‘Don’t smile at me’ or
Linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of identity

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Abstract

This thesis addresses verbal and non-verbal aspects of Russian identity, namely word order and smiling. It aims at investigating whether Russian national identity is shifting and can be qualified as 'Western'. In order to examine these aspects, the Matched Guise Test was used, which proved its efficiency in measuring verbal and non-verbal sociolinguistic aspects that existed in a particular language community.

For this experiment, native Russian speakers (n=22) were offered to participate in two tests that focused on common and uncommon word order use and use of a sincere smile in a situation where it was not commonly used. In the first task, native Russian speakers were asked to evaluate two equivalent Russian phrases produced by a guise. The phrases were different in their word order. During the second task, a video scene was shown to participants where a stranger smiled sincerely when making eye contact with another stranger. Participants were supposed to assess both tasks across seven characteristics on Likert scales. The results of the first task were compared and correlated with gender and age, as were the findings of the second task.

Overall, participants pointed out that uncommon word order and a genuine smile to a stranger could not be regarded as a Russian way of verbal and non-verbal behaviour. This led to the conclusion that participants were sensitive towards these aspects. Also, their responses supported the idea that both aspects contributed to Russian identity formation. Apart from that, the study revealed that female participants were more conservative concerning uncommon word order use, and younger participants were more sensitive towards the sincerity of a smile received from a stranger. However, according to previous research, more studies are needed in order to outline a clear-cut sociolinguistic situation in Russia, especially in measuring attitudes of its population by means of the matched-guise technique.

Keywords: *sociolinguistics, language attitudes, the matched-guise technique, national identity, Russian*

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1. Introduction

The first manifestation of identity appears in early childhood when a child of 3- or 4 years old starts using the pronoun 'I' towards themselves (Elkonin 2007). Afterwards, the process of formation and development of one's identity takes shape. It results in a specific configuration that guides one's actions and attitudes, explains one's behaviour, and helps them coexist in a community. Identity, in that sense, is a complex concept that has become a vast terrain for research across social and behavioural science. Identity has become a field of enquiry for sociolinguistic research as well due to its fluid nature that fuels further variation within societies. Individuals construct and reconstruct themselves or are constructed or reconstructed by those who constitute their community and share the same values. Within sociolinguistic research, particular attention is given to how individuals position themselves and are positioned by others in sociocultural situations by means of language values (Omoniyi, White 2006). Primarily, language interacts with identity and its characteristics that constitute identity as a single whole, namely one's biological gender, age, or even voice (Coulmas 2005).

As a social construct, identity is a nonfixed, dynamic and multifaceted phenomenon; hence, it is only reasonable to appreciate it as a collection of selves that evolve throughout one's life. In this regard, an individual is free to choose which self-representation to disclose in a given context. This perspective is closely tied with language because language helps represent who we are in various contexts. Furthermore, the interplay between personal identities and group identities, or collective identities at the national level, changes the angle of discussion on identity. National identity unites the community, given that it is 'the most fundamental and inclusive' of which that draws its power in collective memory and mythology (Smith 1999). However, taking into consideration recent global trends such as globalisation and digitalisation, identity undergoes permutations of its components and dispositions. This is especially true now given that individuals gain access to different parts of the world and different cultures through a screen within seconds. In this respect, theories and concepts that deal with identity as a phenomenon need reconsideration because of the changing situation (Elliot 2016).

The initial focus of this thesis is the relationship between language and identity at the national level. Specifically, it examines the linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of identity that can mark Russian national identity. The linguistic aspect is word order, and the non-linguistic aspect is a facial expression of smiling. Additionally, gender and age, as well as other factors, are also taken into consideration. Gender plays a vital role because men and women adopt new ways of speaking differently (Milroy, Milroy 1993). As for a speakers' age, it is essential to

take into consideration two epochs that produced two different generations, namely those who grew up before the collapse of the Soviet Union and those who grew up after. Consequently, the older generation can perceive the norm's divergence from the correct Russian language differently than the younger generation.

