RAISING LITTLE RUSSIANS: LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION AND LANGUAGE SHIFT IN AN URBAN KYRGYZ FAMILY

by

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ABSTRACT

ASHLEY MCDERMOTT. Raising Little Russians: Language Socialization and Language Shift in an Urban Kyrgyz Family (Under the direction of DR. ELISE BERMAN)

In Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan Russian prevails as the lingua franca despite efforts by policy makers and language activists to promote the Kyrgyz language. This study uses language socialization as a lens to investigate language shift in the city by analyzing communicative events between an urban Kyrgyz mother and her two children. Through two months of participant observation, three interviews, and six thirty-minute recordings, I determine that Kyrgyz in the household is becoming restricted to the register of scolding. Kyrgyz scolds in the family perform Kyrgyz kinship and invoke age-graded hierarchies of respect, recruiting the children into obedience. In contrast, the use of Russian performs accommodation to children, providing the children with opportunities to disregard hierarchies and decrease the social distance between themselves and their mother. In conclusion, I contend that ideologies and practices of childrearing are changing as the first generation of middle class post-Soviet mothers negotiate their identities as cosmopolitan, global citizens, and changes in the relationship between mothers and their children are contributing to language shift in the city.

DEDICATION

Моей маме, Бриджит – я очень скучаю по тебе.

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1 INTRODUCTION

"Little Russians"—this is what two Kyrgyz children, six-year-old Aksaamai and her three-year-old little brother Aidar, are known as to their extended family. Strangers also have a word for them— "*Kirgizii"*— a play on way that Russians pronounce "Kyrgyz," and "Kyrgyzstan." Their family believes that they do not speak Kyrgyz, and that they will grow up to be selfish and not family-oriented—traits they associate with ethnic Russians. Even Astra, the children's mother, speaks to her children primarily in Russian, fearing that when she speaks Kyrgyz they do not understand her.

Despite what their family thinks about their preference for Russian, Aksaamai and Aidar do know Kyrgyz. When they choose to speak Kyrgyz is related to language ideologies influenced by interpretations of how their parents use the language. Throughout my case-study, the Kyrgyz that the children hear is primarily restricted to the register of scolds. The use of Kyrgyz in scolds, which are usually followed by a Kyrgyz vocative, suggests that Kyrgyz is used to enact Kyrgyz kinship and hierarchies of respect within the family. In contrast, the use of Russian demonstrates changing practices of child rearing by performing accommodation to children. In response to scolds, the children use Russian to index themselves as children who should be accommodated to.

To examine language use in Astra's household, in particular how she scolds her children and their responses to her scolds, I first discuss the context of language shift in post-Soviet Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. I then review the literature on language socialization, scolding, and language shift. I also consider research on accommodation, cosmopolitanism, and Kyrgyz kinship. Next, I analyze several examples of how Astra uses Kyrgyz and Russian to scold Aksaamai and Aidar, and how the children respond to

these scolds. In conclusion, I contend that ideologies and practices of childrearing are changing as the first generation of middle-class post-Soviet mothers negotiate their identities as cosmopolitan, global citizens and alter their child rearing practices based on beliefs that their children should also acquire cosmopolitan knowledge.

After Ochs and Schieffelin's (1982) challenge to the universality of accommodation in their analysis of three developmental stories, there have been no substantial studies on accommodation and non-accommodation in language socialization. Though accommodation tends to be a Euro-American, white, middle-class practice as Ochs and Schieffelin argue, in the present paper I suggest that practices of accommodation are globalizing and affecting both Kyrgyz kinship and Kyrgyz identity. I also demonstrate how code-switching can be used as accommodation. Examining the ways that this Kyrgyz family uses both Kyrgyz and Russian, particularly the link between the two languages and different practices of language socialization, could shed light on the relationship between the growing market for cosmopolitan capital under neoliberalism, the subsequent globalization of Western norms of childrearing, and their effect on language shift.

2 THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC CONTEXT OF SHIFT IN BISHKEK

Astra's family is not the only Kyrgyz family speaking mostly Russian in Bishkek. Though Kyrgyz is widespread throughout the country of 6,000,000, with approximately 3,830,000 speakers, in Northern Kyrgyzstan both Russian and Kyrgyz are primarily spoken (CIA 2016). According to the 2009 census in Kyrgyzstan, 482,000 people reported Russian as their first language, though a majority of the population speak Russian as a second language. Russian speakers are most concentrated around Lake Issyk Kul in northeastern Kyrgyzstan and Bishkek, but the use of Russian is otherwise widespread throughout Kyrgyzstan, especially in urban areas (Ethnologue 2016).

Language use and language policy in post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan are partially the result of unstable and haphazardly implemented language policy of the Soviet era. In the early Soviet Union, the Soviet government saw Central Asian peoples as less culturally developed than the other peoples of the USSR, and further away from becoming a true socialist society, because they believed them to be lacking national feeling. In order to catalyze socialist development, the central government implemented *korenizatsiia*, or nativization. The government intended *korenizatsiia* to give Central Asian people national identity chiefly through language planning and national demarcation, which created national territories for the new Soviet nationals (Martin 2001, Smith 2006).

During the late Stalin era, a policy shift away from *korenizatsiia* led to the spread of Russian as a lingua franca in Kyrgyzstan and the other republics. Under Stalin and Khrushchev, policies changed to emphasize the relationship between nations of the USSR as a friendship in which Russian and the Russian nation were unifying forces across national boundaries (Martin 2001). As a result, Russian gained strength as a lingua franca

in the USSR and became valued as the language of economic and political opportunity (Martin 2001, Slezkine 1994, Smith 2006). It was necessary to speak Russian for advancement within the party and government, Russian as a second language in school became mandatory, and academia in national republics functioned primarily in Russian (Akiner 1990, Grenoble 2003, Fierman 1991).

