (humble, hospitable). Many of the attributes were kept as in Andrews, but I chose to add the attributes of **literate** and **cultured** based on comments found in internet fora in regard to *ghekanye*. Some examples of reactions taken from online fora are below:

- (11) “This [ghekanye] is not a dialect, but incorrect pronunciation.
Personally it grates my ears and I cannot listen to this kind of speech for very long. My opinion – if a person believes themselves to be cultured, they should adhere to the correct literary speech. This is not only for the sake of respect for those who listen, but also for oneself.”
<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/1968923473>, 2021
- (12) “This [ghekanye] is a lack of culture in speech”
<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/1712777578>, 2015
- (13) “Yes! F***, it [ghekanye] is so annoying! It makes me sick!
Disgusting!” <https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/1901342759>, 2018
- (14) “Fix it [ghekanye], if you will work as an announcer or a journalist.”
<https://otvet.mail.ru/answer/433229013>, 2013

I also found and used a few article publications to help in form the use of the attributes present in the study. The first one being *Kak izbavit'sia ot govora?* (How to get rid of your dialect?), which states “with the help of regular and hard training, you can get rid of:

- (15) Ural dialect;
- (16) speaking with fricative “g”;
- (17) Rostov dialect;
- (18) southern dialect;
- (19) Ukrainian dialect;
- (20) Vyatka dialect;
- (21) Kuban dialect;
- (22) Siberian dialect, etc.” <<https://www.teatr-benefis.ru/staty/drugoe/kak-izbavitsya-ot-govora/>>, February, 3rd 2015?

The second article which is called *Cho neponiatnogo? Nado li volgogradtsam izbavliat'sia ot dialekta?* (Wut is not understood? Do Volgograd residents need to get rid of their dialect?) also nods at *ghekanye* and its non-standardness by saying “as for the inhabitants of the region [Volgograd, N.M.], their speech is often distinguished by the fricative *g*: *Khorod* instead of *gorod*, *kholova* instead of *golova*. Sometimes in place of the *g* sound at the end of the word, they pronounce the fricative *kh* instead of the literary *k*. Dialect has always been a sign of uneducatedness, it is believed that it should be disposed of.”

(<https://vlg.aif.ru/culture/events/chyo_neponiatnogo_nado_li_volgogradcam_izbavlyatsya_ot_dialekta> , December, 10th 2014.) These articles and responses from the fora are classic examples of just how salient prescriptivism is within Russian and support my addition of the literate and cultured to the status categories.

The distribution of the attributes has brought this study more in line with Preston’s (1998:267) association of correctness vs. pleasantness, in that superiority directly correlates to correctness, and attractiveness correlates to pleasantness. I am allowing the grouping of dynamism to be lower on the distribution of attributes based on the comments found in the internet fora and that within the literature the groupings of superiority and attractiveness are more often discussed (Parikova 1966; Andrews 1995; Krysin 2004). Zahn and Hopper (1985)

themselves do not give significant attention to dynamism as a grouping, and the attributes which they list for the group could potentially be evaluated independently of the variety used. However, some researchers have found attributes within dynamism counterbalance attributes within superiority with non-standard accents (Kristiansen 2009). Grondelaers & van Gent 2019:8) in their study on Moroccan-flavored Dutch found that “the rejection of the male Moroccan accent on Superiority is counterbalanced by an outspoken upgrading in terms of Dynamism. This Dynamism effect plausibly explains the adoption by “white” youngsters and Surinamese rappers of the Moroccan accent.” But this study also showed difficulties with dynamism, Grodelaers & van Gent (2019:9) note that it “comes in many shapes” and “the ideologically determined association between standard varieties and traditional status features is much older, and therefore more deeply entrenched, than that between non-standard varieties and Dynamism features”, which gives for greater access to attributes within superiority. This difficulty found with attributes in dynamism coupled with the overall lack of attributes of dynamism, such as **tough, cool, self-assured** etc. within the discourse from the internet fora and within the articles noted above, have made it easier to allow for the uneven distribution among that attributes withing the three groupings.

4.4 Methods

The the first section of the survey, participants were asked to provide relevant demographic information via a short questionnaire. The questions asked for information on respondents’ social variables of age, education level, gender, as well as questions about place of birth and linguistic information, such as, place of birth, place raised, language spoken, and languages learned in school. A breakdown of the respondents demographic information can be seen below in table 1. and a detailed version of the survey questions can be found in Appendix B.

4.4.1 Subjects

Recruitment for participants in the online survey was conducted by placing advertisements on Russian language pages on Facebook¹⁰ and Vkontakte¹¹, along with a link to the survey as well as via email and private messaging, using the snowball technique (Milroy & Gordon 2003:32). Placing the advertisements online made it very easy to share the survey with a large group of people within the target demographic of residents of Voronezh. This enabled the survey to reach a wide range of subjects, providing diversity in responses. Though originally planned to take place from July through the end of September 2020, face-to-face on-location field work with the survey and interview sessions were not conducted due to the worldwide SARS-CoV-2 pandemic. The new timeline for data collection was readjusted to have the online survey open for participants September 3rd, 2020 and close on December 3rd, 2020.

Participants in the survey were native speakers of Russian who were raised in city of Voronezh. Respondents were not initially divided by age categories and all ages, 18 years and older, were invited to participate. A total of 56 respondents participated in the survey. However, six participants were removed due to them being born and raised in locations other than Voronezh. Thus, for this study, 50 participants' responses were analyzed. The respondents, a total of six, were not required to be life-long residents of Voronezh, but they were asked where they were born and where they were raised (i.e. lived during the formative years of their lives). Any respondents that were not raised/grew up in Voronezh were excluded from analysis.

¹⁰ Facebook is American online social media and social networking service.

¹¹ Vkontakte is a Russian online social media service based in Saint Petersburg.

For survey reliability, all attempts were made to ensure an even distribution of female and male identifying respondents. A summary of various demographic information is presented in Table 1 below.

Gender:		Birthplace:	
Female	28 (56%)	Aktobe	1 (2%)
Male	22 (44%)	Belgorod	1 (2%)
Age:		Chernivtsi	1 (2%)
M – 34 (8.65)	Min. – 20; Max. – 63	Donetsk	2 (4%)
Education:		Germany	1 (2%)
High School	4 (8%)	Lipetsk	2 (4%)
High Vocational	16 (32%)	Sochi	2 (4%)
Specialized Secondary	1 (2%)	Tula	1 (2%)
BA	12 (24%)	Voronezh	39 (78%)
MA	11 (22%)		
PhD or Higher	5 (10%)		

Table 1: Respondent Demographic Information (n=50)

Of the 50 respondents, 28 (56%) were female and 22 (44%) were male. The age of respondents ranged from 20 to 63 years old (mean 34 years old) at the time of the survey.

Due to the uneven distribution of age, I did not subdivide the age groups into smaller categories.

Information on the highest level of education was also collected from the respondents. Most respondents had an education that was beyond that of high school education. Of the 50 respondents 4 (8%) had the highest level of education as high school education, 16 (32%) had high vocational education, 1 (2%) had specialized secondary education, 12 (24%) had a B.A., 11 (22%) had an M.A., and 5 (10%) had a Ph.D or higher.

Respondents who had lived at least half their lifetime in Voronezh were solicited and asked to complete the survey. Of the 50 respondents the majority, 39 (78%) were born in Voronezh. The remainder of the respondents was born in the following places: 1 (2%) in

Aktobe¹², 1 (2%) Belgorod¹³, 1 (2%) Chernivtsi¹⁴, 2 (4%) Donetsk¹⁵, 1 (2%) Germany¹⁶, 2 (4%) Lipetsk¹⁷, 2 (4%) Sochi¹⁸, 1 (2%) Tula¹⁹.

4.4.2 Matched-Guise Test (MGtest)

Since the introduction of the MGT in the 1960s, the instrument of the MGtest has been used widely in the world to investigate attitudes towards contrasts in language, levels of proficiency in a language, dialect and accent (e.g. Zhou 1999; El-Dash 2001; Bilaniuk 2003). I conducted a MGtest in which listeners heard samples of speech and rated the speakers on five-point agreement scale. I have decided to use Andrews' (1995) rating system 1-5 (See fig. 2 below) (1 being “strongly disagree” 3 “neither agree/disagree”, “omission” 5 “strongly agree”). Each stimulus in this task represented either a SRV guise or a SRLV guise. I will be adapting a survey (for both a transliterated Russian and translated English version of the full survey see Appendix B) from a study on reactions to two regional pronunciations in Russia by Andrews (1995:96-97), who based his work on the subjective-reaction tests by Wallace Lambert (1960) and by William Labov (1966) who examined linguistic prejudices.

To record the guises, I used Zoom H4n Recorder and head-mounted mic. The texts were a set of mock news headlines (see Appendix A for full set of news headlines used in this study). As in Bailey (2018), the respondents were told that they were hearing different audition tapes from speakers applying for a role as a news broadcaster in Moscow the capital of the Russian Federation. This newscaster context has been chosen based on previous work

¹² City in western Kazakhstan.

¹³ Russian city located in the south, 40 km (25 mi) from the Ukrainian boarder.

¹⁴ Ukrainian city located in the southwest.

¹⁵ Ukrainian city located in the east.

¹⁶ Country in central Europe.

¹⁷ Russian city located in the southeast.

¹⁸ Russian city located on the Black Sea.

¹⁹ Russian city located in central Russia.

and research that has shown that this is a reliable context for priming overt norms of sociolinguistic prestige (Labov 1966; Levon and Fox 2014).

In total, six speakers were recorded for this study in order to create the guises. Four speakers, two men and two women, were recorded to make the standard guises and the *ghekanye* guises. The four speakers read the same text twice – once pronouncing all /g/ in the text in a *non-ghekanye* manner and then again in a *ghekanye* manner. Then two others, one man and one woman, read only once in an *okanye*²⁰ guise, which were serving as distractors. Therefore, these *okanye* guises were not used for analysis. This study employed a repeated measures design, where all subjects heard every guise. The total number of guises a respondent heard was ten. Since the voiced velar fricative is not restricted to a specific environment, all texts contained ‘g’ various positions in a word: initial, medial, final.

4.4.3 Open-ended questions

The survey was planned to be administered in person so that open-ended questions may be asked directly. Again, due to the SARS-CoV-2 pandemic, open-ended questions were formatted in such a way so that the respondents could type their answers in a textbox. I also inquired about specific questions related to the study that would help support or refute the data collected in the MGtest, such as:

- (23) Examples of open-ended questions
 - a. Do you think there is a danger for the modern Russian literary language? Give examples.
 - b. Is it necessary to get rid of one’s accent/dialect in order to get a good (prestigious) job?
 - c. Have there ever been instances, when you were made fun of due to your way of speaking? Give examples.
 - d. Do you agree with the opinion that those from Voronezh don’t speak the standard Russian literary variety?

²⁰*Okanye* is phonetic feature, which consists of distinguishing the vowels /o/ and /a/ in unstressed syllables, while *akanye* (which is the norm in SRLV) is where /o/ and /a/ phonetically merge in unstressed positions (Pozharitskaia 2005:44-5). ‘Milk’ /moloko/ - *akanye*: [mələ'ko] vs. *okanye*: [molo'ko]

This is comparable to work done by Niedzielski and Preston (2000:126) that “by collecting conversational data from speakers on topics related to differences in speech more nuanced beliefs about intelligibility, regionalism, and correctness can be gathered.”

Like Langman and Lanstyák (2000), I also used three myths, which I posed as ‘do you agree’ questions and placed in the open-ended questions part of the survey that are commonly discussed on internet fora in relation to SRV. According to Langman & Lanstyák 2000:55-56, “myth has generally been examined as discourse from the perspective of the types of myths put forth by the power elite to wrest their power.” The selection of these myths (22a-c) was taken directly from my own previous work and research on different Russian varieties and how they are talked about on internet fora, social media as well as in some news publications. The responses collected from these myths were encoded as either accepting or rejecting.

- (24) ‘Do you agree’ questions based on the myths
 - a. Do you agree that it is necessary to get rid of one’s accent/dialect in order to get a good (prestigious) job?
 - b. Do you agree that those from Voronezh don’t speak the SRLV?
 - c. Do you agree with the opinion that those that speak with *ghekanye* are uneducated?

The first myth is that in order to get a good job, one needs to get rid of their non-standard language variety. This myth supports views that in order to achieve a good, well-paying job you must speak the standard variety and that any use of dialectal features will hinder the speaker’s chances in achieving successful employment.

The second myth is that those from the city of Voronezh do not speak the SRLV, and the third myth is that having *ghekanye* in one’s speech means that they are uneducated. These two myths uphold the idea that there is deviation within the standard and that speakers in communities that exhibit variation are not speakers of the standard and, thus, must switch to the standard for fear of being labeled as uneducated.

The open-ended questions as well as the three myths will allow for the gathering of more explicit beliefs and attitudes which will be compared to the implicit attitudes that will be collected from the MGtest.

4.5 Data Analysis Procedures

The results of the MGtest were analyzed and assessed with mean scores for each of the 18 attributes in a similar manner to Andrews' (1995) study. The first set of assessments was all four standard guises as it compares to all four *ghekanye* guises. A second set of assessments was to compare the same guises when the gender of the speaker is different. That is to say, the standard female guises would be compared to the standard male guises and the *ghekanye* female guises would be compared to the *ghekanye* male guises. This was useful in seeing if there are any significant differences within the perception of the gender of the individual as it relates to the guise. The results of analysis of the MGtest are presented in chapter §5, section §5.2.

All significant differences were analyzed using ANOVA and two-tailed *t*-tests where $p < 0.05$. The two-tailed *t*-test both if the mean is significantly greater or significantly less, while the ANOVA test allows a comparison of more than two groups at the same time to determine whether a relationship exists between them. Results of this section were tallied and analyzed using statistical tests in R²¹ to identify which attributes were identified as significant, factoring in all demographic variables. Additionally, the results were cross analyzed with the results of the self-reported language use section to identify any patterns. Finally, the results were also cross analyzed with the results from the analysis of the open-

²¹ R is a programming language for statistical computing and graphics supported by the R Core Team and the R Foundation for Statistical Computing.

ended question data to identify both correlations and contradictions between implicit and explicit attitudes, all of which is further discussed in Chapter §6.

I analyzed the open-ended question data within a language ideology framework. According to Langman (2013:8), a language ideology approach to collected data can be conducted as follows: “local language practices are viewed, and interpretations of those practices are elicited. These in turn are examined in the light of language ideological lenses.” By examining the discourse of members of a community who have grown up in a linguistic environment that is viewed as non-standard, I hope to understand how their discourse on issues of cross-dialectal contact, and possibly conflict, reflect or reject current myths relating to how Russian society operates with respect to *ghekanye*. The primary data was analyzed by encoding responses to the questions as either accepting the myth or rejecting the myth. In this way, I analyzed the manner in which the speakers of Voronezh accept or resist these kinds of formulations that place them in a position of disadvantage.

The qualitative data derived from the open-ended questions were analyzed for content and then coded for attitudinal position, using the following polarities: Positive (P), Positive-Neutral (PN), Negative-Neutral (NN), Negative (N), based on their level of agreement or disagreement with the subject of the question (Krippendorff 1980; Garrett 2010:160). The responses were also analyzed to identify discursive patterns and themes (Preston 1994). The detailed results of the qualitative analysis are presented in chapter §5, section §5.3.

4.6 Limitations and Delimitations

In this study there are several limitations and delimitations that arise due to the type of study that I have chosen to conduct as well as the variables (both linguistic and extralinguistic) that are used. In this section, I hope to highlight both the limitations and

possible ways to overcome them as well as delimitations i.e., the boundaries I have set for myself.

This study cannot be seen as a mass generalization of attitudes in Russian society. Preston (1999a: xxxv) states that both “major and minor boundaries perceived by individuals are different for different groups of respondents from different localities”, and it often happens that respondents make more distinctions closer to the local area and fewer in areas farther from the local area. This means that, at best, the results of the present study will show what the beliefs are for the inhabitants of the city of Voronezh. However, by comparing the results of this study, which will show how native speakers of SRV view *ghekanye*, to previous work on the views of speakers who were not from southern Russia, we will be able to see a fuller picture of the situation of the language attitudes toward *ghekanye* as it pertains to Russia.