In order to address the aspects mentioned, the thesis has the following structure. This introductory section proceeds with a closer look at the two phenomena: word order and smiling, and their meaning in Russian culture. The same section is also devoted to global trends that challenge national identities, particularly Russian national identity. Section 2 outlines the theoretical framework on identity studies along with the description of a sociolinguistic situation in Russia. Section 3 describes the methodology, which encompasses participants profiles, the primary procedure, and an overview of statistical treatment. Section 4 focuses mainly on results that separately describe linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of identity. Section 5 then presents answers to the study's research questions, other research, research limitations, possible solutions and further implications, and lastly, an overall discussion.

1.1. Word order

In the Russian spoken language, word order is governed by thematic-rhematic relations and/or context, which help communicate a message. The word order of utterances can be direct and inverse. The direct word order suggests that an utterance falls under one sentence category, namely either declarative, interrogative, or imperative (Rozental et al. 2010). A speaker chooses which type of word order to opt for based on their communicative goals and which element of an utterance is important. Intonation also helps highlight important elements of an utterance to articulate a particular meaning (Zemskaya et al. 1973). Thus, word order is quite flexible compared to, for example, English, in which the same degree of plasticity cannot be exhibited. The only restriction is case system subordination. For instance, the English sentence 'Kate loves Pete' can be translated word for word into *Katya lyubit Petyu* 'Kate loves Pete', or with other several variants expressing the same English sentence, *Petyu Katya lubit* 'Pete Kate loves', *Petyu l'ubit Katya* 'Pete loves Kate', or even *Lyubit Katya Petyu* 'loves Kate Pete' (Ter-Minasova 2008a: 158). In English, the agent is always placed first with some exceptions; in Russian, the agent can be placed in different positions, and only the case can show the relation between the agent and the patient. Thus, in general, word order is not marked by identity in Russian.

Nevertheless, in idiomatic expressions such as that which is exemplified in the English phrase ‘Ladies and gentlemen’ or its Russian equivalent *Damy i gospoda* ‘Ladies and gentlemen’, a specific variation can be detected and linguistic identity can be revealed. For example, in English, it is common to say, ‘my husband and I’, whereas in Russian, the order of ‘my husband’ and ‘I’ is reversed. Thus, it is common to hear variants such as *ya i moy muzh* ‘I and my husband’ or *my s muzhem* ‘we with my husband’, which sound more natural. The first place is devoted to the first-person pronoun in singular or plural form rather than to the second-person pronoun. The arrangement of the English phrase with the second place of the first-person pronoun serves as a means of politeness and a respectful attitude towards the other interlocutor (Ter-Minasova 2008a).

Another expression that reveals national identity is *bednyi, no chestnyi* ‘poor but honest’, which can be regarded as a positive characteristic of a novel character. English speakers perceive the contrasting conjunction ‘but’ as natural, but the reading in Russian cultural realia is different. Specifically, a Russian can understand it as ‘all poor people are dishonest’. In Russian culture, the idiomatic expression ‘wealthy but honest’ is generally considered as more natural due to the overall opinion that wealth cannot be gained honestly (Ter-Minasova 2008a). The examples above show that national identity and language are indeed intertwined, and that language bears cultural and ideological loading.

1.2. Smiling

The most peculiar phenomenon that is inherent in Russian culture is the specific meaning of a smile that distinguishes Russians from most Westerners. From the Western perspective, Russians are an ‘unsmiling’ nation. It is said that Russian non-receptiveness to smiles signals overall unfriendliness and gloominess. However, the main reason for non-smiling behaviour lies in the cultural meaning of smiling as a social act.