Contemporary Bishkek is still profoundly influenced by legacies of the Soviet past but has also undergone rapid post-Soviet transitions. Driving the transition is a resurgence of nationalism that began with the fall of the Soviet Union and spread throughout the Soviet Socialist Republics. As nationalism became more important to post-Soviet Kyrgyzstan, so did language policies which promoted the status and use of the Kyrgyz language. Laws elevated Kyrgyz to the language of the state and required all government documents and official signs to be printed in the language. Politicians began speaking Kyrgyz in public speeches, and some even tried to pass legislation limiting candidacy for public office to those proficient in Kyrgyz (Huskey 1995).

Despite these policies, Russian retained its status as an official language in the republic, and the lingua franca of its cities (Huskey 1995). It dominates the government, public signage, and media. Russian remains the language of academia and is more frequently spoken in public spaces by Kyrgyz youth (Ferdinand & Komlosi 2016). Parents also frequently make the choice to educate their children in Russian schools because they consider the schools to be better quality than Kyrgyz language schools (Korth 2005).

3 LANGUAGE SOCIALIZATION, IDEOLOGIES, SHIFT

Though academic research in Kyrgyzstan has primarily focused on the state's political transition, some have explored language shift and language policy and its relation to changing perceptions of Russian language and Soviet culture (see Deyoung 2006, Fierman 2012, Huskey 1995, Kosmarskaya 2015, Orusbaev et al. 2008, and Pavlenko 2006). The literature on language in Kyrgyzstan demonstrates that both Russian and Kyrgyz are prevalent in the city of Bishkek, though Russian still prevails as the language of education, public spaces, and the government (Huskey 1995, Korth 2005, McDermott 2016). Based on the present case study, I contend that Russian remains the lingua franca of Bishkek partially because scolding is becoming a code-restricted register among the middle-class. To assess language shift in the city, I examine language socialization, which is unexplored in the prior literature on language shift in Kyrgyzstan.

To understand language shift and changing language ideologies it is essential to understand language socialization (Garrett 2005, Meek 2007, Paugh 2012). This is because "the process of becoming social, including becoming a language user, is culturally constructed" (Ochs & Schieffelin 1982: 285). Children become members of a culture, and speakers, through their interactions with caregivers and peers. In addition, children are aware of the statuses and social roles of different languages (Garrett 2005, Gilmore 2016, Meek 2007, Paugh 2012, Reynolds 2008). Thus, if language shift is occurring in Bishkek it will be evidenced in how Kyrgyz children speak as they act on their interpretations of language ideologies, how they talk with their peers, and how parents interact with their children in Kyrgyz and Russian.

A growing body of literature combines perspectives on language socialization, shift, and language policy to consider language policy at the level of the family. "Family language policy" includes the explicit, conscious decisions about language use made by families, usually in the context of language shift in multilingual households (Altman et al. 2014, Fishman 1991, King et al. 2008, Smith-Christmas 2014). Though family language policy is certainly not the only factor in language shift, Altman et al. (2014) finds that when families have a "strongly pro-minority language" family language policy, there is a positive correlation with children's use and acquisition of the minority language. Examining family language policy could also help researchers understand the relationship between family language shift and language shift in the community (Fishman 1991, King et al. 2008, Smith-Christmas 2014). Within the Kyrgyz family considered in this paper, the mother, Astra, stated in interviews and during participant observation that she chooses to speak Russian and to send her children to Russian-medium schools because she believes that they do not understand Kyrgyz. It is likely that this family language policy has contributed to further shift to Russian in the family. However, Astra continues to use Kyrgyz for certain functions outside of her family language policy, and this also impacts how her children acquire both languages.

In situations where language shift is occurring it is not uncommon for the ancestral language to become restricted to a certain register, such as scolding (Garrett 2005). Both Paugh (2012, 2014) and Garrett (2005) discuss how French-lexicon Creoles in the Caribbean are primarily used to chastise children. Children then interpret the restriction of the ancestral language to this register, for example associating it with adulthood or authority, and reproduce it in similar restricted contexts. The effect has been

continuing shift in both cases toward English, but the persistence of Kweyol and Patwa in scolds as "code-restricted registers" (Garrett 2005, Paugh 2012, 2014). In Astra's family, it is likely that because she primarily uses Kyrgyz to scold, scolding may be becoming a code-restricted register.

Teasing, shaming, and scolding in the family often socializes children into cultural patterns of kinship and hierarchies of respect (Lo & Fung 2012, Meek 2007, Montgomery 2009, Reynolds 2008). Reynolds (2008) demonstrates how in an Antonero Mayan village, Maya models of respect are reinforced through triadic exchanges involving teasing. Lo and Fung (2012) explain how by shaming, caregivers make children feel the weight of others' disapproval and more aware of their connectedness in society. Meek (2007), in her study of children in an Athapascan community, examines how the community sees patterns of Kaska use not as differing competencies in Kaska but as a progression through different social statuses. Kaska, in this case, became the "language of elders" and associated with respect and authority (Meek 2007). Shohet (2013) explores how hierarchical social order in Vietnam is reflected in linguistic practices such as directives and prompts to use respect particles. In this case-study, Kyrgyz directives and vocatives perform Kyrgyz kinship and age-graded and gender-based hierarchies of respect within the family and socialize children into these practices.