The delimitation of the guises tends to be arbitrary, that is unless the differences cause a lack of mutual intelligibility between speakers which then can clearly show a dividing line. In the absence of this line, the best I could do for this study was to take the type of a well-defined center as a basis and use the most important distinctive features (Iannàccaro & Dell'Aquila 2001). In other words, a feature that is most important and salient to a speech community. For this reason, I have chosen my variable of the voiced velar fricative from the possible linguistic features of SRV. As stated by Krysin (2004:08-82), *ghekanye* is “one of the most prominent features of modern non-normative pronunciation”. This does not mean that there are no other linguistic features that differ between the prescribed SRLV and SRV, but that the voiced velar fricative is, in fact, the most salient among those features and, thus, indexed more often to southern speakers.

I am myself creating some delimitations by categorizing gender, age, and education. Despite this, by dividing and analyzing each group, I hope to show that there are significant

differences in the subjective reactions within the categories of gender, age, and education. I also want to highlight here the importance of gender and folk beliefs for the Russian context. Andrews (2003) found that males tend to have a greater tolerance of non-standard Russian speech than their female counter parts. Zemskaja et al. (1993:91) cite “greater politeness and lesser coarseness” as entrenched folk beliefs about women’s speech. This is relevant since as Preston (1999b) argues, folk beliefs are too often dismissed as simply false when, in fact, they may have a powerful influence on social interaction and language attitudes. The folk beliefs may also influence actual perception of male and female speech production, both standard and non-standard, which is important when looking at subjective reactions.

CHAPTER 5: RESULTS

*“Language attitudes and beliefs are often deep-rooted,
subconscious, and biased,
often stemming from colonial domination.”*
-Madoka Hammine (2021)

5.1. Introduction

This chapter contains an analysis of the results of the 50 participants' responses to the overall survey of language perception and evaluation: the evaluative scalar responses, the explicit scalar responses, and self-reported language use. The chapter will be divided as follows: section §5.2 will present the extralinguistic variables and their statistical significance; in section §5.3 the results and data from the matched guise portion of the study will be presented; §5.4 will present the qualitative data and results from the follow-up interview questions; and §5.5 lastly will summarize the data and results presented in this chapter.

5.2. Extra Linguistic Variables

It is important that sufficient background regarding the respondents is obtained in order to achieve a comprehensive and in-depth analysis of the results. Extralinguistic variables which are relevant to attitude formation are listed by Giles, Ryan & Sebastian (1982:2) as “an individual’s personal characteristics (e.g. age, sex, intelligence, social group membership (e.g. by region, ethnicity, class, occupation), and psychological states (e.g. need for social approval, interest in continuing and interaction, anxiety, depression).” Furthermore, quantitative studies within a sociolinguistic paradigm, for instance, ideally require that a researcher be able to establish linguistic and non-linguistic variables that are all independent of one another - though the extent to which the social variables used in sociolinguistics have ever been independent of one another is debatable (Meyerhoff 1994). All of the

extralinguistic variables were analyzed for statistical significance using R-Studio by running an ANOVA and a two tailed t-test.

Personal characteristics and social group membership variables are those usually covered in research, since psychological states are too personal and difficult to determine. Practical stumbling blocks with regard to the choice of the variables include the need to know which variables are most relevant before undertaking field study, and the fact that not all information thought to be relevant can be elicited. The selection of variables was made less accidental by relying on existing theory, and insights of researchers, previous findings, and available information to the social background of the community.

As stated in chapter §4, part one of the survey was used to obtain information regarding the respondent's individual circumstances (demographic information, age, gender, education level) and made the investigation of the following extra linguistic variables possible.

5.2.1. Gender

Gender is often perceived as an important extra linguistic variable, due to the fact that it is a primary feature used to perceive and describe people and contributes to the way in which people try to make sense of their own identities. As seen in §4.2.1, the methodology was to have the most even distribution between male and female genders as possible. The distribution though still not perfectly even, was as even as could be created based on the number of respondents. Twenty-eight females and twenty-two males were ultimately used in the analysis of the data. Whether the respondent was female or male, when comparing male *ghekanye* to male standard guises the following attributes were significantly lower (*p*-value < 0.05) for the male *ghekanye* guises: **interesting, educated, smart, cultured, literate, trustworthy, friendly, has an important job, well-to-do, and polite**. When comparing the female *ghekanye* to female standard guises the following attributes were significantly lower

(p -value < 0.05) for the female *ghekanye* guises: **educated, beautiful, smart, cultured, literate, trustworthy, has an important job, well-to-do, and polite.**

The responses given by male respondents as compared to the female respondents did not reveal statistically significant differences for the evaluations of the four guises within the 18 attributes. This means that male and female respondents displayed statistically similar types of attitudinal evaluation of the guises presented in the survey. However, while the gender of the respondents did not have any significance as an extralinguistic variable, the perceived gender of the guise speakers in some attributes was shown to be significant, and these cases will be noted accordingly below in section §5.2.4.

5.2.2. Age

The respondents' age ranged from 20 to 63, with a mean age of 34. I decided to create age ranges as follows: 20-30; 31-40; 41-52; 53-63. Despite the overall range being from 20-63, only one speaker would fall into the age range of 53-63. Therefore, I decided to merge 41-52 and 53-63 into one age group of 41-63, thus ending up with three age groups total: 20-30 (n=15), 31-40 (n=19), and 41-63 (n=16). I compared the ages and checked for any statistical significance among the three groups in terms of how they evaluated the guises. Since it was impossible to obtain an equal representation of all three age groups, mainly as a result of the small sample, I ultimately decided not to include age as one of the variables during the statistical analysis.

5.2.3. Education

Language use, like many other human behaviors, is strongly affected by the social class to which one belongs. Social class is often used as a cover term for social stratification referring to any hierarchical ordering of groups within a society especially in terms of power, wealth and status (Trudgill 2000). The question of social class is in fact somewhat controversial,

especially since sociologists do not agree as to the exact nature, definition or existence of social classes (Trudgill 2000). Occupation, income, education, sociocultural level, residence, etc., are examples of some factors used to identify a social class. In this study, the educational level of the speaker will be used to operationalize the social stratification.

For social stratification based on the education level, speakers were grouped into three different levels: Level one - respondents having at minimum a high school education to vocational degree (n=20); Level two - respondents having a bachelors' degree (n=14); Level three - subjects having degree higher than bachelors' (n=16). My goal was to have the same number of subjects per category. However, despite a great effort to do so, success was only partial. Since it was impossible to obtain an equal representation of the education levels, I ultimately decided not to include education as one of the variables during the statistical analysis.

5.3. MGtest

In this portion of the survey, respondents judged the speakers against 18 attributes, using a five-point agreement scale, as outlined in chapter §4, section §4.4.2. First, the attributes and samples were subjected to an ANOVA test and a two-tailed *t*-test to determine if any of the attribute judgements were considered significant, and if any of the samples themselves were considered significant (see Appendix D for all the *p*-values). The results are presented in table 2 and figures 4-14 below.

For the two-tailed *t*-test, each guise's each attribute's mean score was compared. Table 2 shows the assessments of the respondents with mean scores to two decimal places for all 18 attributes. The eight guises were combined to form four overall groups which can be seen in table 2 as male *ghekanye*, male standard, female *ghekanye*, and female standard. The groups that are compared for significance are of the same gender grouping; male *ghekanye*

vs. male standard and female *ghekanye* vs. female standard. This to keep the gender variable static and allow the presence or absence of *ghekanye* i.e., *ghekanye* vs. *non-ghekanye* to be the variable compared across all attributes. All significant differences are for the sample size where $P < 0.05$ in the two-tailed *t*-test are indicated by bolding and an asterisk (*) next to the mean score.

Attribute	Male <i>ghekanye</i>	Male standard	Female <i>ghekanye</i>	Female standard
1. Interesting	1.99*	3.04	2.49	2.49
2. Kind	2.97	3.03	3.47	3.66
3. Educated	2.17*	3.76	2.09*	3.61
4. Beautiful	3.47	3.76	2.99*	3.47
5. Smart	2.40*	3.49	2.38*	3.27
6. Cultured	2.13*	3.60	2.34*	3.51
7. Literate	2.14*	3.72	2.18*	3.56
8. Trustworthy	2.65*	3.01	2.34*	2.73
9. Someone I can relate to	2.57	2.54	2.69	2.86
10. Humble	2.91	2.77	3.02	2.95
11. Honest	2.90	2.85	3.06	3.10
12. Friendly	2.54*	3.27	3.25	3.47
13. Has an important job	1.93*	3.15	1.87*	2.31
14. Has a sense of humor	2.94	3.15	3.12	3.03
15. Hard-working	3.22	3.22	3.22	2.98
16. Hospitable	2.98	2.91	3.41	3.46
17. Well-to-do	2.39*	3.00	2.18*	2.63
18. Polite	2.84*	3.40	3.13*	3.46

Table 2: Evaluative Response Means by Attribute and Guise

As can be seen from table 2, when comparing male *ghekanye* to male standard guises the following attributes were significantly lower (p -value < 0.05) for the male *ghekanye* guises: **interesting, educated, smart, cultured, literate, trustworthy, friendly, has an important job, well-to-do, and polite**. When comparing the female *ghekanye* to female standard guises the following attributes were significantly lower (p -value < 0.05) for the female *ghekanye* guises: **educated, beautiful, smart, cultured, literate, trustworthy, has an important job, well-to-do, and polite**.

I also used R to create violin plots for each status category. violin plots depict summary statistics and the density of each variable. The wider sections of the violin plot represent a higher probability that members of the population, in this case the respondents who took the survey, will take on the given value; the skinnier sections represent a lower probability. Along the y-axis of the violin plots is the five-point agreement scale, stated here again for clarity, 1-5 (See fig. 2 below) (1 being “strongly disagree” 3 “neither agree/disagree”, “omission” 5 “strongly agree”). The x-axis shows the combined guises. Unlike table 2, the violin plots show the entire range of answers given by the respondents, and not just the mean. Within each of the violin plots you have a box plot that will show you the minimum, maximum, median values as well as any outliers, which will be represented by dots on the graph.

In fig. 4, the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **interesting** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations tend to be aligned. When comparing the male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. The combined standard male guise also is bimodal, meaning that there are two wider sections represented on the graph, one around the median of 3.04 and the

second around 2.50 that means there is a higher probability that that is how a respondent would evaluate a standard speaker.

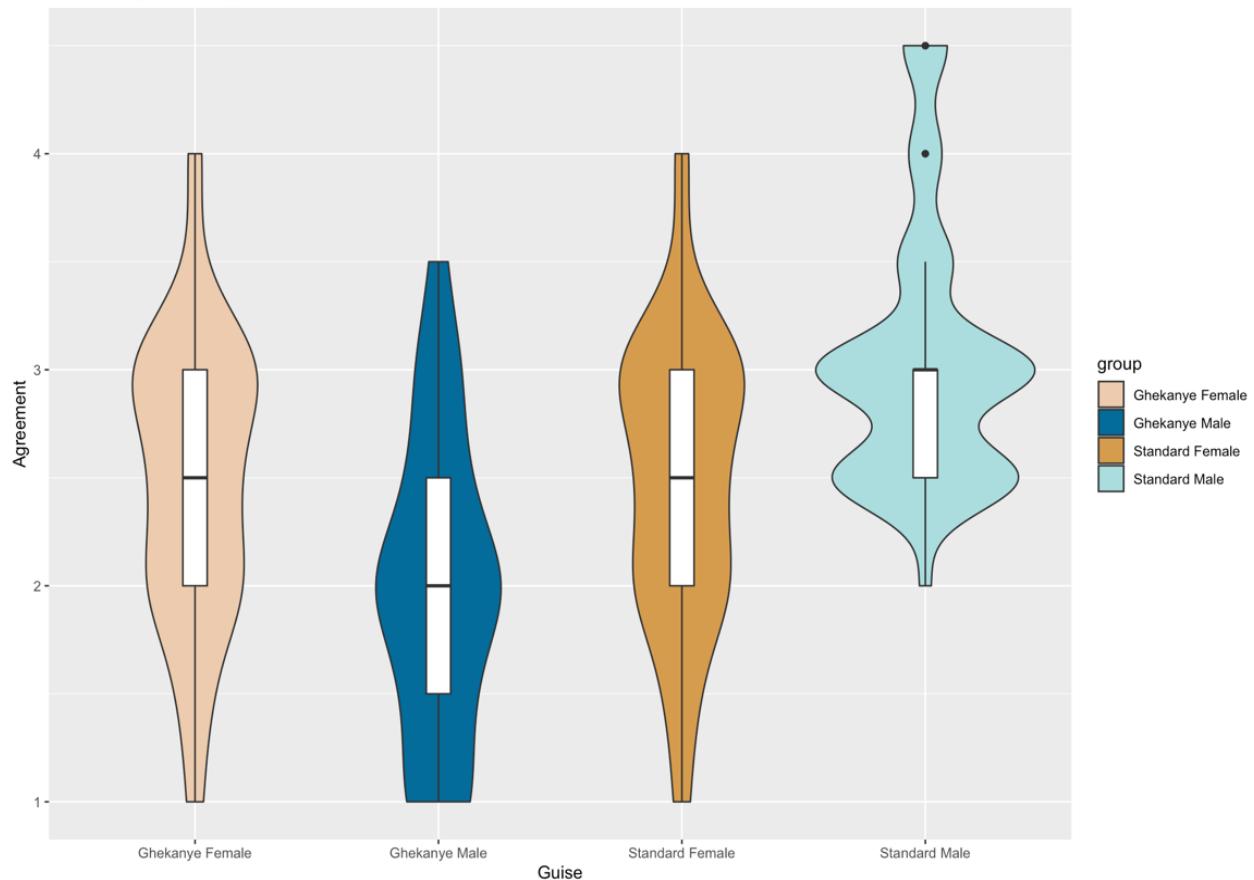


Figure 4: Interesting Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 5 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **educated** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. Based *fig. 5*, there is a higher probability that for the combined female *ghekanye* guise for a respondent to give an attitudinal evaluation of around 2.00. For the combined female standard guise, the highest probability is around 4.00, but the overall range of responses is from one to five, with smaller probabilities around 3.00 and 5.00. When comparing the male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges also do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. The

combined standard male guise has the highest probability of receiving an evaluation of around 4.00 and as outliers with less likely probabilities around 3.00, 2.00, and 1.00.