Before delving into the social interpretation of smiling, it is essential to distinguish between two kinds of smile. These are the Duchenne smile, named after the French anatomist Duchenne de Boulogne, and the non-Duchenne smile (Ekman, Davidson, Friesen 1990, Frank, Ekman, Friesen 1997). The difference between the Duchenne and non-Duchenne smile lies in the activation of specific muscles. Notably, the Duchenne smile is produced by the muscles of the cheekbone and the lip corner, along with the muscle that gathers skin inwardly from around the eye socket. As for the non-Duchenne smile, only the lips corners are involved (Ekman, Friesen 1982). The former type, or a ‘felt’ smile, represents pleasure, enjoyment and happiness. The latter is considered as a social, or polite, smile. Research on smiling shows that it is possible

to differentiate between ‘felt’ and social smiles. Yet, it is quite challenging to foresee and explain the occurrence of a certain type of smile in some contexts. Particularly in political context, it is expected to be able to spot a social smile but not a ‘felt’ smile. When a politician produces a ‘felt’ smile, this occurrence is unexpected and the producer’s intentions are not easy to calculate (Bourgeois, Hess 2008, Krumhuber, Manstead 2009).

Particular attention should be paid to the cross-cultural meaning of smiling. In many English-speaking cultures, a polite smile is perceived as a natural social act that presumes an unaggressive attitude and in-group affiliation. The absence of a smile may be regarded as unpolite and cause unnecessary awkwardness for those who are around an unsmiling person. Moreover, in official settings, smiling is an obligatory communicative attribute (Sternin, Larina, Sternina 2003). With respect to Russian culture, this type of smiling is a matter of formality rather than a demonstration of the genuine emotion of happiness (Ter-Minasova 2008a).

The cultural meaning of a Russian smile is hidden in cultural values. It is generally believed that the fundamental values of Russian culture are sincerity and truthfulness, and it is essential for a Russian to exhibit their true feelings and thoughts (Wierzbicka 1994). In contrast to many English-speaking cultures, social smiles carry out social functions rather than reveal true emotions. As a result, social smiles are valued less and disapproved by Russian society (Wierzbicka 1999). Consequently, a Russian smile belongs mainly to the domain of personal relationships and personal communication (Larina 2009). Russians of various ages do not exchange smiles in the street. It is not necessary to smile at a familiar person when eye contact is made because in a personal setting, smiling is considered as an invitation to a conversation (Sternin 2000). Overall, for Russians, there should be a significant reason for a ‘felt’ smile, otherwise it is interpreted as mockery (Sergeeva 2004). As a substitution for a social smile, Russians prefer the use of a neutral facial expression over a polite smile when making eye-contact with other people.

However, this trend has been gradually shifting towards Western traditions. Assuming the latter, Ter-Minasova (2008a) distinguishes three types of smile that co-exist in Russian-speaking culture. These are a formal smile, a commercial smile, and a sincere smile. She argues that a formal smile in many Western cultures is an attempt to secure oneself in an alien setting. In contrast, in Russia, a formal smile is not typical and can be understood as an attempt to make acquaintances. A commercial smile is the requirement of the current service, promoted by foreign companies that operate in Russia. The last kind of smile, namely a sincere smile, is inherent in all cultures but is valued the most in Russian culture (2008a: 192). Even though a

formal type of smile, or a social smile, is not generally accepted, Russians have already become acquainted with using a commercial smile which is akin to a polite smile in its social meaning.

1.3. Globalization and digitalisation as new challenges

This subsection aims to describe challenges such as globalisation and digitalization that are believed to be the main driving forces of identity change.

Processes of globalization and technological advancement have impacted all spheres of life. They force an individual to adjust and alter their cultural practices and their habitual language use. Globalization, fuelled by electronic communication, can be understood in terms of 'compression of the world' (Robertson 1992). From a sociolinguistic point of view, people must deal with increased social networks and intensified intercultural communication, which affects world cultures. All these enable cultural contiguity, meeting and mixing (Barker, Jane 2016). At the same time, globalization and technologization reshape social relations at the local level, specifically within communities. As a result, there is a continuous opposition between globalism and localism, which leads to the contradiction of 'adapting locally to meet global circumstances' (James 2006: 15). As for digitalization, electronic communication transforms identity as well as promoting language change, not to mention creating an opportunity for an individual to construct and reconstruct their identity or practice multiple identities (Darvin 2016). As a result, global communication and accessibility to any locus of global community encourage promotion of a particular language as a global means of communication. Specifically, the English language has become a central means of interaction and has become labelled as a global language. The global language and its cultural load permeate other world ideologies and oust national cultures. As a result, there is a risk of one-sided evolution of the worlds' national cultures and ideologies (Ter-Minasova 2008b).