4 ACCOMMODATION, COSMOPOLITANISM, AND KYRGYZ KINSHIP

Though prior studies of language socialization can be used to explain how scolding is becoming a code-restricted register and the role of Kyrgyz in performing kinship and hierarchies of respect, there remains the question of why Russian is used for accommodation in the family and its effect on Kyrgyz kinship and identity. After the fall of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan has become exposed to certain globalized, Western norms of childrearing, particularly the idea that children should be accommodated to. Russian is also commodified in much of the post-Soviet world, Kyrgyzstan included, and language ideologies associate knowledge of Russian with upward socioeconomic mobility (McDermott 2016, Pavlenko 2006). In the present case study, both Russian and accommodation are linked and tied to the mother's desire for herself and her children to acquire cosmopolitan capital. However, using Russian to accommodate to children is changing age-graded hierarchies of kinship within the Kyrgyz family.

4.1 Accommodation

Accommodation as a Euro-American, white, middle-class norm is first explored by Ochs and Schieffelin (1982) in their seminal work on language socialization. The authors demonstrate how language socialization, and accommodation, varies across cultures by analyzing three examples of socialization: from Samoa, the Kaluli of Papua New Guinea, and the Anglo-American, white, middle-class. The stories demonstrate a range of child-rearing practices, from those in which parents accommodate to children to those in which children are expected to accommodate to their parents. Paugh (2012) explains the ways caregivers often accommodate to children:

> At the more child-centered end of the continuum, for example among white middle-class Americans, caregivers tend to accommodate children through child centered topic, self-lowering strategies, use of a specialized child-directed register, and proto-conversations with preverbal infants. Situations are adapted to the child, including modifications to the environment such as baby-proofing in houses and provision of specialized clothing, furniture, and toys for infants (later tailored to other perceived stages of childhood). (Paugh 2012: 150-151)

Accommodation includes practices which adapt the child's environment in ways that the parents believe make it safer and more comfortable for the child, and communicative strategies which treat children as conversational partners, altering speech to be supposedly easier for children to understand, and deciphering the meaning of children's utterances. In contrast, not treating pre-verbal infants as conversational partners, using one-line directives or rhetorical questions that call for action instead of verbal response, and viewing babbling as noncommunicative—practices which expect the child to adapt to the expectations of the adult—are examples of non-accommodation (Ochs & Schieffelin 1982).

Whether or not children are accommodated to or not as they are socialized into culture and language is dependent on local theories of childrearing and their relationship to the structure of society and ideologies of language (Ochs & Schieffelin 1982, Paugh 2012). In Ochs and Scheiffelin (1982), the authors demonstrate how in Kaluli and Samoan communities, children are socialized into triadic and multiparty exchanges "in ways appropriate to the status and rank of participants" (300) that attest to hierarchies in society and ideas about the appropriate use of language. Both Kaluli and Samoan language socialization are thus characterized by the expectation that children will accommodate to adults. Similarly, in a Puerto Rican community in New York, Zentella (1997) shows that beliefs about *Respeto*, or respect, including obedience to parents and

age and gender appropriate roles, are related to child-rearing practices with little accommodation to children. However, she argues that the amount of accommodation is changing due to contact with Euro-American norms of childrearing dominant in US society (Zentella 1997). Paugh (2014) reveals how English in Dominica is associated with politeness and obedience and is used to socialize children to be respectful toward their elders, while Patwa is related to adult status and authority. In Kyrgyzstan, patriarchal and age-graded hierarchies in the family encourage more accommodation of the child to the parent, which is in opposition to Euro-American, white, middle-class norms. Despite this, it is likely that exposure to middle-class, white, Euro-American norms and their association with cosmopolitan capital is changing language socialization and kinship in Kyrgyz society.

Kyrgyz mothers are partly exposed to international norms of childrearing through NGOs which perpetuate practices which accommodate to children. For example, in UNICEF's 2010 report titled, "Child Abuse and Neglect in Families in the Kyrgyz Republic," the organization endorses positive discipline over corporal punishment. UNICEF states that: "caregivers who use positive discipline aim to prevent behaviour problems before they start. They help their children to behave appropriately through teaching, routines, understanding and support" (UNICEF 2017: 2). After surveying Kyrgyz adults, the organization found that many parents did use "positive discipline" but not the variety of methods that UNICEF promotes. The report states:

> The most common method of positive discipline used in the past month was to tell their children to stop doing something (81.9%). In terms of frequency, parents frequently told their children to stop doing something – 43.9% of parents used it several times (3-5 times) and 37.4% used it many times (more than 5 times). Parents used the other methods – taking the time to explain to their children why

> something was wrong or taking away their privileges and grounding them – much less often. (UNICEF 2010: 69)

UNICEF emphasizes positive discipline that is in line with Euro-American, white, middle-class norms, such as explaining why something is wrong instead of telling children to stop what they are doing without explanation. UNICEF Kyrgyzstan's Facebook page also features videos on parenting which promote accommodation to children. For example, on March 19, 2019 the organization posted a video in English with Russian subtitles in which fathers are asked if they use baby talk with their children. After the fathers unanimously say that they do not, they are told that "…in the first thousand days of a child's life the brain develops most intensively, and child-directed speech contributes to its development" (UNICEF 2019) (Figures 1 & 2). The statement prompts all of the fathers to attempt baby talk. Explaining why a child should stop a behavior, using a specialized child-directed register, and treating preverbal infants as conversational partners, are all examples of parents accommodating to children and tend to be Euro-American, white, middle-class norms of childrearing.