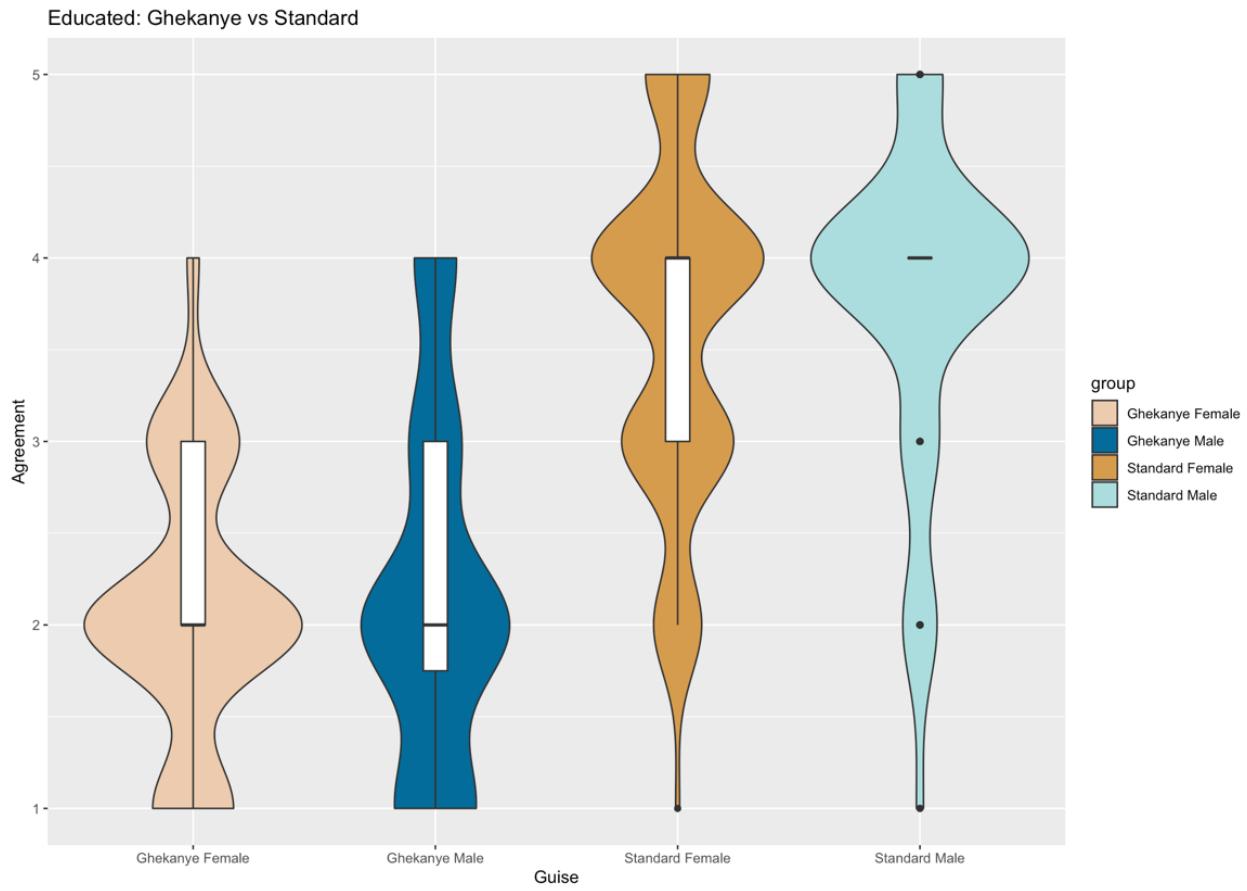


Figure 5: Educated Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 6 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **beautiful** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. The range for *ghekanye* is between 1.00 and 4.00 with the mean and highest probability falling around 3.00, and for the combined standard female guise the range is between 2.00 and 5.00 with the mean and the highest probability falling around 3.5. Though the combined male guises had no statistical significance for the attribute beautiful it can be seen that the combined standard male guise is more multimodal than that of the combined *ghekanye* guise. The standard male has its mean and highest probibilty around 3.5 and the combined standard male guise has its

mean and highest probability around 4.00 but with smaller probabilities appearing around 3.00, 3.50, and 4.50, giving the combined standard male guise its multimodal shape.

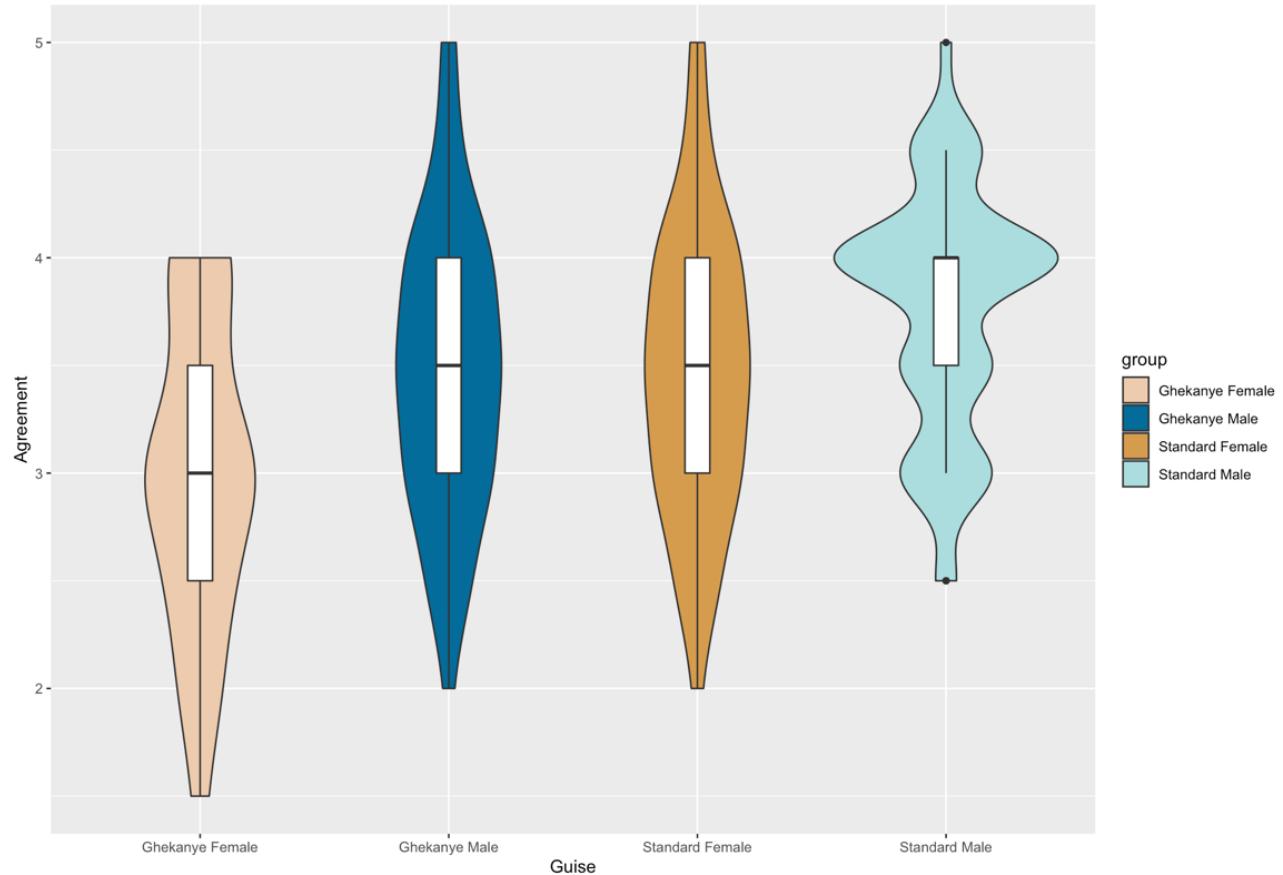


Figure 6: Beautiful Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 7 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **smart** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. The combined female *ghekanye* has a mean around 2.50 and a more normalized distribution, while the combined standard female guise is multimodal and has a higher median of 3.00. The combined females standard guies also has several outliers, indicating that there were some respondents that did give lower than the mean responses. When comparing the male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. The combined male *ghekanye* has a lower mean around 2.00, which is also

where the highest probability occurs, while the combined male standard has a higher mean around 3.5 where its highest probability occurs.

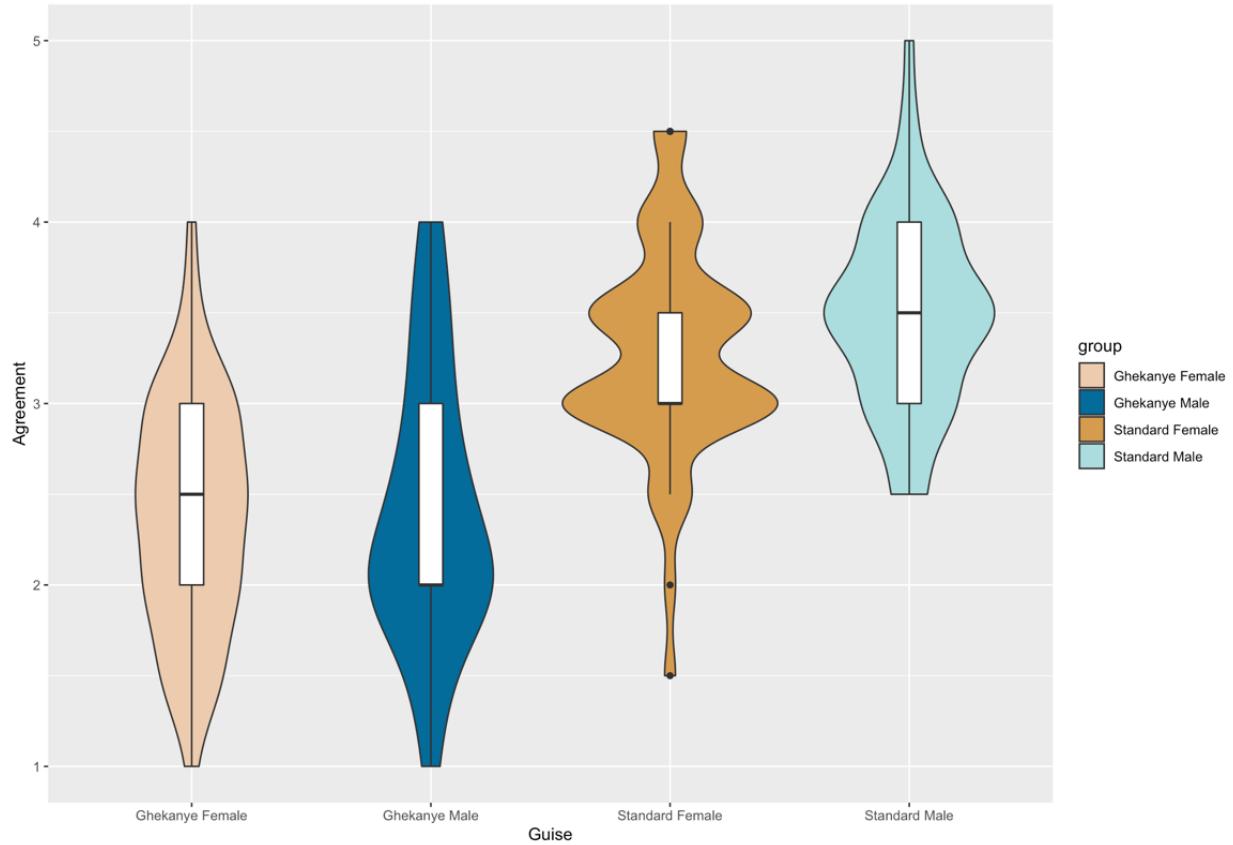


Figure 7: Smart Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 8 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **cultured** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. The combined female *ghekanye* has a mean around 2.50 and a more normalized distribution, while the combined standard female guise has a higher overall median at 3.50 and with a higher probability around 4.00. When comparing the male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. The combined male *ghekanye* has a lower mean around 2.00, which is also where the highest probability

occurs, while the combined male standard has a higher mean around 3.5 where its highest probability occurs.

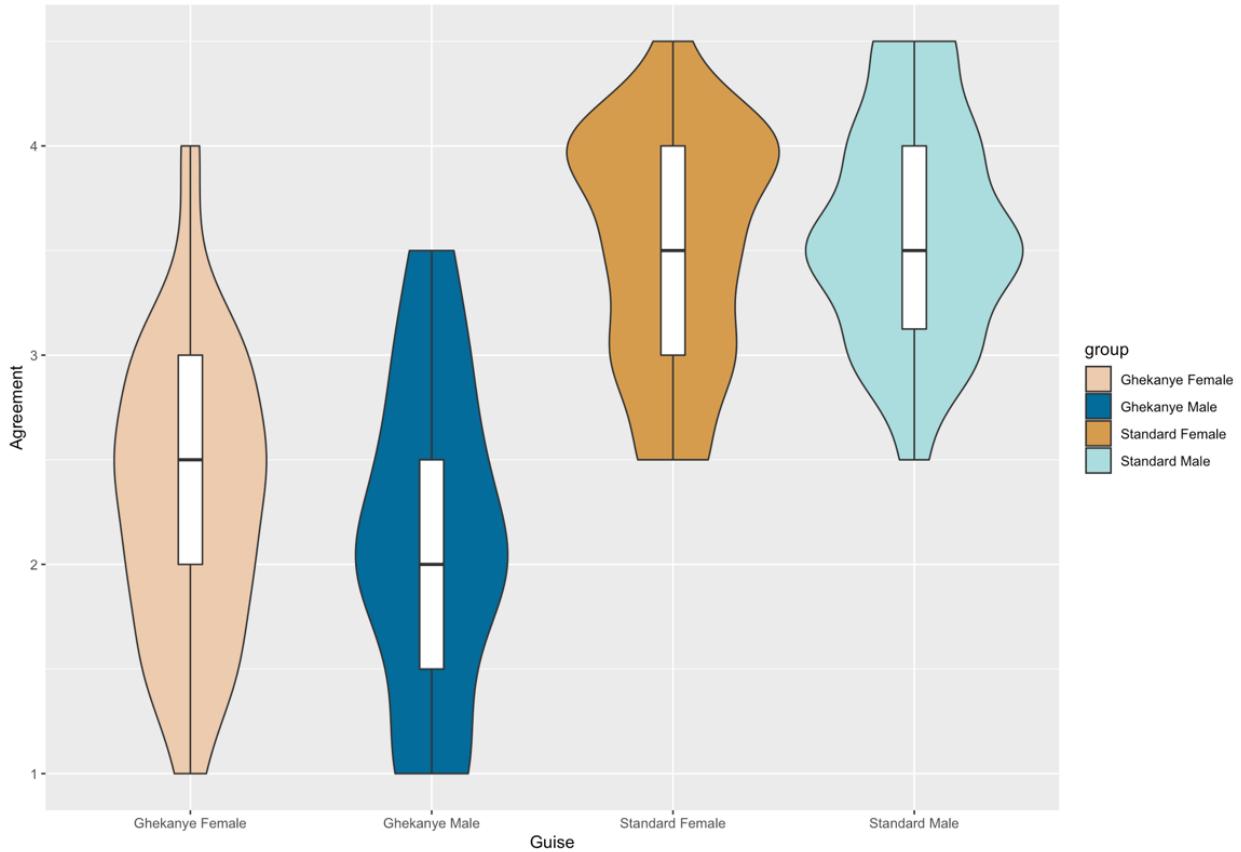


Figure 8: Cultured Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 9 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **literate** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. The combined female *ghekanye* has a mean around 2.00 and is multimodal with higher probabilities in peaking at 1.50, 2.00, and 2.50. The combined standard female guise has a higher overall median at 3.50 and with a higher probability around 4.00. When comparing the male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. The combined male *ghekanye* has a lower mean around 2.00, which is also where the highest probability occurs. The combined male *ghekanye* is also multimodal

with another peak of higher probability occurring around 3.00. The combined male standard has a higher mean around 4.00 where its highest probability occurs and is also multimodal and has a couple peaks of higher probability around 3.50 and 3.00.