On a micro level, cultural circulation and extended networks influence identity, especially linguistic identity, to fit the global setting and digital space. In this respect, Russian national identity also transforms, and its effects are seen in different spheres of life. Firstly, the Russian language absorbs a wide range of loan words that substitute original ones, especially from the English language. The main concern is that foreign concepts substitute Russian concepts that interfere with culture transmission and the Russian language itself (Kirilina 2013, Kushnareva 2016). As a result, more and more Russian speakers use modified linguistic forms that do not correspond to concepts of Russian national identity.

A vivid example can be drawn from Russian norms of politeness that are gradually shifting toward a Western paradigm. Russian people's linguistic behaviour and non-verbal exchange

have also changed, for example, in the use of facial expressions or politeness markers (Krongauz 2009). Lastly, there has been an overall reduction of literacy, especially in the Russian media sector. Increasingly more politicians and television presenters allow themselves to use Americanisms, colloquial forms and jargon expressions that were not previously permitted in public discourse (Gronskaia 2012).

To conclude, word order and smiling may be considered as two aspects marked by culture-specific features that manifest certain aspects of identity, particularly with regards to Russian national identity and Anglo western identity. Considering the fluidity of identity, it is important to appreciate factors that may stimulate its variation and alteration. Two global trends, namely globalization and digitalization, may encourage identity to remodel and influence identity change. These changes cannot go unnoticed, and the next section sheds light on the general aspects of identity to answer the question of why they may influence identity.

2. Theoretical background

The central topic of this thesis is identity and how it is expressed both linguistically and non-linguistically (Smakman 2018). This section lays out the theoretical framework of the construction of individual identity and group identity, the role of language and its relationship with identity, language attitudes, and national identity. It also provides an overview of the sociolinguistic situation in Russia and how trends such as globalization and digitalization affect it.

2.1. Identity

The term *identity* stems from the Latin word *idem,* which means ‘same’ in the sense of ‘quality of being identical’ throughout one’s life and not being someone else (Oxford Learner's Dictionary n.d.). It applies directly to *personality*, or *personal identity* (a combination of individual traits and characteristics that merge in a certain way), making an individual different from other individuals. Also, the combination in its final form represents the uniqueness of each individual. It should be noted, however, that the psychological constituents of each personality can be encountered in other persons as well. It means that they are not exclusive. These constituents make up an assortment of human characteristics that exist on a market within a group from which an individual draws their characteristics and creates their final psychological profile (Edwards 2009). However, it does not mean that personality is a fixed

and stable phenomenon. It changes and its permutation depends on social environment, stage of life, social position, and other factors. Thus, it is more accurate to appreciate identity as a fluid and multifaceted phenomenon that encompasses other identities, such as gender identity, age identity, sexual identity, kinship identity, ethnic identity, national identity, social class identity, and language identity (Bucholtz and Hall 2005, Edwards 2009, Joseph 2004, Lemke 2008, Omoniyi, White 2006). An individual can manipulate all these self-representations in different contexts, at different ages and in different periods of life. Identity, in that sense, becomes a construction of identities that tend to develop and change throughout one's life. Cultural guidelines polish this construction so that the latter can be regarded as normal or typical within a community, and an individual can blend in with the rest naturally (Lemke 2008).

Bucholtz and Hall (2005) describe identity as 'the social positioning of self and other' (2005: 586). This view on identity gives room for the stance that personality is tightly intertwined with social identity, which acts in various contexts and changes under certain circumstances. Notably, s*ocial identity* in this perspective can be termed as 'that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the emotional significance attached to that membership' (Tajfel 1974: 69). Thus, every individual uses their knowledge of group guidelines as an orientation system that helps them acknowledge who they are and establish their place in society. Nevertheless, it is significantly challenging to draw a clear-cut distinction between one's personality and social identity (Edwards 2009).