NGOs in Kyrgyzstan reach their audience primarily through online content and TV channels such as KTRK, the channel of the public broadcasting network of the Kyrgyz Republic. UNICEF Kyrgyzstan is active on YouTube and posts frequently on Facebook and Instagram, often several times a day. The content that they post regarding parenting and language encourages practices which accommodate to children. On television, KTRK plays messages from NGOs regarding parenting in advertising slots, but also produces content about parenting on its channel. In a segment called "Society" from February 8, 2017, two experts are interviewed on "*правильное воспитание дети*" or properly raising children. The experts tell viewers that parents alone are the most

important figures in raising children, and that they must speak directly to their children, because even if their child does not understand speech they must hear words directed at them to know that they are loved (KTRK.kg 2017). The parenting advice given on the segment, that parents are the most important figure in childrearing, and that they should speak directly to their preverbal children, coincides with the advice given from UNICEF and other NGOs.

In the present case-study it is apparent that Euro-American, white, middle-class norms of childrearing, particularly practices which accommodate to children, are becoming more common in the city of Bishkek. This raises the question of how Western child-rearing practices are becoming global. Here I suggest that both accommodation and the use of Russian are tied to the pursuit of cosmopolitan capital under neoliberalism.

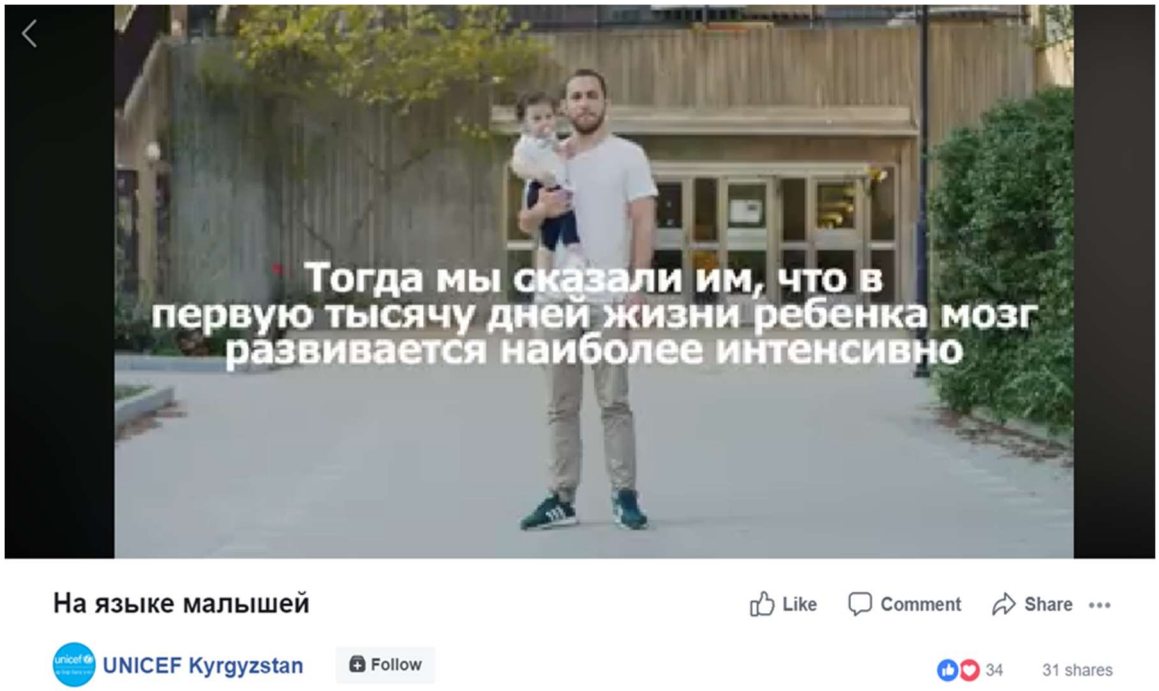

Figure 1: Screenshot of video «На языке малышей» “then we told them…”