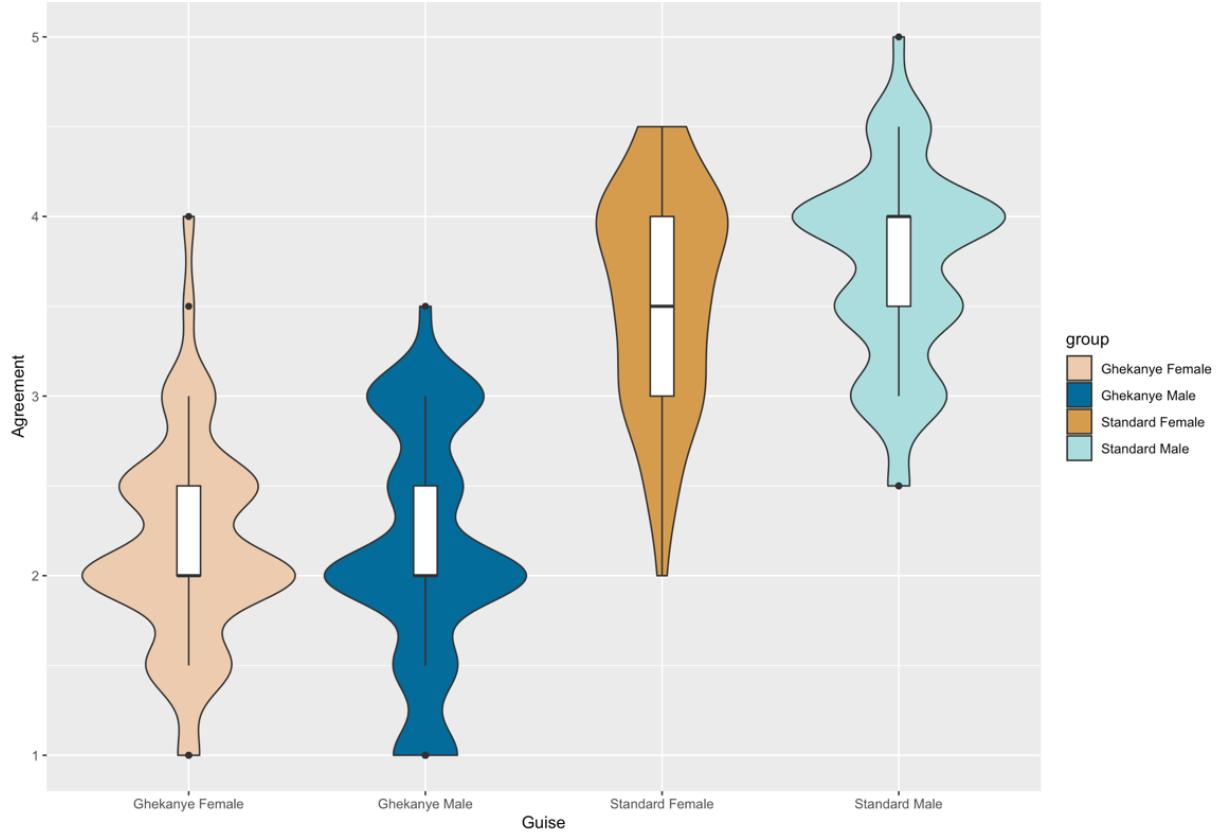


Figure 9: Literate Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 10 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **trustworthy** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. The combined female *ghekanye* has a mean around 2.50. The combined standard female guise has a higher overall median at 3.00 which is where the higher probability is at. The combined standard female guise is also multimodal additional peaks of higher probability around 2.00 and 2.50. When comparing the combined male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. The combined male guises have a similar mean around 3.00. The combined male *ghekanye* guise is multimodal with

additional peaks of probability around 2.50 and 2.00. In addition to this, there are outliers both above and below the minimum and maximum, with another multimodal peak of probability surfacing around 1.50. For the combined male standard guise, there is also multimodality with peaks in probability at 3.50 and 4.00, but unlike the combined male *ghekanye* guise there are only outliers below the minimum with a peak in probability around 1.50.

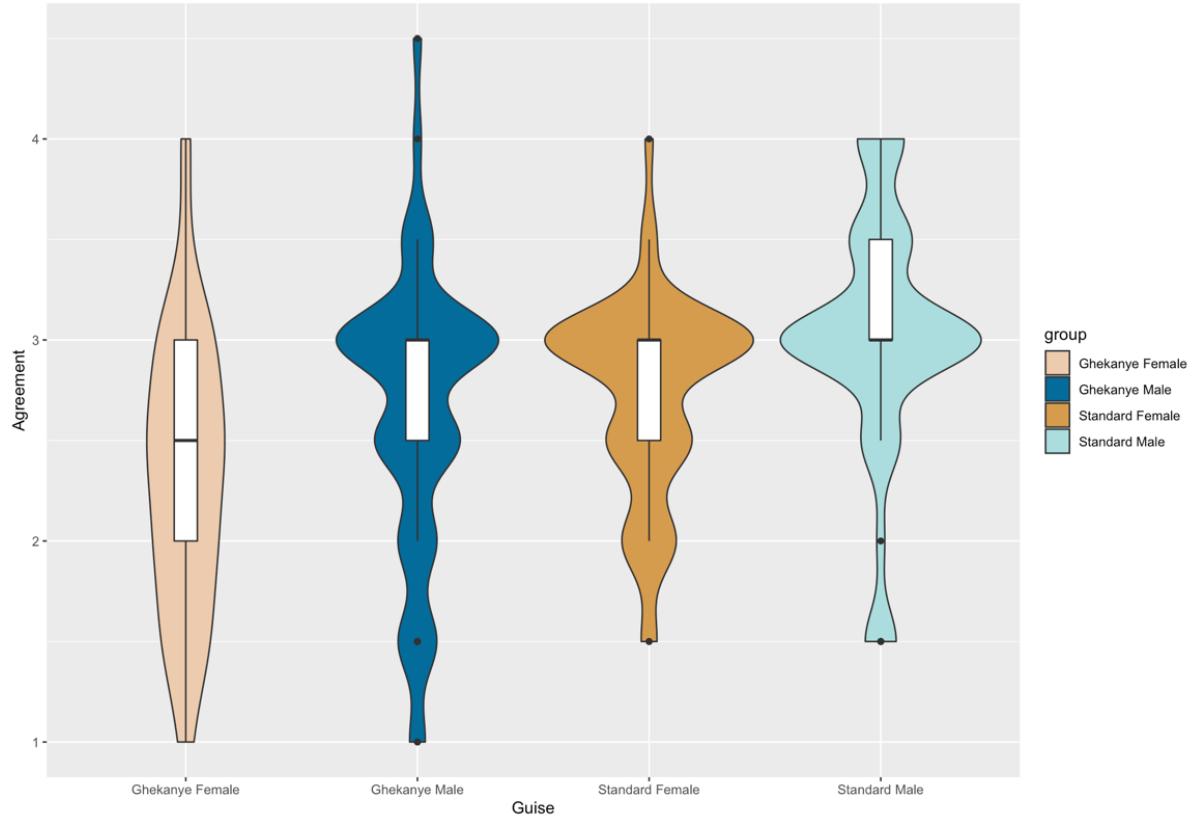


Figure 10: Trustworthy Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 11 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **friendly** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned, but there are similar overall distributions in evaluations, which made the *p*-value for this attribute insignificant for the combined female guises. When comparing the combined male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal

evaluations. For the combined male *ghekanye* guise the mean is around 2.50 and without multimodality. For the combined male standard guise, which is multimodal, the mean is at its highest probability peak of 3.50 with other peaks in probability occurring around 2.50 and 3.00. The combined male standard also has two outliers above the maximum and below the minimum at 5.00 and 2.00 respectively.

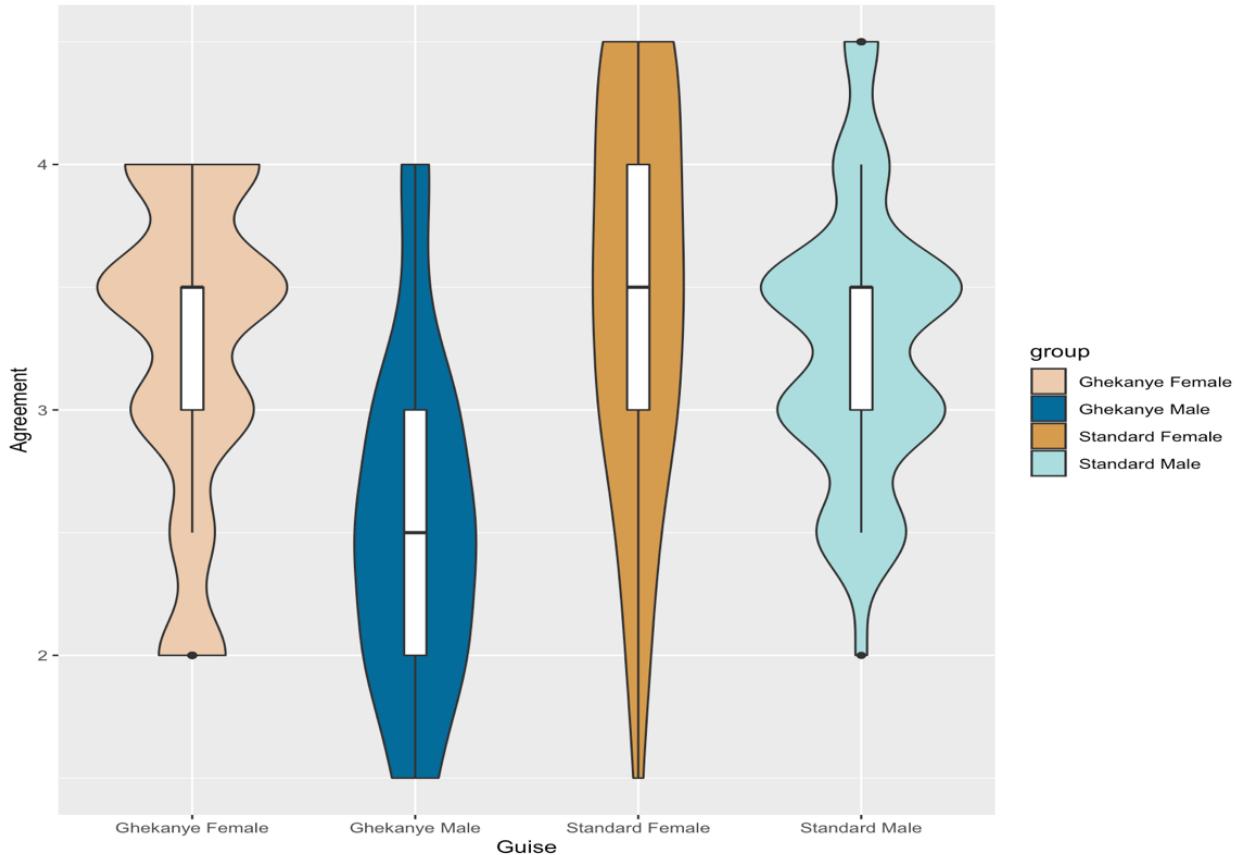


Figure 11: Friendly Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 12 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **has an important job** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. While for both combined female guises, *ghekanye* and standard, the median is at 2.00, the overall distribution of evaluative scores is different. For the combined female *ghekanye* guise, a second peak can bee seen at the value of 1.00, while for the combined

female standard guise there is a higher distribution above the mean. When comparing the combined male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. For the combined male *ghekanye* guise the mean is around 1.50 and that is where the highest probability is located at. For the combined male standard guise the mean is at 3.00.

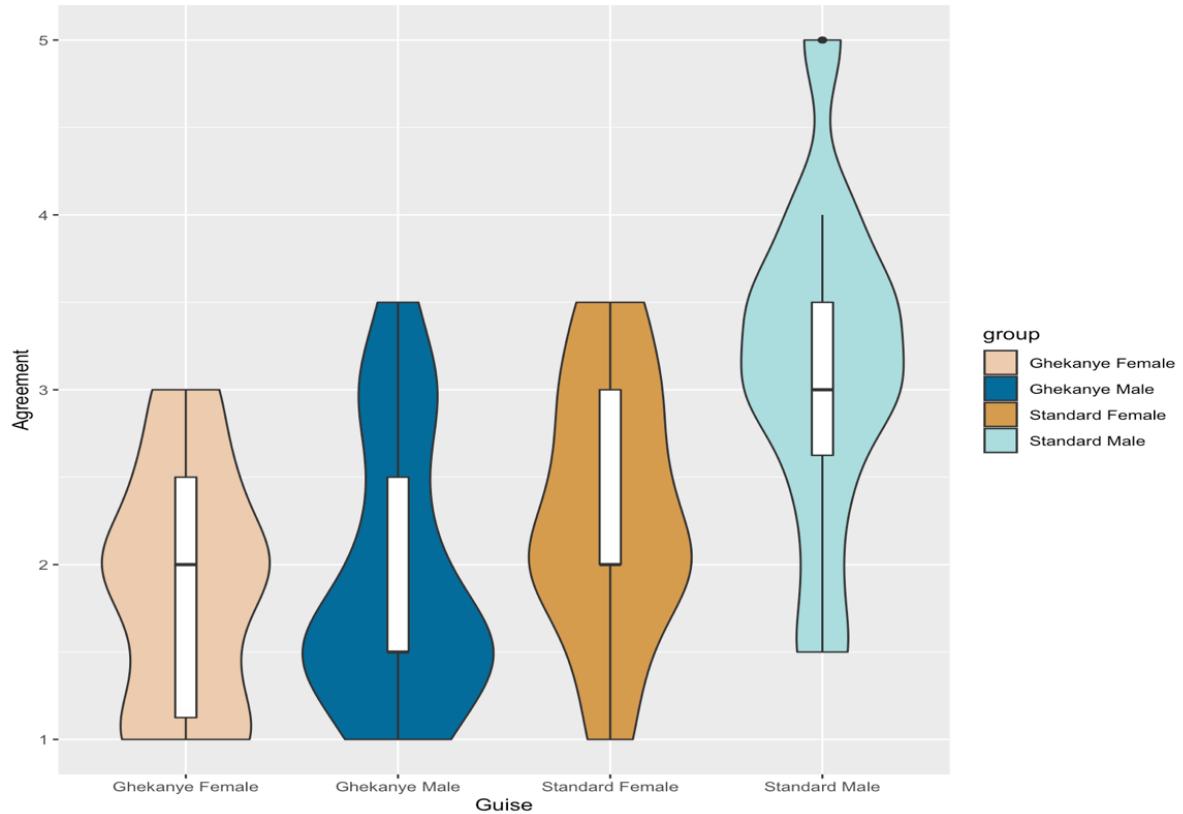


Figure 12: Has an important job Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 13 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **well-to-do** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. For the combined female *ghekanye* guise the mean is at 2.00 and the plot is multimodal with other peaks of probability occurring around 1.00, 2.50, and 3.00. The combined female standard guise has a mean of 2.50 and has a much more normal distribution i.e. not multi modal among the evaluative responses. When comparing the combined male guises, both *ghekanye*

and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. For the combined male *ghekanye* the mean is lower than the standard male guise with them being respectively at 2.50 and 3.00. The range of values of the combined male standard guise is larger than that of the *ghekanye* guise.

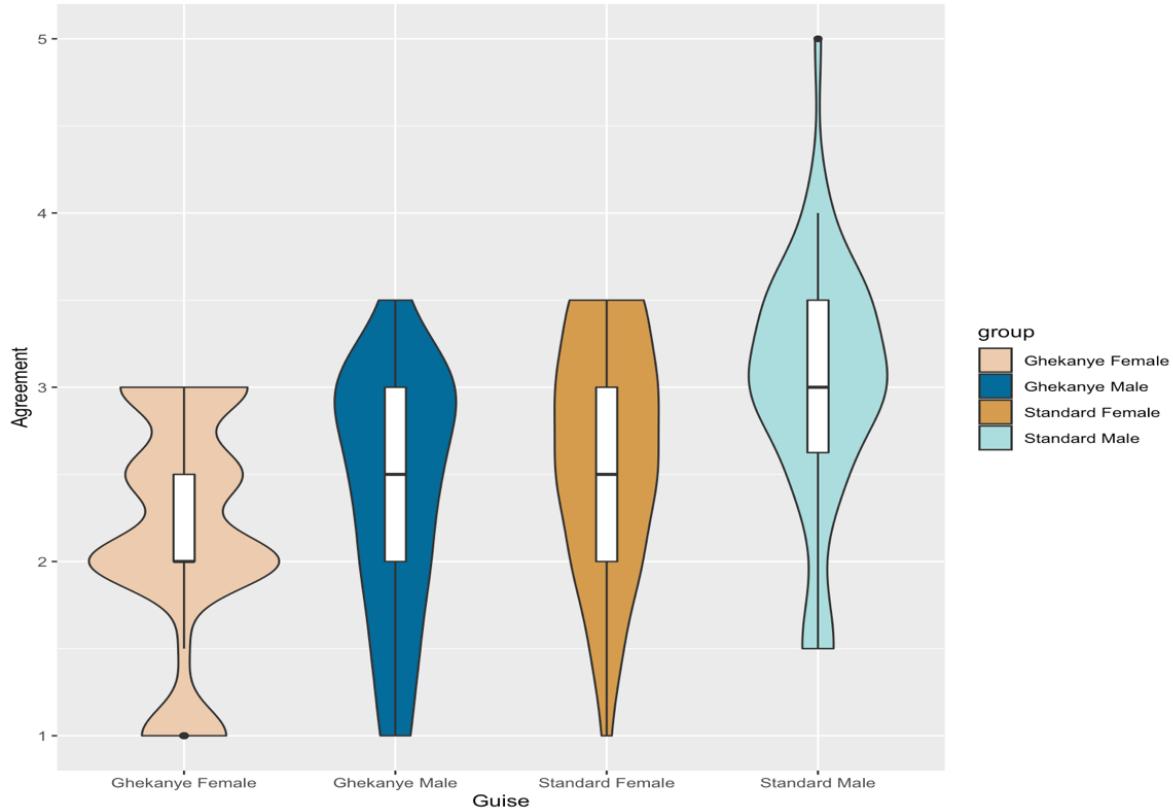


Figure 13: Well-to-do Ghekanye vs Standard

In fig. 13 the violin plot for the combined guises for the attribute of **polite** can be seen. It can be seen when comparing ranges of attitudinal evaluations to the combined female guises, both *ghekanye* and standard that the evaluations do not tend to be aligned. When comparing to other violin plots the distribution of evaluative agreement scores for all combined guises, it can be seen that they are higher for this attribute. Despite this, the combined *ghekanye* guises are still significantly lower. For the combined female *ghekanye* mean is at 3.00 with multimodality. Peaks of probability occur at the mean as well as 3.50. For the combined female standard the mean is at 3.50 and the range extends above that of the

ghekanye guise. When comparing the combined male guises, both *ghekanye* and standard, the ranges do not tend to be aligned for the attitudinal evaluations. For the combined male *ghekanye* guise the mean was at 3.00 and was multimodal with peaks of probability at 2.50 and 3.50, but there was also a small peak and outliers in the lower scores at 1.00 and 1.50. For the combined male standard guise the mean was at 3.50 the overall distribution stayed between 2.50 and 5.00.