Other categories, such as Self and Other and their extensions which are Us and Them, help grasp one's uniqueness and belonging to a group. These complementary perspectives appear mainly in social interaction and enable an individual to perceive 'sameness and difference' (Bucholtz, Hall 2004). Specifically, the perception of Self refers to an individual and enables them to associate themselves with their group or Us. The perception of Other creates an awareness of social distance between non-members of another group or Them. In communication, an individual sense of Self and Other is either predetermined and fixed or unspecified from the outset of an interaction. Given this, salience of one's identity or social identity can be adjusted as well as one's style of communication.

Interestingly, a certain similarity can be noted in the description of the characteristic of Russian national identity. Namely, it is an inherent opposition between 'one's own' and 'alien', which relates to social distancing in verbal and nonverbal communication. Russians are very much aware of their in-group peers and are quite sensitive in terms of differences between in-

group and out-group members. As for Russian social distance, it is considered low, and only the closest peers can belong to 'one's own' group. Other members of society who are not familiar with an individual due to relatively high social distance are considered as 'aliens'. These members of the same society are not favoured with any verbal or nonverbal signals (Larina 2009). There should be a specific reason to start interaction with those regarded as 'aliens'; otherwise, it will not be considered typical behaviour. Thus, the perception of otherness is firmly integrated into Russian national identity, and it is an inseparable part that determines values, behaviour, and communication style.

As for other traits of identity, an individual cannot exist apart from a group and forms their psychological portrait through socialisation (Edwards 2009, Joseph 2004). A communicative act and overall social situation determine which facet an individual may express at any given moment. The interrelation of personal identities and group identities is best described within Social Identity Theory, put forward by Henri Tajfel, which differentiates between two kinds: identities of Self and identities of a group (Tajfel 1978). In general, Social Identity Theory explains how group affiliations affect an individual's self-concept or self-construct, as well as their influence on the attitudes and behaviour towards Us and Them. There are three processes involved to distinguish Us and Them; categorisation, identification and comparison (Tajfel, Turner 1979). Firstly, an individual categorises their own Self and other people's Selves within known categories and assigns labels to themselves and others. They also choose a particular style of behaviour typical for that kind of category, e.g., how a woman, an American, or a student should behave, etc. Afterwards, an individual identifies and adopts the behaviour that is regarded as typical by the group they belong to. The last is the process of comparison: a person in their role compares themselves with individuals who hold the same roles in other groups. An essential element of comparison is that this process helps to understand the source of deep-rooted prejudice and stereotypes. The latter stems from the desire of members of different groups to maintain the self-worth of its members. Thus, an individual needs this comparison to boost his or her self-esteem (Meyerhoff 2006).

When communicating, an individual will reveal one of their personal identities and stresses their distinction from other members of the same group. In the intergroup interaction, the theory predicts that group identity becomes more salient to emphasise the fact of belonging to another group. The former would display more variability than the latter, which is restricted by a smaller number of styles available. Moreover, intergroup interaction evokes certain social and cultural stereotypes that characterise a group and distinguish it from other groups (Tajfel 1981). This phenomenon was exemplified in the study carried out by McNamara (1987), who

investigated identity salience and its further shift among members of a small Israelian immigrant community in Australia. Specifically, McNamara suggested that Israeli immigrants inevitably shifted and maintained their social identity due to changing social circumstances which would also alter language attitudes, particularly the preference for English over Hebrew in particular, especially among children (McNamara 1987). In that respect, Social Identity Theory provides a solid basis for a stance that personal identity is not active in the context of inter-group interaction (Hewstone, Rubin, Willis, 2002, Hogg et al. 2004). The theory also suggests that the multiplicity and fluidity of personal and social identities can be explained through the involvement of people in various groups and communities.