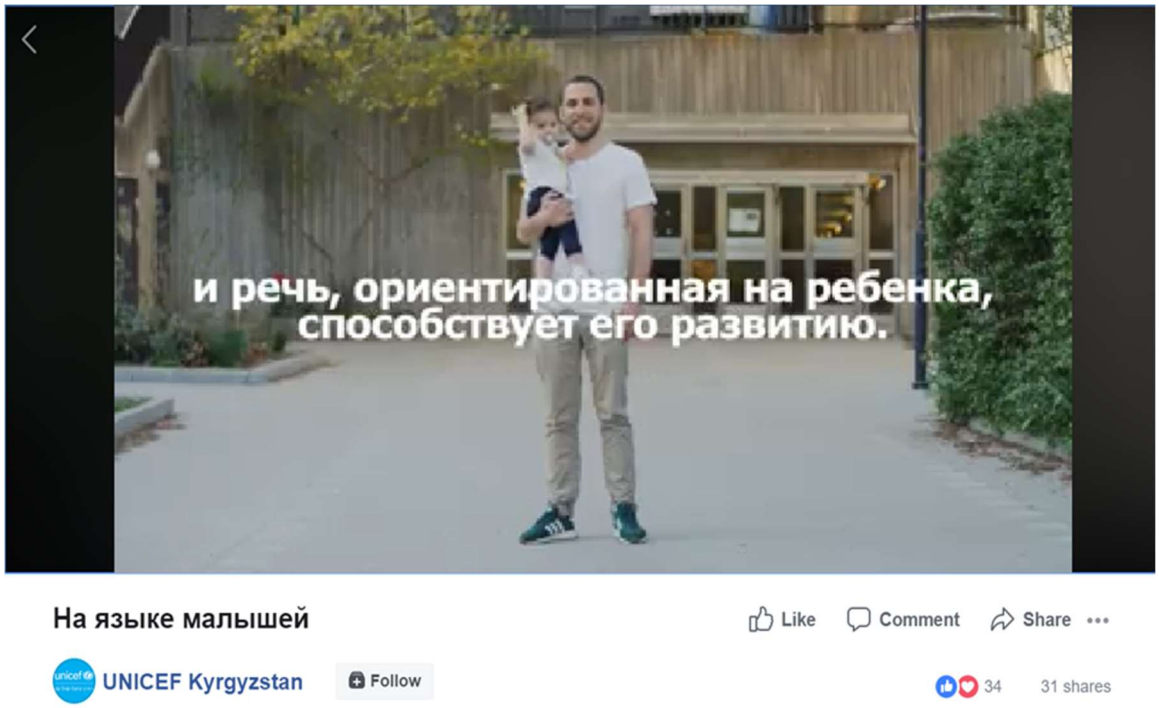

Figure 2: Screenshot of video «На языке малышей» “speech directed at…”

4.2 Cosmopolitanism

Cosmopolitanism often implies a sense of awareness of global connectedness and “open-mindedness toward the Other” (Weenink 2008: 1090), with the positive connotation of being “imbued with the possibility of fostering relations of respect and understanding between groups” (Maxwell & Yemini 2019: 2). Thus a person who is “cosmopolitan” has international experiences and is open-minded toward different cultures and different practices. However, cosmopolitanism is also criticized as imposing the spread of Western liberal norms (Harvey 2009). Harvey (2009) argues that most views of cosmopolitanism are this “naïve cosmopolitanism,” that does not take into account geography and thus levels “out all kinds of geographical and cultural differences” (33). Cosmopolitanism becomes a justification for the imposition of Western

liberal (or Euro-American, white, middle-class) values on the world in the name of the global good.

Cosmopolitanism is also tied to global inequalities. Corporations profit from a naïve cosmopolitan vision of the world, one without borders and with unified Western values. Harvey states that neoliberalization, partially under the guise of cosmopolitanism "has created a flat world for the multinational corporations and for the billionaire entrepreneur and investor class, but a rough, jagged, and uneven world for everyone else" (52). To benefit from the globalized economy, one needs to be able to participate "in globalizing social arenas," primarily by holding privileged positions in the workforce, positions that require what Weenink (2008) terms "cosmopolitan capital" (1092). To acquire cosmopolitan capital one needs international education, the ability to travel, and transnational connections; therefore it is only accessible to people in the correct location, and who already possess enough economic, cultural, and social capital to acquire it (Igarashi & Saito 2014).

Educational institutions reproduce the value of cosmopolitanism and work to unevenly distribute cosmopolitan capital. Increasingly education, especially in non-Western states, promotes cosmopolitanism in the sense of being a member of one humanity with universal morals, possibly as a result of neoliberal influences such as human rights organizations and international economic development organizations (Igarashi & Saito 2014). Ramirez et al. (2007) demonstrate the relationship between the boom in NGOs and Western, neoliberal ideology in schools through statistical analysis of mentions of international human rights in national reports on education sent to the International Bureau of Education, finding that reports from Sub-Saharan Africa and the

former USSR discuss international human rights eight times more than reports from Western Europe and North America. It follows that succeeding in school, which is necessary for upward socioeconomic mobility, requires learning cosmopolitan values.

Schools are also sites where cosmopolitan capital can be acquired, though some are seen as more cosmopolitan than others. Weenink (2008) surveys parents of children at an international school in The Netherlands, demonstrating how many parents enrolled their children in the school with the explicit goal of facilitating their children's ability to participate in globalizing social arenas (Weenink 2008). However, access to education that provides cosmopolitan capital is unequal. To attend a school that provides the most cosmopolitan capital, such as a school in a different country, international school, or private school, a family must either be in the right location for a child to attend such a school, have the money to pay tuition, or the connections or status to enroll their child in the school.

There is likely a relationship between accommodation to children, cosmopolitanism, and language ideologies valuing Russian for upward socioeconomic mobility. Cosmopolitanism works to justify the spread of Western values in Kyrgyzstan, such as the child-rearing practices endorsed by UNICEF. UNICEF and NGO partnerships with the Kyrgyz government, particularly the Ministry of Education and Science, encourage both cosmopolitanism and Western child-rearing norms such as accommodation in Kyrgyz schools. At the same time, the spaces where cosmopolitan capital in the state could be acquired, such as city schools, universities, and internationally-oriented workplaces, are spaces where Russian is spoken.

4.3 Kyrgyz Kinship

Despite the influence of globalization, neoliberalism, and cosmopolitanism on language use and childrearing among the new middle-class, patrilineal descent groups remain an important marker of identity among Kyrgyz people, and society is organized by both age-graded and gender-based hierarchies. In the present case study, Kyrgyz directives are used to perform these hierarchies within the family.