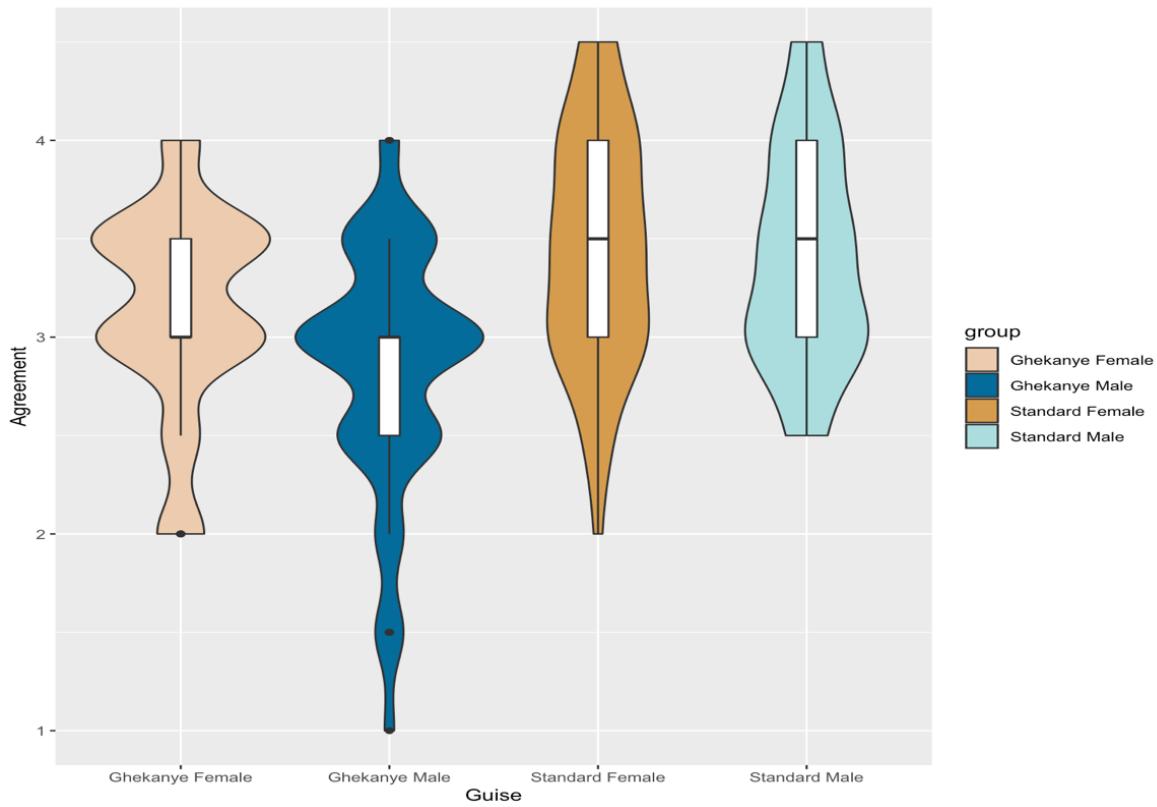


Figure 14: Polite Ghekanye vs Standard

The violin plots displayed from figures 4-14 are to show that the means are not the only feature of interest. The overall ranges and the potential of multimodality help see more variation within the set of data.

I also compared the speakers of the same guise type against each other i.e., female *ghekanye* was compared to male *ghekanye*, and female standard was compared to male standard. Again, a two tailed *t*-test to achieve *p*-values. When comparing the same guise

types together but having gender differing there is a trend for the male *ghekanye* guises to be less **interesting, beautiful, friendly**, and **hospitable** as compared to the female *ghekanye* guises, while the female *ghekanye* guises have a trend of being less **trustworthy**. The male standard guises have a trend of being less **kind, honest, hospitable**, and **polite** than the female standard guises, while the female standard guises have a trend of being less **interesting, trustworthy, having an important job**, and being **well-to-do**.

It is important to remember that identity and perceived identity plays both a conscious and unconscious role in the shape of attitudes and forms of a communicative event. From the data presented above an overall picture of implicit attitudes of respondents from Voronezh can be seen. This, of course, is not to imply that all Voronezh speakers will evaluate *ghekanye* in such away but there is an overall trend toward implicit stigmatization of *ghekanye* that the data presents.

5.4. Myths and Open-ended Questions

5.4.1. Myths

As stated in chapter §4, and repeated here for convenience, myth has generally been examined as discourse from the perspective of the types of myths put forth by the power elite to wrest their power (Langman & Lanstyák 2000:55-56). In examining myth 1 shaped in the form of a question: “Do you agree that one must get rid of their variety in order to get a good job?”. I drew on data from questions that focused on the way in which speakers evaluate and instill material and symbolic capital ascribed *ghekanye*.

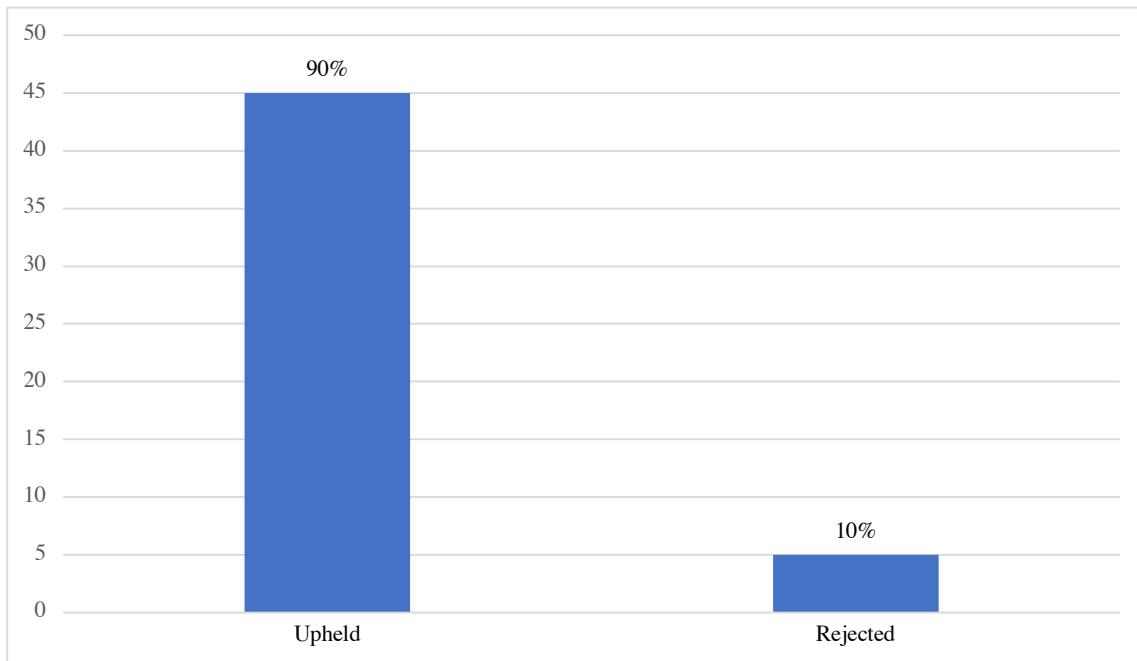


Figure 15: Myth 1 – one must get rid of their variety in order to get a good job

Figure 15 shows the number of speakers (y-axis) that upheld or rejected (x-axis) the myth. I converted the value into percentages and placed them above the column. As seen in fig. 15 of the 50 respondents, 90% (n=45) upheld the myth that one must get rid of their accent to obtain a good job, while only 10% (n=5) rejected it. Example answers that uphold this myth are as follows:

- (25) I think so, yes. That is literate language and plays an important role.
- (26) Yes. An accent grates on one's ears. It reflects the regionalness of a person, their social circle being only in the Voronezh region. All good (prestigious) work relates to communication and speaking, which is one factor that interferes with it. And I am not even talking about instances of performance or work where working with unfamiliar people is required.

In myths 2 and 3 respectively formulated as questions: ‘Do you agree that Voronezh speakers do not speak the standard variety?’ and ‘Do you agree that those who speak with *ghekanye* are uneducated?’ I draw on the belief that occurrence of *ghekanye* in speech is

non-standard and that those that speak in such a way are not speaking the standard variety and thus are uneducated.

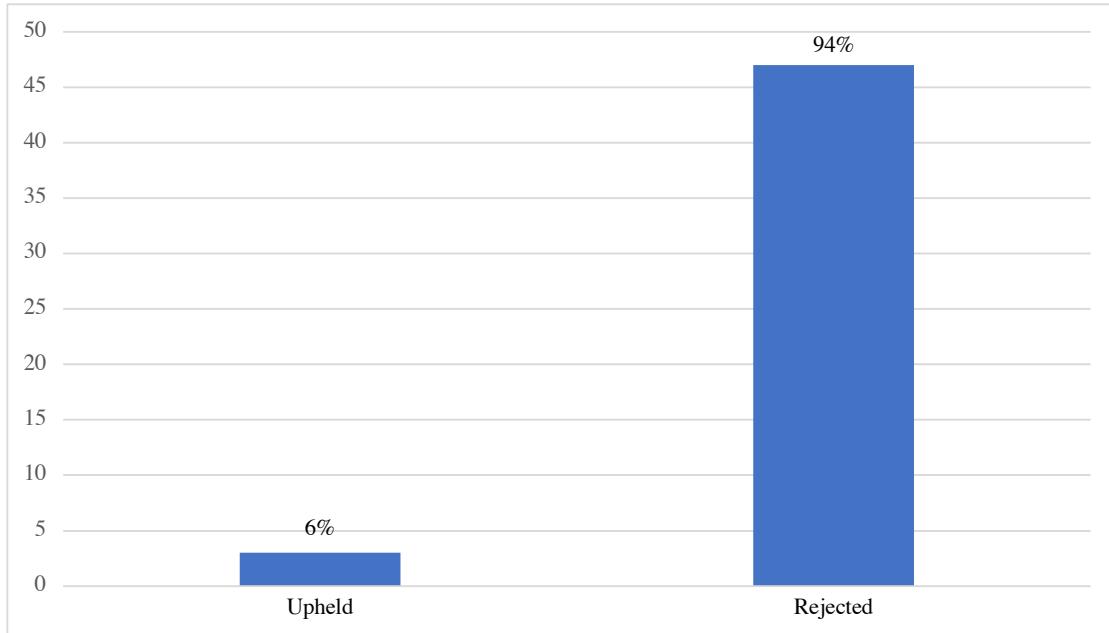


Figure 16: Myth 2 – Voronezh speakers don't speak the standard variety

In *Figure 16*, the number of respondents (y-axis) who upheld or rejected (x-axis) the myth with percentages calculated and placed above the column are shown. *Fig. 16* shows that of the 50 respondents only six percent upheld the myth that Voronezh speakers do not speak the standard variety while 94% completely rejected this myth.

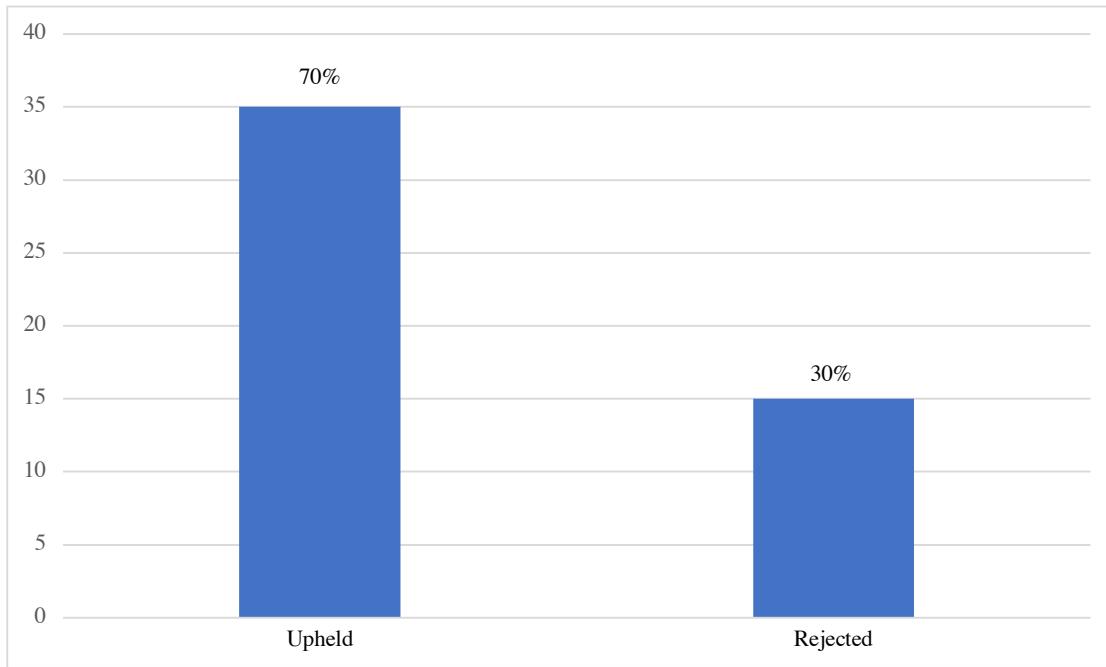


Figure 17: Myth 3 – Those that speak with ghekanye are uneducated

In fig. 17 the number of respondents (y-axis) who upheld or rejected (x-axis) the myth with percentages calculated and placed above the column are shown. The myth that those that speak with *ghekanye* are uneducated was less stark in the leaning of upheld vs. rejected. 70% of the speakers upheld the myth while 30% rejected it. While this is not a fifty-fifty split it is still as much closer than what the results showed for the previous two myths. Some of the responses are as follows:

- (27) Objectively I don't agree, but in general to the ear this kind of speech sounds more "rural".
- (28) No, I don't think so.
- (29) I partly agree. An educated person should be aware of their speech.
- (30) Yes. Simply put, educated individuals work on themselves.

5.4.2. Self-reported Production

Figure 18 below shows in percentages the answers to the question 'How often do you use *ghekanye* in your speech?'. Along the y-axis the number is the respondents, while the x-axis shows the frequencies choices that the respondents gave. The numbers were turned into

percentages and placed above the respective column. The answers as seen ranged from ‘constant’, ‘often’, ‘sometimes’, ‘rarely’, and ‘never’. The respondents were to select one answer. It is important to note that this is self-reported production of *ghekanye*. I did not record the respondents speaking and analyzed to conclude objectively if they in fact are telling the truth and are aware of their own actual production. The results presented here are solely relying on how the respondents perceive their own speech production.