Nevertheless, only one identity can be visible in each situation as a response to context (Hogg et al. 2004). The process of change functions on a spectrum of two extreme categories: acting in favour of Self or in favour of a group (Tajfel 1974). These categories are discussed in detail within Self-Categorisation Theory, or 'the social identity theory of the group' (Turner et al. 1987: 42). Proposed by John Turner (1987, 1991), the theory considers the interrelation of personal and social identities within an individual's self-construal. That is, to what extent do separate categories such as Self and We get on with each other. Together with Social Identity Theory, these theories represent a social identity approach adopted in various social science fields. It is essential to mention that both theories regard language as a pivotal factor in establishing borderlines within and between groups.

Overall, personal identity and social identity cannot be treated separately since individuals cannot perceive their identity separately from the identities of other community members. The very perception of one's own identity presupposes a group that facilitates conditions that enable an individual to make necessary distinctions between Self and Other and Us and Them. For Russian studies, the differentiation of Us and Them is of great importance due to the inherent core values of Russian culture mentioned previously (Larina 2009). This is especially the case given that two different generations currently coexist in the same community. It is also important to note that the age of language acquisition highly impacts linguistic perception of one's speech (Danesi 2020). Specifically, in Russia, two generations attained different sociolinguistic experiences during the period of the collapse of the Soviet Union. One generation was cut off from the rest of the world by the Iron Curtain, which fell in 1990; the other generation did not know such limitations and enjoyed accessibility to other cultures and languages. These two periods differ in the way children were schooled and exposed to Russian culture, whether they learned foreign languages or not, and how they

interact with other group members. In this respect, there is a question of whether there are two groups within one community as opposed to just one, and how they perceive linguistic changes.

Another aspect is gender which overall turns out to be an essential factor of sociolinguistic research. It is agreed that men and women perceive and adopt linguistic and non-linguistic changes differently, as well as the fact that their sensitivity can differ when it comes to their language attitudes. For this study, it is important to take into consideration that women tend to be more sensitive to linguistic changes than men (Milroy, Milroy 1993). Thus, similarly to age, gender can be considered a contributing factor to the overall results.

It was previously mentioned that identity is best seen through communication. In order to appreciate how identity can be represented, the correlation between identity and language should be discussed. A following subsection is concerned with the theoretical background of the connection between these two.

2.2. Language and identity

The relation of language and identity is 'ultimately inseparable' since language allows us to reveal our Selves in various social situations rather than simply being ourselves (Joseph 2004). One's personal identity and social identity become salient through their exposure to the immediate context of the interaction (Meyerhoff 2006). Identity itself can be seen as a 'discursive construct that emerges in interaction' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005). All these views justify the assumption that language is central to facilitating identity representation. It acts as an intermediary between who we are and how we present our personality to others. One's self-presentation, place of origin, sexuality, age, and affiliation with a certain community can be established through this mediation. Individuals can be born with some pre-existing representations, such as race, gender or voice, and others are adopted from one's place of origin and social conditions. Some representations can be changed to varying degrees, such as language, social status, or even gender and voice quality. Meanwhile, others may stay for the time being. For example, the social position and origin implanted in formative years strongly influence one's style of behaviour, thinking, and language use. (Smakman 2018).

Identity can be treated as a phenomenon that is partially assigned at birth and partially developed (Coulmas 2005). However, it is not an innate feature; it reflects what people do (Le Page, Tabouret-Keller 1985). In that sense, each language act is marked by an individual's identity (Le Page, Tabouret-Keller 1985). Moreover, linguistic manifestation of identity may be considered as the third function of language, after communication with others and the ability to describe the world around us in our minds with language (Joseph 2004).