Pre-Soviet nomadic Kyrgyz lived in bands with their extended patrilineal family (Ismailbekova 2017). Men would marry and live in yurts near their father's, grazing their cattle with their father's and brother's herds. Women left their families to live with their husband's families (Ismailbekova 2017). Women do still often live with their husband's families, mostly in rural areas, and generally new brides hold a low position in the household (Reynolds 2012). Though women as daughters-in-law initially inhabit a very low rank in the family, they progress to head of the household after they give birth to their first child and then finally become high-ranking mothers-in-law themselves when their sons marry (Reynolds 2012).

The age-graded ranks of daughters-in-law and the importance of patrilineal descent groups discussed in the literature and witnessed during my own participant observation, demonstrate that Kyrgyz society is composed of both age-graded and gender-based hierarchies of respect. Thus, as a married mother of three with her own household , Astra, the mother in my case study, should have a relatively high position in the family relative her children, meaning that they should accommodate to her; however, her ideologies of language and childrearing and her use of Russian demonstrate a shift toward accommodation to children and a change in the family hierarchy.

5 METHODS AND ANALYSIS

The present paper is based on several months in the summer of 2018 that I spent living with Astra, a 30-year-old Kyrgyz woman and her family. Over two months I conducted daily participant observations, held one semi-structured and several unstructured interviews with the mother and her friends, and made six thirty-minute recordings of the family at dinnertime.

Astra lives with her husband, Nurbek, and their three children: one-year-old Umai, three-year-old Aidar, and six-year-old Aksaamai. Though they live in the house by themselves, extended family regularly stays with them for periods up to several months, Astra's eleven-year-old sister is a frequent overnight guest, and Astra's parents regularly visit. Astra's house is a break with patrilineal models of Kyrgyz households, in which she would be expected to live with her husband's family since he is the youngest son. However, in urban areas it is increasingly common for married couples to live separately regardless of the son's position in the family.

5.1 Ideologies of Kyrgyz and Russian

Astra's three children were born in Bishkek and have lived in the city their entire lives, but both Astra and Nurbek are from villages outside of the city of Naryn, in the oblast (province) of Naryn. During participant observation and interviews, multiple informants indicated that Naryn is considered to be where the "most Kyrgyz" Kyrgyz people live. When asked about varieties of Kyrgyz spoken in Kyrgyzstan, Astra replied that "the north is influenced by Kazak and the south by Uzbek and Tajik" and that "the purest, truest Kyrgyz is spoken in Naryn…" She also stated that both she and her husband consider Kyrgyz to be their native language.

Though the parents both speak Kyrgyz to each other and consider Kyrgyz to be their native language, they speak primarily Russian to their children. Astra reports that she speaks Russian to her children because it is easier for them, particularly her eldest daughter Aksaamai. For example, during a participant observation at dinnertime Aksaamai asked why her mother was speaking in Kyrgyz to her little cousin, English to me, and Russian to her. Her mother replied that she spoke to everyone in the language that they knew best. In interviews, Astra stated that she will send her daughter to Russian school because she is worried that she will fall behind in a Kyrgyz school. Her ideologies that children's specific language proficiencies should be accommodated so they will understand her is also demonstrated in her use of Russian in transcripts, which I will discuss further below.

Astra and Nurbek believe that their children do not speak Kyrgyz because of their daughter's exposure to Russian on TV, and that their son is starting to speak more Russian because of his sister. In an interview, Astra describes how she believes her daughter "lost" her ability to speak Kyrgyz:

> My oldest daughter spoke only Kyrgyz. We gave her to the Russian kindergarten, I was really worried she wouldn't understand Russian…but one day she got sick and a month she didn't go to the kindergarten and while sitting at home she was watching Russian cartoons and her language completely turned into Russian. Everyone was shocked. We would speak to her in Kyrgyz and she wouldn't respond in Kyrgyz, and she would cover her ears and say tell me in Russian.

Astra reports that Aksaamai only spoke Kyrgyz before entering kindergarten at three, but that after spending time at home due to illness and watching Russian television, she started speaking Russian. Astra believes that if her daughter speaks one language better and is sent to a school that uses the other language as the language of instruction, she will not do well. This is evidenced by the above example, in which she says she worried about

her daughter in Russian kindergarten, and is revealed later in the same interview, when she says that she will send her daughter to Russian elementary school.

The adults in Astra's family believe that because Astra's children speak more Russian than Kyrgyz that they will become more Russian-like. In an interview, Astra explains her family's opinions of her children:

> …among our relatives my children are…the only Russian speaking children. Because even if they go to the Russian school [my relatives' children] use Russian only when it's needed but while contacting with us they speak only Kyrgyz, but my children they don't do it they speak all the time Russian. But…some of our relatives think that we shouldn't send them to Russian school because they…would behave like Russians… My relatives] think that [my children] would be more selfish and act…not seriously towards somethings that we act more seriously towards. For example, attitude toward elder people…we say *Вы* [You] and respect elders more than Russians…but they say *ты*, [thou] like they are the same age.

Astra reveals that her children are seen differently than their cousins of the same age by her family because of their preference for Russian. She indicates that her relatives believe that their behavior is more like Russians, and that they will become more selfish and not respect their elders. She suggests that Russian-speaking Kyrgyz do not respect their elders, giving as an example people who address elders with "*ты*," the singular pronoun "you" instead of "*Вы*," the plural, polite form. Though her family negatively views Russian-speaking Kyrgyz children, Astra still primarily speaks to her children in Russian and has chosen to send both to Russian medium schools.