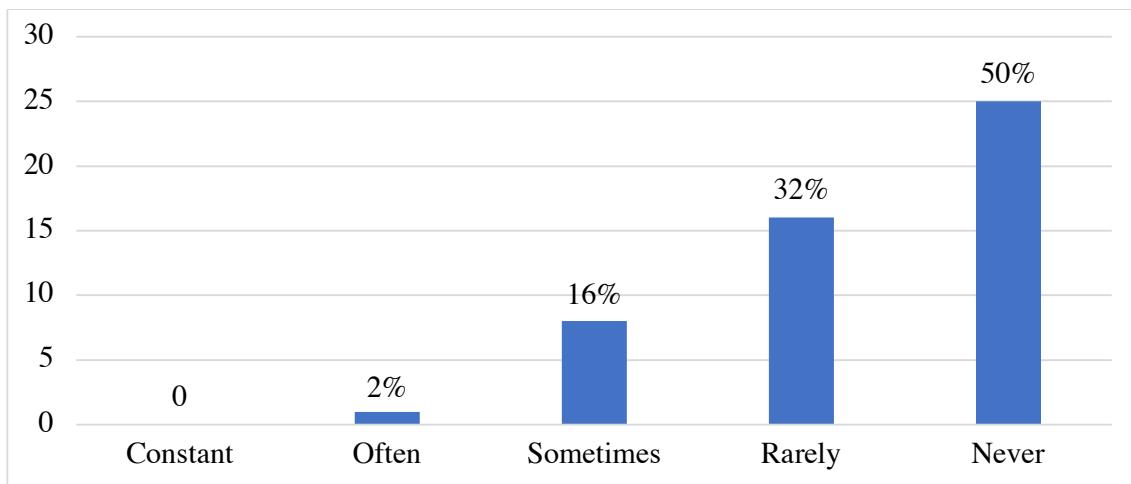


Figure 18: Self-reported production of *Ghekanye* (n=50)

Half of the respondents (50%) reported that they never produce *ghekanye* in speech. The next highest category is 32% which corresponds to the answer of ‘rarely’. The rest of the reported answers as seen above in the chart are relatively low in frequency. Only 16% (n=8) of the 50 respondents chose the frequency of the answer ‘sometimes’, while only 2% (n=1) chose often. No respondents chose the answer ‘constantly’.

5.4.3. *Ghekanye* Comments

Figure 19 shows the explicit attitudes in percentages toward *ghekanye*. Here, I analyzed the answers to the question ‘How do you feel about the use of the voiced velar fricative in speech?’ and rated each answer on a scale from positive to negative attitudinal evaluation. Along the y-axis the number is the respondents, while the x-axis shows the

attitudinal polarity from positive to negative. The numbers were turned into percentages and placed above the respective column. Note, that the response ‘Neg’ contains only connotatively negative language, i.e., negatively, annoying. The response ‘NNeg’ uses language such as neutral but has a negative phrase also i.e., ‘grates on my ears’. The response ‘N’ is that straight forward, it contains the idea that the attitude is neutral, neither positive nor negative. The response of ‘NP’ here indicates that the respondent has a neutral or slightly positive attitude, but it is limited in how and when *ghekanye* can be used. The response ‘P’ mean that the respondent has positive attitudes ascribed to *ghekanye*.

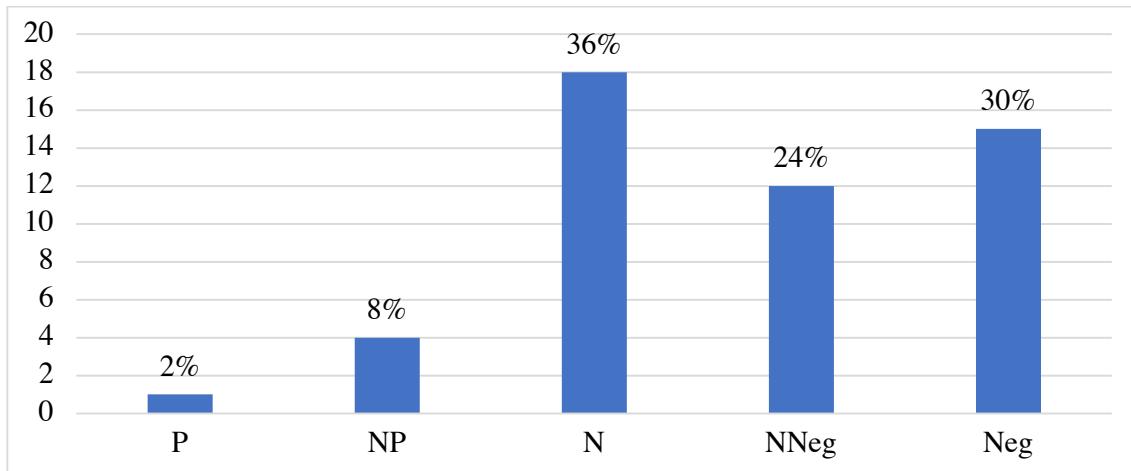


Figure 19: Explicit Attitudes toward Ghekanye (n=50)

Most of the responses (38% of the respondents; n=19) had a neutral (N) attitude toward *ghekanye*, though close behind with 30% (n=15) was a very explicit negative (Neg) attitude toward *ghekanye*. Of the 50 respondents, only 8% (n=5) had a neutral-positive (NP) attitude and 2% (n=1) had a positive (P) attitude. Below are some examples of the respondents’ answers and in parenthesis is the evaluation. These examples I have chosen because the illustrate the kind of language that I used to create the categories.

- (31) Respondent 018: “Negatively, one could even say it is annoying.” (Neg)

- (32) Respondent 012: “Neutral, but it rather grates on my ears.” (NNeg)
- (33) Respondent 040: “Neutral.” (N)
- (34) Respondent 019: “Ok, but only with people you are close with.” (NP)
- (35) Respondent 004: “Positively. “(P)

However, none of the respondents had an overtly positive attitudinal evaluation of *ghekanye*.

As seen from *fig. 18*, the bulk of the respondents have a neutral, negative-neutral or negative attitudinal evaluation of the voiced velar fricative.

5.5. Summary

In this chapter the qualitative and quantitative results are presented. As discussed in chapter §4, the results presented in this chapter are based on the MGtest, open-ended questions, and myths. The MGttest revealed that *ghekanye* speakers tend to be regarded as being less educated, smart, cultured, literate, trustworthy, having an important job, well-to-do, and polite when compared to the speakers of the SRLV. The open-ended questions showed that the explicit attitudes of the respondents toward *ghekanye* range from positive (P) to negative (Neg), with the highest percent of attitudes being rated as neutral. In the next chapter, generalizations based on the findings from the data and responds to the research questions posed in chapter §1 as well as in chapter §4, section §4.2 will be presented.

CHAPTER 6: DISCUSSION

*“[...] folk beliefs,
particularly those concerning language correctness,
are extremely powerful factors in perception.”
-Preston (1998:273)*

6.1 Introduction

How does something new spread through society, from one person to the next? A closer look at the outbreak and spread of diseases, though it may be unpleasant, can be very instructive for linguists concerned with language change. The Bubonic Plague of the 14th century and the SARS-CoV-2 that struck in 2019, while both deadly and contagious illnesses, can help us understand language change or rather diffusion of innovation, and, in some cases, even the failed spreading of linguistic innovation. A given innovation may or may not catch on. If it does, just like a contagious virus or bacteria, then it can spread from person to person throughout a given society.

One very old, but still popular model of linguistic change describes the diffusion of new features as concentric waves, spreading out from a center of origin and becoming progressively weaker the further away from the center (see Schuchard 1868 and Schmidt 1872). British sociolinguist Peter Trudgill (1974) suggested some important modifications to this wave model of diffusion. Trudgill also introduced the idea that geographical distance and population size are two measurable predictors for the spread of innovations. He called his model the gravity model of diffusion and argued that the spread of changes must be intricately tied up with communication between speakers, i.e., the more speakers interact, the more likely it is that changes will be passed on from one speaker to the next. In other words, the least distance between a group of people the more likely a linguistic change will spread, and the further away a speech community is the diffusion or gravitational pull will be less and thus, have a less likely change to be affected by a linguistic change.

This chapter will discuss the generalizations which may be drawn from the results presented in Chapter §5. The contributions of this study to both Russian sociolinguistics and sociolinguistics in general will also be briefly discussed. This chapter will be broken down in the following way: in §6.2, I will first elaborate on and explicate the findings related to each of RQ1 and overall attitudes based on the data collected from the MGtest; in §6.3 I will elaborate on RQ2 and focus on implicit and explicit attitudes related to economic and social mobility; in §6.4 a discussion of RQ3 and attitudes indexing education and ruralness will be brought forth; and in §6.5 a discussion of a linguistic change motivated by language attitudes and standardization will be explicated.

6.2 Discussion: RQ1 and Overall Attitudes

The MGtest portion of the survey can be used to discuss and expound upon the RQ1 and RQ3. To return to the RQ1, for convenience I will here restate it here together with the accompanying hypothesis:

RQ1. How do residents of Voronezh perceive and evaluate the use of the voiced velar fricative in speech?

H1. Voronezh residents will more negatively evaluate the use of the voiced velar fricative, particularly in status categories relating to superiority.

Both the results of the matched guise study and the analysis of the open-ended questions (chapter §5) suggest that Voronezh residents do indeed more negatively evaluate the use of the voiced velar fricative just as hypothesized.

When comparing the attributes between the standard guise and the *ghekanye* guise the following attributes are negatively valued for the *ghekanye* guise: **educated, smart, cultured, literate, trustworthy, having an important job, and well-to-do**. This finding shows that listeners' overt recognition of a contrast between SRV and SRLV manifests in an uptake of social meanings. The results of the MGtest indicate that listeners' recognition of the

contractiveness of forms, like other forms of folk-linguistic awareness, can be categorized along a dimension of availability from overt to implicit (Preston 1996).

The results offered in the present study also corroborate the observations made before that those who speak non-standard varieties are perceived often to be less intelligent, competent, or attractive (eg. Fuerters, et al. 2011). These perceptions find their roots in the standard language ideology, specifically a societal perception that there is one superior or single true way of speaking. As Albury (2020:317) notes, “dialectic relationship of language ideology and language attitudes can be seen in the way that the individual’s attitude may be the obvious articulation of an ideology to which the individual subscribes.” For example, *fig.19* shows how the dialectic relationship manifests itself within discourse about the use of non-standard linguistic varieties, in particularly *ghekanye* speech in Russian city of Voronezh. The topic was amalgamated from the open-ended questions, in which respondents were asked to give opinions about *ghekanye* as well as the results from the MGtest. The ideology presented is the pervasive ideology that is found within many, if not all, standard-language cultures, that promotes one sole correct variety over all others. As stated by Milroy (2001:134), “in standard-language cultures, virtually everyone subscribes to the idea of correctness. Some forms are believed to be right and others wrong, and this is generally taken for granted as common sense.” The attitudes expressed by respondents are consistent with the prevailing ideology that the standard is the ideal that one should strive for and that *ghekanye* speakers deviate from that ideal. I also will argue here that the standard is believed to be open and accessible to everyone to learn what the correct forms are. This idea that the standard variety is open to be learned can be seen in the first attitude listed in *fig. 19*, that an educated individual needs to be aware of their speech. In this way, it is thought to be quite proper to discriminate against people who use non-standard forms.

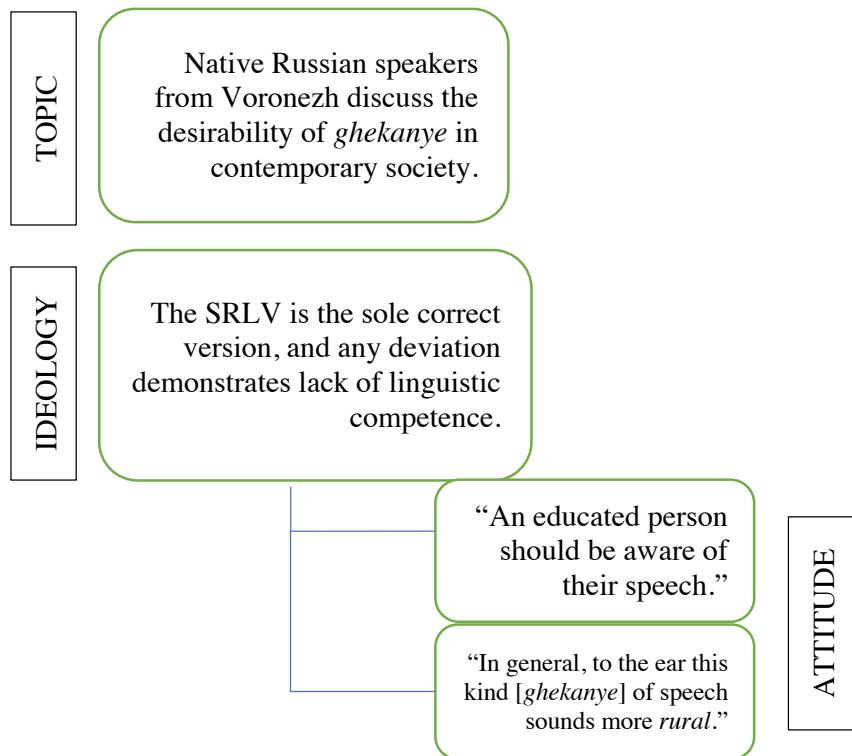


Figure 20: Dialectic relationship
Adapted from Albury (2020:371)

As shown in chapter §2, it was the Soviet practice to insist that all speakers of Russian conform to the norms of the standard language. As a result, grammatical correctness became the most important criteria for the language competence of Russian language speakers, including native speakers, and this ideology became entrenched in the minds of speakers and persists strongly to this day, which can be seen by the overall negative evaluation of the speakers in this study, and by the fact that correctness has become an absolutization or dogmatization, which is shown by the negative evaluation of attributes such as **cultured**, **smart**, **literate**, and **educated** of speakers producing *ghekayne*.

6.3 RQ2: Economic and Social Mobility

From analyzing the quantitative and qualitative data, it became apparent that the importance of the opposition of *non-ghekanye* vs. *ghekanye* not only resided in the implicit

attitudes but also in the perceived notion of social and economic mobility that they can or cannot afford. I return to RQ2 with accompanying H2, and for convenience I will restate both them here:

RQ2. Do Voronezh residents uphold the myth that in order to obtain a good job, one must speak the standard variety?

H2. Respondents will maintain that in order to achieve a good job one must get rid of one's variety.

The *ghekanye* feature is associated with reducing the ability of those associated with it to achieve a good job. The hypothesis is borne out and the myth is overall supported by Voronezh speakers themselves. Voronezh speakers within both, MGtest, where they negatively evaluated the *ghekanye* guises in the attribute of **having an important job**, and within the open-ended questions section, where they upheld the myth that one must get rid of their variety in order to get a good job, confirm that speaking SRLV is integral to perceived successful socioeconomic status and mobility. Specific language varieties can be codified as the official language of the state, and their grammars, lexicon and orthographies are generally managed from a power center. In turn, a collective comes to endorse that variety as normative and correct, including potentially within homes and schools, such that non-conforming behaviors become marked as incorrect or undesirable. This undesirability, as seen by the upholding of the myth that one must speak the standard variety to get a good job, can go as far as reducing access to social or economic benefits and mobility of those who deviate from the standard variety.

The beliefs and attitudes of Voronezh speakers connected to access to a good job corroborates the notion that of market value, which was discussed in §4.2. Here, the SRVL is seen to have market value because it brings a speaker easier access to economic and social well-being, which in will give the speaker financial gain, while *ghekanye* does not hold market value and thus will not lead a *ghekanye* speaker to financial gain to the ideology that a

speaker must conform to the SRLV in order to have a good job. I suggest here that belief of *ghekanye* not having market value can be confirmed by the high percentage (90%) of respondents upholding this myth. It must be noted that there were respondents who explicated their stance by saying that if you are going to be working in areas where speaking is absolutely necessary, especially if it is with others outside the region, then one must speak the standard variety. For example, respondent 031, said that “if you are going to work with communicating with people, then it is desirable [to get rid of your variety].” Another example can be seen by respondent 033, they say “all prestigious work involves communication, and one’s variety is on factor that interferes with it [communication].”