As mentioned, language can be altered or changed. Similarly, as individuals are capable of changing their identity to a certain degree. What an individual does with language matches with their identity or multiple identities. The latter is tightly linked with multiple roles that a person fulfils (Tabouret-Keller 1997). Thus, when revealing a representation linguistically, an individual considers which situation and which Self is more appropriate. In this way, a teenager will talk to their parents and their peers differently, assuming their specific roles with each. On the one hand, a person has their own image which they would like to put forward; on the other hand, there is a well-established image that their interlocutors have constructed of them. Given this, the individual acts as an agent who possesses a certain amount of freedom, free will and originality. Individuals' agency enables them to produce their action voluntarily, despite being predetermined by social structures and language as a common means of communication within society. Anthony Giddens puts forward the concept of agency as a critique of Michelle Foucault's claim that it is discourses that construct and regulate identity. However, Foucault's idea does not explain why some individuals participate in some discourses and ignore others. Another perspective is that identities, or 'subjects' as Foucault termed identities, are a discursive product interacting in power relations (Barker, Jane 2016). Still, there is an ongoing discussion as to what extent an individual can claim that their self-construction is a 'reflexive project of individual agency' that can act independently and freely (Block 2006). Specifically, for this study, it is essential to note that an individual is an agent who can play with language and use it to demonstrate their identity at any time and place, as well as evaluate the performance of others.

Just as an individual develops their identity, language undergoes changes throughout one's life and reflects this identity development in the way an individual speaks at every stage of their life. In that sense, language reveals one's Self and presents it. When describing the interaction between language and identity, Danesi (2020) proposed the term *linguistic identity,* which refers to 'the impact of language on one's sense of identity.' (2020: 111). In a similar vein, Bucholtz and Hall (2005) explain that identity is not a mere psychological means of categorisation but rather a linguistic phenomenon that is assembled through social action (2005). In that sense, language, or rather specific linguistic constructions, anchor an individual towards contrasting their personal and social identities with members of their group and with members from other groups. Specifically, speakers perceive themselves as unique compared to other members of the same community within micro-social frames and, at the same time, accept their commonality with their group peers within macro-social frames. In this light, the association between language and identity is prominent but 'distant' due to the assumption that

social identity is not directly encoded in language structures (Ochs 1993: 288). Thus, linguistic structures are indexes of identity in communication where these indexes underlie particular social categories such as gender or social status (Bucholtz, Hall 2005: 595-6).

Language is also regarded as a vehicle that carries out a symbolic function. An individual uses language as a semiotic sign that reveals their identity or identities to the world. In other words, language directs or indexes identity. *A model of indexicality* proposed by Michael Silverstein (2003) captures the whole process of indexicality. It suggests that identity itself is a phenomenon of indexical order. Inspired by the semiotic theory of the American philosopher Charles Sanders Peirce, Silverstein's model refers to the view that linguistic or non-linguistic acts can also point to certain associations about a person and their social identity. When a sign becomes recognisable by other members of a group, it is said to be enregistered or widely recognised by others and treated as an 'emblem' of that community (Agha 2007). Thus, a Russian smile or, to more accurately put it, the absence of a smile points to a characteristic trait of Russian national identity and it is interpreted differently than in many English-speaking cultures. In that sense, a non-smiling facial expression is an index of Russian social identity.

As for other aspects of indexicality, Silverstein argues that indices are ordered in a certain way, and these orders can be multi-layered. However, there are only two critical levels. These are a particular level (*n*) and another level that is just above the previous one (*n+1*). These two subsequent layers are engaged in competing interaction that occurs within identity (Silverstein 2003). For instance, the 1st-order indexicality refers to sociodemographic context, e.g., the Southern part of Russia, where Southern Russian can be found. The 2nd-order indexicality refers to variation within Southern dialects and the level of prestige that one or another variant has, and so on. These two competing levels are indexes of enregistered order that depend on a cultural schema that is perceived as meaningful for a community (Silverstein 2003). Still, index may comprise more than one linguistic and non-linguistic element. These can be negotiated and renegotiated by members of a community. Speakers can manipulate the meanings and connotations of an indexical component. As demonstrated in the study conducted by Taylor-Leech (2012) who investigated official and non-official public signage in Dili, a capital city of Timor-Leste, where national languages were concealed from public observation compared to other languages existing in the same area. This occurrence identified a certain status and relevance of national languages in society. Thus, language choice or certain linguistic policy served as a means of promotion of specific indices of social and national identity (Taylor-Leech 2012).