Despite ideologies of accommodation and the belief that the children no longer understand Kyrgyz, both Astra and Nurbek do speak Kyrgyz to their children. However, use of Kyrgyz is primarily restricted to the register of scolding, though Kyrgyz is also used in vocatives. Kyrgyz scolds generally take the form of short directives admonishing the children for misbehaving, and vocatives in Kyrgyz usually follow scolds in both

languages. Both the scolds and vocatives demonstrate age-graded hierarchies within the family by recruiting the children into obedience. In contrast, Russian is used to accommodate to the children. The way both languages and non-accommodation and accommodation are performed reveal how childrearing practices are changing and how changes in childrearing in turn are influencing Kyrgyz kinship and Kyrgyz identity.

5.2 Kyrgyz Directives, Vocatives, and Age-Graded Hierarchies

Scolding in Kyrgyz usually takes the form of directives. In the first example, Aidar crawls on the bench seat behind me, holding a toy car, and walks over to end of the table. Astra serves dinner to me and Aksaamai, and Aksaamai plays with a piece of string, pretending it is a lasso.

Example 1
1 I (Aidar): (yells) @
2 S (Astra): Айдар эх Айдар садись
Aidar hey Aidar sit down
3 A (Aksaamai): что это было
what was that
4 Ashley: осторожно
be careful
5 S: Айдар Аксаамай отургула!
Aidar Aksaamai sit!
6 A: Час а поймала какой-то машинку
Now a I've caught some sort of car ((diminutive))
7 A: ah hah!
8 I: (cries)

In line two, Astra uses a directive in Russian to tell Aidar to sit down. When he continues to stand on his seat and Aksaamai attempts to use her string to lasso his toy car, Astra code-switches to Kyrgyz in line five, telling both of her children to "sit." Aidar sits down and places the car on the table. His sister then lassos the car, causing him to cry.

The scold is a directive, which is an example of non-accommodation. Astra does not adjust her speech in an attempt to make it more understandable to Aidar or Aksaamai,

and she expects her children to change their behaviors to meet her expectations without explanation. In this case, Aidar does listen to her after she code-switches to Kyrgyz.

Both Kyrgyz and Russian scolds are often followed by a vocative. In the second example, Astra is serving her children dinner. She tells her daughter to sit quietly at the dinner table because she is making noises and swaying from side to side impatiently. Aksaamai then indicates where on the plate she wants her food, and Umai plays with a spoon in her high-chair, making a clanging sound by hitting the table in front of her.

Example 2

1 S: Аксаамай сядь тихо я тебе час положу кызым
Aksaamai sit quietly I will give you some in a moment my girl
2 I: я не хочу тамак
I don't want food
3 (Spoon Clangs)
4 A: посередине
In the middle
5(Spoon Clangs)

Astra says in Russian "Aksaamai sit quietly I will give you some in a moment," she then code-switches to Kyrgyz to finish with "my girl." "My girl" which also means "my daughter," indexes her status as a child in the family, which is a lower rank than her mother, and her status as belonging to her mother. In this way, vocatives enact kinship, producing the child as hierarchically lower than parents and belonging to them, meaning that they can be disciplined by the parents.

5.3 Codeswitching to Russian and Explanations as Accommodation

While Kyrgyz in the family is almost exclusively used in scolds in the context of non-accommodation, Russian is frequently used to accommodate to children. In the first line of the previous example (example 2), Astra uses Russian to explain why her daughter needs to sit still by saying "Aksaamai sit quietly I will give you some in a moment my

girl" (line 1). Here Astra justifies why her daughter needs to sit quietly, so that she can serve her dinner. Like this scold, scolds in Russian are longer and usually demonstrate more accommodation to the child by means of explanation. In none of the transcriptions was Kyrgyz used in this manner.

In example three, Aksaamai is disagreeing with her mother about what meal of the day it is. Aidar stands on the bench seats of the table and walks toward me.

Example 3

1 A: нет это это после обеда а уже ужин
no this this is after lunch and already dinner
2 S: да
yes
3 A: нет после обеда по:::лдник.
no after lunch is tea
4 S: да но у нас не полдник час уже ужин час восемь часов вечера
yes but for us it is not tea now is already dinner now it's eight o'clock in the evening

In the example, Astra choses to speak in Russian instead of Kyrgyz. She also allows her daughter to argue with her about what meal time it is, instead of directing her to eat her food. By using Russian, she is altering the way she speaks to be supposedly easier for her children to understand, thus adapting to them and demonstrating accommodation. If she were not to accommodate to her daughter, she would tell her daughter to eat in Kyrgyz, without explaining that she must eat because it is dinner time and without allowing her to argue with her. Ochs and Schieffelin (1982) discuss various ways that caregivers accommodate to children, such as altering speech to be supposedly more understandable by using a special "baby talk" register. Here Astra does not use a specialized register but codeswitches to a different language variety (Russian) because she believes it will make her speech easier to understand.

5.4 Accommodation and Changing Hierarchies

Accommodating to children with Russian is changing age-graded hierarchies within the family. In example four, Astra scolds Aidar, asking him why he is not eating (though this remark in Kyrgyz was said in the same tone as other Kyrgyz scolds and likely did not presuppose a reply). He proceeds to explain in Russian, and is allowed to do so by his mother:

Example 4
1 S: тамак жесең боло Айдар
Why aren't you eating Aidar
2 I: я не хочу.
I don't want to
3 S: почему:::?
why?
4 I: почему по- по- по чему mmmm вы любите помидор плов блең
why w-w-w hy mmmm you love tomatoes plov food ((bludo))
5 Nurbek (N): у тебя лука нет помидоры нету смотри
you don't have onion or tomatoes look
6 S: почему вы любите
why do you like
7 A: потому что он не вкусный но полезный
because it is not tasty but healthy

Astra uses Russian to explain her three-year-old son, Aidar's, utterance in line four to Nurbek, her husband. Nurbek assumes that Aidar is complaining that there are tomatoes and onions in his plov (pilaf), but Astra clarifies that Aidar is asking why his parents like tomatoes, onions, plov, and food (which he calls "blen" instead of "bludo"). Aksaamai also chimes in in line seven, adding that the reason adults eat vegetables is that they are not tasty, but they are healthy. Astra demonstrates accommodation by prompting Aidar to have a conversational exchange with her with "why" (line 2) and also by clarifying his utterance in line four. In addition, she allows him to disregard hierarchies within the

family by explaining why he is not eating, instead of reprimanding him and expecting him to comply.