I also suggest that this myth also shows not only market value in terms of economic mobility but also social mobility. Kaiser (1994:261-20) notes that in the former Soviet Union “learning Russian was prerequisite for social mobility”. Of course, Kaiser is not talking about native Russian speakers but native non-Russian speakers, but I suggest that the underlining idea is the same that learning and speaking the SRLV that is taught in schools and is propagated in dictionaries, grammars, and pronunciation dictionaries is one of the ways for an individual living in the Russian Federation to get ahead i.e., gain social mobility. More to the point, increasing one’s command and use of the SRLV, characterized among other things by *non-ghekanye*, is seen as a means to prepare for future social mobility, which corroborates similar findings by Rickford (1987), where he found that social mobility motivated a large numbers of Guyanese creole speakers to modify their speech in the direction of the standard.

6.4 RQ3: Indexing Education and Ruralness

Language attitudes are a significant part of how we assess one another. Understanding them contributes to our knowledge of how perception of one’s speech can influence a myriad of opportunities, such as job opportunities, housing opportunities, and educational success

(Preston 2004). RQ3, repeated here for convenience together with the accompanying H3, directly addresses the topic of perceived low education by use *ghekanye*.

RQ3. Will Voronezh residents uphold the myth that the use of the voiced velar fricative in speech means that a speaker is uneducated?

H3. Respondents will maintain that the voiced velar fricative is a sign of low education.

The results of the MGtest show that the negative judgements are generally reserved for attributes such as, **intelligent**, **cultured**, **educated**, and **literate**, which Preston (1998:267) associates with language correctness. Specifically, the results of the present study have shown that *non-ghekanye* is perceived to be more **educated**, **literate**, **intelligent**, and **cultured** than those speakers who are identified by *ghekanye*. This indicates that the inculcated stereotypes and ideologies regarding *ghekanye* are significant factors. Thus, the more non-standard the speech, the more negatively respondents evaluate speakers.

Among the themes brought up by the respondents to the question of whether or not they agree that an individual exhibiting *ghekanye* is uneducated, the idea that *po-derevenski* ‘in a rural way’ or *iz derevni* ‘from a village’ was linked to *ghekanye*. While by the dictionary definition (Efremova 2000:148), *po-derevenski* means “as characteristic of the inhabitants of a village”, the term indexes nothing about the speech other than its geographic location. It has become apparent that through the open-ended questions that the meaning was deeper than this. This deeper meaning, than simply being connected to a location, is seen in a few respondents’ comments, such as respondent 007, “people with an accent are “*iz derevni*” ‘from a village’, i.e uneducated and illiterate” as well as respondent 008, “*ghekanye* is characteristic of rural inhabitants, where access to education and work is limited.” In other words, there is a connection with ruralness and level of education and access to education and job opportunities.

This connection to ruralness and access can be seen in Bednáříková et al. (2016:100), where they note that in the Russian context “[y]oung people move to cities where institutions of vocational education that provide employment opportunities in the city after graduation are located”. Once they receive higher or vocational education, young professionals do not return to rural areas. A low level of wages and unsatisfactory working and living conditions in rural municipalities are unattractive for young graduates. Therefore, the number of graduates of university and secondary vocational educational institutions who return to rural areas is many times lower than the number of people who travel to the cities for professional education.

Shibaeva (2012) maintains that the critical socioeconomic situation in Russia, which was caused primarily by unemployment, inadequate working conditions, and poor access to medical care, negatively affects quality of life in rural areas and thus intensifies out-migration tendencies among young people. In a study of perceptions to the stimuli city and village by Russian and Chinese speakers, Mymrina et al. (2016:125) found that “all the negative associations are related to the pragmatic aspect (i.e. little opportunity for professional development, no job, no hot water, no access to up-to-date information)”, which can be explained by the insufficient development of infrastructure, lack of job opportunities, low income, and domestic problems. The out-migrations discussed in Bednáříková et al. (2016) and socioeconomic issues brought up in Mymrina et al. (2016) that are tied to rural life for Russian society, get reified and connected to the speech of the speakers that are out-migrating to urban areas. For example, respondent 011 stated that “according to my opinion, those that speak with *ghekanye*, are those that grew up not in the city and because of this were unable to obtain sufficient education. If the student from a village went to study at a university in the city and failed to get rid of their *ghekanye*, then this is a marker of unwillingness to assimilate into the urban environment.”

In this way, *ghekanye* has become iconic, meaning that it is a linguistic fact that has taken on characteristics with no further reference to the group as a necessary part of the association. This is all due to the fact that *ghekanye* is so often imbued and associated with ruralness and uneducatedness and also the constraint that the SRLV is the sole correct version, and any deviation demonstrates lack of linguistic competence.

6.5 Discussion: Implicit vs. Explicit attitudes

In the study done by Andrews (1995) it was shown that in the language attitudes of native speakers of Russian, the SRV is clearly disliked to the point of stigmatization, when compared to the standard variety. As I have stated section §3.5, this is tied with correctness which relies on an assumption that there is a correct way and an incorrect way to use language, a common ideology about language in general (Wolfram 1998; Milroy & Milroy 1999). The implicit attitudes found by the MGtest, as stated above show an overall negative evaluative trend by Voronezh respondents to *ghekanye*. RQ4 with the accompanying H4, reiterated again for convenience, focuses on the comparison of implicit and explicit attitudinal beliefs held by the respondents and how they may potentially differ.

RQ4. Will Voronezh residents' implicit attitudes to the use of the voiced velar fricative differ from their explicit attitudes?

H4. Respondents will hold clearly defined implicit bias against the use of the voiced velar fricative, while explicit attitudes will be less negatively marked.

When looking at the explicit attitudes, it appears that the negativity toward and ultimate stigmatization of *ghekanye* is not as clear-cut. Most of the responses (38% of the respondents; n=19) had a neutral attitude toward *ghekanye*, though close behind with 30% (n=15) was a very explicit negative evaluation of *ghekanye*. Of the 50 respondents only 8% (n=5) had a neutral-positive attitude. This shows that though the implicit attitudes as shown by the results of the MGtest are negative, while the explicit attitudes of the respondents are

not as negative. There is an awareness of Voronezh respondents toward *ghekanye*, several speakers stated that educated speakers control their speech work on themselves. Respondent 017 stated the following, “educated individuals simply work on themselves”, and respondent 018 in a similar theme said, “my opinion is such, that literate, educated individuals control the correctness of their own speech.” There were also a few respondents, for example 025 and 037, were aware of the idea and stereotype that *ghekanye* is bad but were not fully aware themselves why they think in such a way and even wanted to not think as negatively about a person. Respondent 025, said “Unfortunately, there exists such a stereotype [*ghekanye* is uneducated], I try not to come to such conclusions, but it is very difficult not to, and I am not sure why.” Respondent 030 stated, “I am ashamed to say, yes, those that produce *ghekanye* are uneducated, though I am not sure way that stereotype exists.”

One of the responses that I think captures this difference between the implicit and explicit attitudes can be seen with the following response from respondent 009: “I am neutral toward it, but I don’t want my children to speak in such a way.” This respondent claims to be explicitly neutral toward *ghekanye*, but the implicit attitude that the second part of their statement brings is one of negativity. This can be understood through the ideology of correctness, idea of market value and social mobility that is granted to non-*ghekanye* speakers, insofar as the respondent, albeit probably subconsciously, realizes that their children would be better off not speaking a SRV, due to its limiting access to economic and social gains.

6.6 Pride, Prejudice, and Prestige Motivating Linguistic Change

As mentioned in chapter §2, the areal distribution according to dialectological research and data collected include the Russian city of Voronezh. The goal of this study was to obtain attitudes from respondents who have lived and grew up inside the region where

ghekanye would be encountered. With this ambition and this goal, I suggest that there may in fact be a change in the linguistic makeup of the so-called isogloss that is *ghekanye*. Based on the results to the questions regarding explicit attitudes toward *ghekanye*, it has become clear that among the respondents, the phenomenon of *ghekanye* may be changing. By this I mean that due to social pressure to adhere to the SRLV, in the urban center of Voronezh there could a change happening within the linguistic boundaries of *ghekanye*. This is taken from the fact that half of the respondents (50%) selected that they never use *ghekanye* in speech and 32% rarely use it. This, coupled with the trend to assign ruralness to *ghekanye*, sheds light on the fact that it is possible that in urban centers, even within the southern part of the Russian Federation, where *ghekanye* has been marked in dialectological atlases and maps to be in use, *ghekanye* is not being used or being used less and less.

Szecsý (2008:67) said that “people’s attitude towards language are paralleled to their attitudes towards its speakers”. The treatment of *ghekanye* as a marker of ruralness, uneducatedness, illiterateness, unintelligence, could very well be a trigger for a linguistic change, fueled by social pressure, that could, if given enough time and the continued high stigmatization of the linguistic phenomenon, eliminate *ghekanye* from use in urban centers within the area where the SRV is spoken.

6.7 Summary

I noted already that *ghekanye*, which is a non-standard linguistic feature that is couched within the larger SVR, is stigmatized even within the city of Voronezh itself. Topics and themes that were brought out by the data and explicated here in the discussion are that *ghekanye* bears with it for the social context of the respondents from Voronezh that it indexes, by implicit attitudes, lack of intelligence, lack of education, lack of access to a good job. Within the realm of explicit attitudes, there is a kind of theme of linguistic insecurity. I

suggest this due to the fact that the majority of respondents claimed to perceive *ghekanye* as neutral, thought usually with some qualifying statements. I also brought forth the idea of ruralness and how it relates to implicit and explicit attitudes and beliefs. Respondents put forth that ruralness and education are not actually connected, and I suggest that when the respondents say this that despite the implicit attitudes of lack of education, that this ruralness implies lack of access to social and economic mobility. In the next, final chapter will offer concluding remarks including an explanation of overall contributions of the present study to Russian sociolinguistics in particular and sociolinguistics in general as well as outline possible future directions that could be taken in order to shed more light on the topic of language attitudes toward Russian varieties and the phenomenon of *ghekanye*.

CHAPTER 7: CONCLUSION

“*Most people would insist that dialects, by their very nature, are ‘incomplete’ linguistic entities, ‘inexpressive’ systems of communication and ‘inferior’ versions of standard or official languages.*”
—Papapavlou (2010:491)

7.1 Introduction

It can be safely concluded from the obtained results that certain phonological forms of the SRV are very much associated with social parameters such as prestige, education, etc. and unconsciously influence the speakers' attitudes towards their own language variety. Since language attitudes have an influence on people's lives (on their education, self-esteem, employment opportunities, etc.), further research is needed to better understand not only the extent to which individual speech sounds may influence people's perceptions of and attitudes toward them, but also to try to gain a greater insight about other features of language varieties that may have a direct or an indirect effect on language attitudes. Studies in PD, LR, folk beliefs and subjective reactions seek to include what non-linguists think about various linguistic practices in all-inclusive studies of variation that incorporate aspects of both linguistic production and perception, by also including where speakers think variation comes from, where they think it is, and why they think it occurs. I also suggest that these studies are essential to furthering general understanding of the relationship of language and space, not simply in terms of the folk beliefs that are fed into such notions, but also in terms of facilitating conditions on variation in change that have spatial significance. This can be seen in a change of pronunciation norms for certain words. As stated, before, there were certain lexical items for which *ghekanye* was part of the normative pronunciation, but in recent years there has been a shift and *ghekanye* is no longer the norm in these words (Krysin 2004).

This chapter will be structured as follows, section §7.2 will elaborate on the present study's contribution to Russian sociolinguistics in particular and to the field of

sociolinguistics in general, §7.3 expounds on areas of what can be improved upon and future research that can be conducted to better enhance the understanding of language attitudes as it is related to Russian varieties.

7.2 Overall Contributions

While linguist can describe arguably with ease the production of linguistic features, the affective dimension of those features is also important for understanding and describing a language variety, furthermore the community producing those features. I observe and push the notion that these beliefs and attitudes are important to study and understand as they show a contrast in the relationship between standard language and any variety found in societies and communities that use a standard variety. While the present study does not offer insights into how speakers of SRV view *ghekanye*, it should be also used as a springboard for future studies, which will add to the understanding of LR of Russian, which has been lacking as it is compared to western scholarship.

7.2.1 Contributions to Russian Studies

The first contribution this study makes is supporting and corroborate similar beliefs and attitudes toward SRLV and *ghekanye* (Andrews 1995). While not a representative sample, this study also provides further insight into the contextual and situational attitudes that exist within the Russian speaking community of the city of Voronezh. The patterns of adherence to the SRLV norms and stigmatization of *ghekanye* discussed in detail in chapter §5 show more contextual nuance than has been observed in prior research (Andrews 1995; Parikova 1966). Additionally, this study helps show that even within the territory where *ghekanye* is observed, the standard language ideologies push speakers to conform to the *non-ghekanye* variety and devalue the *ghekanye* variety, just like speakers in Moscow and St. Petersburg (as was demonstrated in Andrews 1995).

This study also contributes to the ideological study of *ghekanye* as a non-standard variety. Overall, the trend is that Voronezh speakers prefer *non-gheknaye*. This strategy is based in popular language ideologies that eschew incorrect forms which allow its speakers to appear educated, intelligent, and competent.

7.2.2 Contributions to Sociolinguistics

In this dissertation, I set out to explore the relationship between language and society in Voronezh as it pertains to the linguistic phenomenon of *ghekanye*. This is because we understand relatively little about the language ideologies, beliefs, and attitudes from speakers that live within the boundaries of what is known as the SRV. This study offers an informed linguistic and social analysis of the Voronezh attitudes toward *ghekanye* as well as new insights into the stability of *ghekanye* as it butts up against *non-ghekanye*.

In addition to the contributions to Russian studies and to understanding the Voronezh speech community, this dissertation contributes to the general field of sociolinguistics and particularly LR studies, specifically its subfields of PD and language attitudes. There is no lack of evidence that non-standard varieties tend to be stigmatized. This study provides additional evidence of stigmatization, particularly regarding attributes of superiority, and further supports the assertion that statements regarding the insufficient intellectual capacity and competence of non-standard speakers are reinforced by language ideologies (Milroy 2001).

This study also describes the very complicated system of linguistic ideologies of the preeminence of the standard language and the stigma held and employed by the Voronezh speech community. The practices of language use and linguistic attitudes are guided by these ideologies, which in turn are assigned to non-standard variation.

7.3 Future Directions

The present study leaves open several avenues for improvement and future research.

In approaching future studies along both structural and ideological lines, researchers would be wise to follow two questions from Preston (2002:43):

“1. What linguistic features play the biggest role in triggering attitudes?; 2. What beliefs (theories, folk explanations) do people have about language variety, structure, acquisition, and distribution which underlie and support their attitudinal responses and how might we go about finding them out and using them to supplement and even guide future language attitude research?”

The fact that *ghekanye* elicits perceptions tied to lack of education and intelligence and blocked access to a good job begs investigation of how other features of SRV play into the perceptions and attitudes of speakers. This study, though aimed at the southern regions of the Russian Federation, still was conducted on speakers with mostly higher educational levels and within an urban center. This begs the question of and a much-needed investigation into what would attitudes of speakers of lower education and in non-urban centers be and how would they perceive *ghekanye*. Given that *ghekanye* is hardly the only non-normative linguistic feature in Russian, the question of which other linguistic features, not necessarily solely phonetic, elicit similar attitudes and beliefs, also the question of are there features that are outside the SRLV that are indeed not stigmatized?

7.4 Concluding remarks

When standard variety becomes the legitimate form, other forms become, in the popular mind, illegitimate. This legitimacy has been prominent in many, if not all, standard language cultures, because, of course, it is important that a standard variety, being the variety of a geopolitical entity, should share in the (glorious) history of that geopolitical entity (Milroy 2001). This dissertation, I hope, makes clear just how illegitimate some varieties and

linguistic phenomena are, how far the professional establishments in these instances share the attitudes of the general public, and how powerful in practice these views are.

I showed through the history of *ghekanye* that there was one time when this linguistic feature was thought to be of higher style. It was acknowledged as being used and that speakers actually spoke in such ways. It, of course, did not remain a part of the SRLV and therefore lost its prestige, ultimately being erased from acknowledgement in grammars and dictionaries as an independent phoneme.

In view of all this, I hope we continue to attempt to persuade both other linguists and non-linguists alike that all forms of language are equal, and that language discrimination is unjust. It is not about language structure as linguists understand that: it is ideological, and if linguists claim that all language varieties are ‘grammatical’ (which of course they are), their views will be interpreted as ideological, not linguistic. This is just one way, we as linguists, and language experts, can use our own privilege and clout to elevate stigmatized forms and varieties. If not, I hope that this dissertation can be used to start the process of legitimization of stigmatized forms of language, specifically here *ghekanye*, but in general all supposedly illegitimate, non-standard, and ultimately stigmatized forms of any language.

This study also raises the possibility that ideologies can spread and persist throughout society and play a key role in the domination and resistance, because they tend to span a wide range of cognitive domains. This can ultimately lead to the erasure of linguistic form from a speech community that is trying to gain social and economic mobility which the standard variety allots to speakers. The standard language ideologies seem to be readily transferable insofar as speakers from St. Petersburg and Moscow evaluate *ghekanye* (Andrews 1995) in a similar fashion to those from Voronezh.

Overall, this dissertation helps fill in our lack of knowledge about language and culture from the speech community of the city of Voronezh. It also indicates that even in

southern urban areas of the Russian Federation, these communities are affected by the dominate standard language ideologies. Finally, it demonstrates how regional attitudes and perceptions are shaped by power relationships and raises larger questions about the function and nature of ideology and stigmatization in general.

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APPENDIX A: GUISE TEXT

Russian:

1. Vrazh'i golosa i gnev. Gosduma gotovitsia priznat'иностранными agentami ne tol'ko SMI, no konkretnykh zhurnalistov.
2. Gvatemal'tsy budut zhit' teper' po-novomu. Gosudarstvo khochet privlech' samikh grazhdan k nakopleniiu na ikh pensii.
3. Prervannyi polët maiora Godneva. Propaganda snachala obvinila lëtchika v gibeli "Boinga", a teper' sviazyvaet s tragediei ego samoubiistvo. Tak est' sviaz'?
4. Americantsev zhdët nalog na okurki: Na Gavaiiakh prodvigaiut ékologicheskii nalog na sigarety.
5. Sinoptiki rasskazali o skoroi aktivatsii kleshchei. Solnechnaia pogoda dnëm sposobstvuet bystromu tainiiu snega, no pri progreve pochvy uzhe do 0,3 gradusa nachinaiut prosypat'sia kleshchi.

English:

1. Enemy's voices and anger. The State Duma is preparing to recognize not only the media, but also specific journalists as foreign agents.
2. Guatemalans will now live in a new way. The state wants to attract citizens themselves to save up for their pensions.
3. The interrupted flight of Major Godnev. Propaganda first accused the pilot in the death of Boing, and now associates his suicide with this tragedy. So is there a connection?
4. A tax on cigarette butts awaits Americans: In Hawaii an environmental tax on cigarettes is being promoted.
5. Weather forecasters have talked about the early arrival of ticks. Sunny weather during the day is contributing to the rapid melting of snow, but when the soil warms up to 0.3 degrees ticks are beginning to wake up

APPENDIX B: SURVEY

Demographic information:

1. Pol:

Muzhskoi
Zhenskii
Otkazyvaius' otvechat'

2. Vash vozrast (ukrazhite chislo polnykh let):

3. Vash uroven' obrazovaniia:

Bez obraovaniia ili nopolnoe osnovnoe [nachal'naia shkola]

Osnovnoe [nachal'naia shkola]

Srednee obshchee

Srednee proffesional'noe obrazowanie (srednee spetsial'noe)

Vysshee professional'noe

Vysshee – bakalavr

Vysshee – magistr

Vysshee – doctor ili vyshe

Otkazyvaius' otvechat'

4. Mesto rozhdenia:

Voronezh

Drugoe mesto

5. Gde Vy vyrosli:

Voronezh

Drugoe mesto

6. Kakoi iazyk Vy schitatete rodnym:

7. Kakimi iazykami Vy svobodno vlaeete:

8. Kakie inostrannye iazyki Vy izuchali v shkole:

Matched Guised test:

9. – 19 Proshlushaite audiozapis' #. Otsenite cheloveka po sleduiushchim 18 kategoriam. Vyrazite stepen' svoego soglasia/nesoglasia.

Chelovek № 1 - 10:

polnost'iu soglasen(a)	skoree soglasen(a)	V chëm-to soglasen(a), v chëm-to ne soglasen(a)	skoree ne soglasen(a)	Sovsem ne soglasen(a)
5	4	3	2	1

1) interesnyi

2) dobryi

3) obrazovannyi					
4) krasivyi					
5) umnyi					
6) gramotnyi					
7) kul'turnyi					
8) nadëznyi\ dostoин doveriia					
9) «svoi» chelovek					
10) skromnyui					
11) chestnyi\ iskrennii					
12) vezhlivyi					
13) priiatnyi\ druzheliubnyi					
14) zanimaet vazhnuiu dolzhnost'					
15) imet chuvstvo iumora					
16) trudoliubivyi					
17) gostepriemnyi					
18) khorosho obespechennyi					

Open-ended questions:

20. Kakie primery iazykovykh chert, po Vashemu mneniiu, nakhodiatsia vne sovremenennogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka?
21. Sushchestvuet li, po Vashemu mneniiu, opasnost' dlja sovremenennogo russkogo literaturnogo iazyka? Privedite, pozhaluista, primery.
22. Neobkhodimo li izbavit'sia ot govora, choby ustroit'sia na khoroshuiu (prestizhnuiu) rabotu?
23. Byli li kogda-nibud' sluchai, kogda Vas oskorbliali iz-za togo kak Vy govorite (vashei manery govorit')? Privedite, pozhaluista, primery.

24. Soglasny li Vy s mneniem o tom, chto voronezhtsy NE govoriat na sovremennom russkom literaturntom iazyke?
25. Esli oni NE govoriat na russkom literaturnom iazyke, to chem otlichaetsiaikh rech' ot literaturnogo iazyka?
26. Kak chasto Vy ispol'zuite frikativnoe "g" (gèkan'e) v rechi?

Postoianno
Chasto
Inogda
Redko
Nikogda

27. Kak Vy otnosites' k ispol'zovaniyu frikativnogo "g" (gèkan'e) v rechi?
28. Soglasny li Vy c mneniem ot tom, chto te, kto "gèkaiut" (proiznosiat frikativnoe "g" na meste vzryvnogo) iavljaitsia neobrazovannymi? Esli da, to pochemu?
29. Po Vashemu mneniiu, pochemu liudi prodolzhajut "gèkat", nesmotria na to, chto po slovam filologov èto iavlenie – vne orfoèepicheskikh norm sovremennoj russkogo literaturnogo iazyka?

English:

Demographic information

1. Gender:

Male
Female
Prefer not to answer

2. Your age:

3. Your level of education:

No education or incomplete primary school
Primary school
Highschool
Vocational school
Higher Professional
Higher – B.A.
Higher – M.A.
Higher – Ph.D. or higher
Prefer not to answer

4. Place of birth:

Voronezh

Another place

5. Where did you grow up:

Voronezh

Another place

6. What is your native language:

7. What languages are you fluent in:

8. What languages did you learn in school:

Matched Guise test

Listen to audio recording #. Evaluate the person in the following 18 status categories.
Express your degree of agreement or disagreement.

Speaker №1-10:

- 1) Interesting
- 2) Kind
- 3) Educated
- 4) Attractive
- 5) Smart
- 6) Literate
- 7) Cultured
- 8) Trustworthy
- 9) Someone you can relate to
- 10) Humble

Completely agree	Agree	Neither agree nor disagree	disagree	Completely disagree
5	4	3	2	1

- 11) Honest
- 12) Polite
- 13) Friendly
- 14) Has an important job
- 15) Has a sense of humor
- 16) Hardworking
- 17) Hospitable
- 18) Well-to-do

Open-ended questions

20. What examples of linguistic features are outside the standard literary variety?
21. Do you think there is a danger for the modern Russian literary language? Give examples.
22. Is it necessary to get rid of one's accent/dialect in order to get a good (prestigious) job?
23. Have there ever been instances, when you were made fun of due to your way of speaking? Give examples.
24. Do you agree with the opinion that those from Voronezh don't speak the standard Russian literary variety?
25. If they don't speak the Russian literary variety, then what is different between their speech and the literary variety?
26. How often do you use the velar fricative in speech?

Constantly
Often
Sometimes
Rarely
Never

27. How do you relate to the use of the voiced velar fricative (*ghekanye*) in speech?
28. Do you agree with the opinion that those that speak with *ghekanye* are uneducated? If so, why?
29. In your opinion, why do people continue to speak with *ghekanye*, despite the fact that according to philologists this phenomenon is outside of the orthoepic norms of the modern Russian literary variety.

APPENDIX C: RAW DATA BY ATTRIBUTE

Interesting:

group	count	mean	standard deviation (sd)
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.49	0.666
2 Ghekanye Male	50	1.99	0.689
3 Standard Female	50	2.49	0.666
4 Standard Male	50	3.04	0.613

Kind:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.47	0.548
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.97	0.557
3 Standard Female	50	3.66	0.618
4 Standard Male	50	3.03	0.409

Educated:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.09	0.740
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.17	0.954
3 Standard Female	50	3.61	0.931
4 Standard Male	50	3.76	0.878

Beautiful:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.99	0.703
2 Ghekanye Male	50	3.47	0.666
3 Standard Female	50	3.47	0.666
4 Standard Male	50	3.76	0.565

Smart:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.38	0.635
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.4	0.742
3 Standard Female	50	3.27	0.591

4 Standard Male	50	3.49	0.530
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Literate:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.18	0.587
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.14	0.663
3 Standard Female	50	3.56	0.611
4 Standard Male	50	3.72	0.555

Cultured:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.34	0.688
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.13	0.741
3 Standard Female	50	3.51	0.567
4 Standard Male	50	3.6	0.535

Trustworthy:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.34	0.688
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.65	0.716
3 Standard Female	50	2.73	0.497
4 Standard Male	50	3.01	0.627

Someone I can relate to:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.69	0.999
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.57	1.09
3 Standard Female	50	2.86	0.909
4 Standard Male	50	2.54	0.579

Humble:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.02	0.820
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.91	0.837
3 Standard Female	50	2.95	0.657
4 Standard Male	50	2.77	0.465

Honest:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.06	0.550
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.9	0.714
3 Standard Female	50	3.1	0.606
4 Standard Male	50	2.85	0.582

Polite:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.13	0.533
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.84	0.634
3 Standard Female	50	3.46	0.605
4 Standard Male	50	3.4	0.562

Friendly:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.25	0.641
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.54	0.669
3 Standard Female	50	3.47	0.792
4 Standard Male	50	3.27	0.564

Has an important job:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	1.87	0.669
2 Ghekanye Male	50	1.93	0.763
3 Standard Female	50	2.31	0.721
4 Standard Male	50	3.15	0.899

Has a sense of humor:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.12	0.643
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.94	0.733
3 Standard Female	50	3.03	0.626
4 Standard Male	50	3.15	0.899

Hardworking:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.22	0.708
2 Ghekanye Male	50	3.22	0.737
3 Standard Female	50	2.98	0.534
4 Standard Male	50	3.22	0.545

Hospitable:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	3.41	0.705
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.98	0.707
3 Standard Female	50	3.46	0.676
4 Standard Male	50	2.91	0.481

Well-to-do:

group	count	mean	sd
1 Ghekanye Female	50	2.18	0.661
2 Ghekanye Male	50	2.39	0.687
3 Standard Female	50	2.63	0.653
4 Standard Male	50	3	0.707

APPENDIX D: T-TEST DATA BY ATTRIBUTE

Interesting:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = 0$, df = 98, p-value = 1

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -8.0517$, df = 98, p-value = 1.968e-12

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 3.6897$, df = 98, p-value = 0.0003689

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -4.2956$, df = 98, p-value = 4.107e-05

Kind:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -1.6267$, df = 98, p-value = 0.107

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -0.61381$, df = 98, p-value = 0.5408

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 4.5253$, df = 98, p-value = 1.696e-05

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 6.0096$, df = 98, p-value = 3.182e-08

Educated:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -12.783$, df = 198, p-value < 2.2e-16

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -12.266$, df = 198, p-value < 2.2e-16

Standard Female to Standard Male
 $t = 1.1725$, df = 198, p-value = 0.2424

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 0.66264$, df = 198, p-value = 0.5083

Beautiful:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -3.5049$, df = 98, p-value = 0.0006903

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -2.3495$, df = 98, p-value = 0.0208

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -2.3495$, df = 98, p-value = 0.0208

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -3.5049$, df = 98, p-value = 0.0006903

Smart:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -7.2535$, df = 98, p-value = 9.563e-11

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -8.4523$, df = 98, p-value = 2.724e-13

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = -0.14474$, df = 98, p-value = 0.8852

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -1.9606$, df = 98, p-value = 0.05277

Literate:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -11.513$, df = 98, p-value < 2.2e-16

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -12.927$, df = 98, p-value < 2.2e-16

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 0.3195$, df = 98, p-value = 0.75

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -1.3703$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1737

Cultured:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -9.2775$, df = 98, p-value = 4.478e-15

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male

$t = -11.377$, df = 98, p-value < 2.2e-16

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 1.4682$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1453

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -0.81681$, df = 98, p-value = 0.416

Trustworthy:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -3.2479$, df = 98, p-value = 0.001592

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -2.6751$, df = 98, p-value = 0.008756

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = -2.2068$, df = 98, p-value = 0.02966

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -2.4753$, df = 98, p-value = 0.01503

Someone I can relate to:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -0.88962$, df = 98, p-value = 0.3758

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = 0.17155$, df = 98, p-value = 0.8641

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 0.57301$, df = 98, p-value = 0.568

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 2.0991$, df = 98, p-value = 0.03838

Humble:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = 0.47104$, df = 98, p-value = 0.6387

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = 1.0336$, df = 98, p-value = 0.3039

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 0.66357$, df = 98, p-value = 0.5085

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 1.5817$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1169

Hontest:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -0.3456$, df = 98, p-value = 0.7304

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = 0.3836$, df = 98, p-value = 0.7021

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 1.255$, df = 98, p-value = 0.2125

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 2.1029$, df = 98, p-value = 0.03803

Polite:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -2.8954$, df = 98, p-value = 0.004669

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -4.6706$, df = 98, p-value = 9.559e-06

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 2.4754$, df = 98, p-value = 0.01502

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 0.51373$, df = 98, p-value = 0.6086

Friendly:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -1.5274$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1299

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -5.8986$, df = 98, p-value = 5.237e-08

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 5.4198$, df = 98, p-value = 4.279e-07

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 1.4547$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1489

Has and important job:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -3.165$, df = 98, p-value = 0.002066

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -7.316$, df = 98, p-value = 7.081e-11

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = -0.41829$, df = 98, p-value = 0.6767

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -5.1543$, df = 98, p-value = 1.322e-06

Has a sense of humor:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = 0.70894$, df = 98, p-value = 0.48

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -1.28$, df = 98, p-value = 0.2036

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 1.3052$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1949

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -0.7744$, df = 98, p-value = 0.4406

Hardworking:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = 1.913$, df = 98, p-value = 0.05866

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = 0$, df = 98, p-value = 1

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 0$, df = 98, p-value = 1

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -2.2229$, df = 98, p-value = 0.02852

Hospitable:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -0.3619$, df = 98, p-value = 0.7182

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = 0.57888$, df = 98, p-value = 0.564

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = 3.046$, df = 98, p-value = 0.002979

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = 4.685$, df = 98, p-value = 9.027e-06

Well-to-do:

Ghekanye Female and Standard Female
 $t = -3.4253$, df = 98, p-value = 0.0008984

Ghekanye Male and Standard Male
 $t = -4.3743$, df = 98, p-value = 3.043e-05

Ghekanye Female and Ghekanye Male
 $t = -1.5578$, df = 98, p-value = 0.1225

Standard Female and Standard Male
 $t = -2.7179$, df = 98, p-value = 0.00777