In the previous example, Aidar's response to the Kyrgyz reprimand in Russian may be a successful attempt to use Russian to index himself as a child that should be accommodated to. His mom says, "why aren't you eating," a rhetorical question in a scolding tone, and Aidar interprets the utterance as a question he should answer. He then responds by explaining that he does not want to eat. Allowing him to explain, and his confidence explaining in Russian, demonstrates the regularity with which Russian is used to accommodate to children and how he anticipates this accommodation.

5.5 Cosmopolitanism and Accommodation

Astra's children expect and respond to her accommodation in ways that are different than how Astra reports that she herself was raised. Over the course of participant observation and interviews, Astra explicitly stated several times that she wanted her children to grow up with more "freedom" than she had as a child. She expressed concern when her husband reprimanded the children, admitting she believed he was too strict with them. Astra also worried when her daughter left to spend a week with her parents in Naryn, stating that she feared that her parents would not pay attention to her daughter when she needed it, and that they may punish her too harshly when she misbehaved. Astra's hopes her children will have more freedom and concern that others treat her children too strictly provide evidence of how Astra's ideologies of childrearing, particularly her beliefs about accommodating to children, diverge from the ideologies of the previous generation.

Astra also repeatedly demonstrates interests in cosmopolitanism. She herself learned English to attend an English-medium university and received a MA in International Relations. She hoped to work for the Ministry of Foreign Affairs before she had her third child. She seeks experiences which will acquire cosmopolitan social and cultural capital for her children, sending her daughter to a state kindergarten for children of employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. She also wanted to name her oldest daughter after the daughter of her favorite professor, who works for an NGO, in hopes that her daughter would also be as "successful". As Russian is seen as the key for both finding a good job in the city and is the language of the government it seems that Astra purposefully positions herself and her children in spaces where they will speak Russian and in which norms of accommodating to children are prevalent.

Examining interactions among Astra and her family deepen our understandings of language shift, childrearing and changing conceptions of Kyrgyz kinship and identity in the post-Soviet era. The analysis demonstrates how code-switching to Russian functions as an accommodative language socialization practice. It also exposes how neoliberal pressures and the value of cosmopolitan capital are globalizing Euro-American, white, middle-class norms of childrearing such as accommodation in Bishkek. In addition, it raises the question of how accommodation and Russian have become tied, which requires further research on language socialization in post-Soviet Bishkek to fully comprehend.

6 CONCLUSION

Within Astra's family, changing ideologies of language and childrearing are resulting in a shift to Russian and the restriction of Kyrgyz to certain registers such as scolding. In conversations with her children, Astra and her husband's use of Kyrgyz directives and Kyrgyz vocatives perform Kyrgyz kinships and invoke age-graded hierarchies of respect, recruiting the children into obedience. Use of Russian performs accommodation to children, providing the children with opportunities to disregard hierarchies and have a different relationship with their mother, one with decreased social distance. As a consequence, what it means to be a Kyrgyz child in Astra's family is different than the how Astra and her husband experienced kinship as children.

Despite Astra's belief that her family language policy of speaking Russian to the children is because her children do not understand her, her choice of Russian for accommodation may reflect her own ideologies of cosmopolitanism. My previous research suggests that Kyrgyz women associate Russian with a better standard of living, better jobs, better education, and living in the city (McDermott 2016). Though substantial accommodation to children is a white, middle-class, Euro-American practice, this norm is presented through international organizations and media as universal. Research on cosmopolitanism demonstrates that parents see cosmopolitanism as a form of cultural and social capital (Weenink 2008). It follows that in the present case study, Russian and accommodation have become linked, and both are desired as cosmopolitan capital.

Here I argue that Astra's use of Russian is related to its commodification and role in providing access to cosmopolitan capital; capital which she believes will allow herself

and her children access to better schools, better jobs, and opportunities to work abroad—even if only in the former Soviet Union. Astra belongs to both a new urban middle-class and the first generation of post-Soviet mothers, positions which influence how she perceives herself and the position of her children in Kyrgyz society and the globalized post-Soviet world. The way she performs accommodation and her children seek accommodation demonstrates changing Kyrgyz kinship, particularly changes in age-graded family hierarchies of respect. It is likely that Astra's beliefs about accommodation toward children, cosmopolitanism, and language shift within the family toward Russian are shared by other urban middle-class families in Northern Kyrgyzstan. Expanding this research to other families in Bishkek presents intriguing opportunities for future research on how globalization in Kyrgyzstan and other post-Soviet states contributes to language shift.

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APPENDIX

Transcription Conventions

__	Kyrgyz
[]	overlap
:	lengthened syllable
—	interruption
?	high rise
.	low fall
(())	analyst comment
()	non-verbal utterance or sound
@	laughter
!	exclamatory utterance