The ability to demonstrate identity through signs enables an individual to make judgements about their interlocutor's speech style, pronunciation, or choice of words. As a result, an individual adjusts their speaking style to their interlocutor on the basis of these judgements and motivations. This phenomenon is explained by Accommodation Theory, proposed by Howard Giles in the 1970s (Giles 1973, Giles, Bourhis 1973). The basic assumption is that the verbal or non-verbal behaviour of people is governed by adaptation or *attunement*. By adjusting or not adjusting to somebody, an individual displays their liking of an interlocutor, and language helps them in that sense. Giles distinguishes between two strategies of attunement: *convergence* and *divergence* (Giles 1973). The process of convergence is activated when, to emphasize commonality, a speaker shows linguistic alignment with an interlocutor, who in turn interprets interaction positively. The second strategy, namely divergence, indicates that a speaker wants to highlight their difference from an interlocutor. In this case, the interlocutor evaluates the speaker's behaviour negatively. Both processes involve speech style, choice of words, pronunciation, intonation, and even speech rate. Thus, Accommodation Theory deals with perceptions and the negotiation of identities between interlocutors, and a speaker is an agent of their motivation on whether to opt for convergence or divergence (Meyerhoff 2006). In that sense, a speaker tries adopting other identities when choosing a convergence strategy. As Joseph (2004) puts it, 'when I accommodate, I become 'someone else' linguistically based on my perception of the person I am accommodating to' (2004: 73). Overall, Accommodation Theory helps understand how intergroup and interpersonal communication is organized and clarifies predictions of these interactions (Gallos, Ogay, Giles 2005).

This assumption leads to another point of discussion that Bucholtz and Hall (2005) refer to as the relational principle that considers identity a relational phenomenon (2005: 598). Identity becomes socially meaningful only during interaction with other members of a community. In other words, identity becomes salient when it interacts with other identities that share something in common and as a result, form a unity. In the subsection that follows, the phenomenon of national identity resulting from the interaction is discussed, as well as what role plays language in this interaction.

2.3. Language and national identity

National identities and group identities are abstract creations that do not exist separately from the individuals who possess them. This means that Americanness belongs to Americans and therefore cannot exist without people (Joseph 2010). Language plays a significant role in

the formation and reproduction of national identity. Apart from functioning as an identity marker of a group, it also nurtures a cultural foundation that is further transmitted as *text* from the old to the young, the same way that identities are constructed and transferred (Joseph 2010).

In generally, even though the term 'nation' has various interpretations, there are commonalities that unite these interpretations. Firstly, 'nation' can be described as a large group of people who share the same territory, history, culture, and mythology (Smith 1983, Joseph 2010). Historically, the concept of nation is rooted in the myths and memories of a dominant ethnic community. The only difference is that ethnicity is a symbolic notion, whereas nation is an actual unity of people who share an actual territory (Smith 1983). Still, nation is regarded as an 'imagined community' according to Benedict Anderson (1983/2006). The core of this concept stems from the belief of commonality amongst all members of a nation, even though people may not know each other and never encounter one another in daily life. Every nation is an imagined, and thus limited, construct that has its own boundaries beyond which other nations exist (Anderson 1983/2006). This idea supports the view that an individual needs Them to realise their uniqueness and differentiate themself from others. One nation realises its uniqueness based on national cultural *text* or narratives as well as its differences compared to other nations. Stuart Hall (1996) supports the concept of nation as an 'imagined community', stating that people of a community adopt 'the idea of the nation' rooted in its national culture (1996: 612).

In this respect, language functions as an emblem of a community or a particular nation (Edwards 2009). It especially applies to the so-called 'mother tongue' or national language which is recognised by all community members and works as a glue to hold this community together. In a similar vein, Fishman believes that national language is essential to ethnocultural identity (Fishman 1997). These points of view affirm that language in general can be a symbol, regardless of whether it is English, Russian or Welsh. Anderson even assumes that communities are heterogeneous with respect to language. He also suggests that only written language is an 'emblem of nationness' due to the assumption that print-language is less prone to variability and it reduces idiolects to a common denominator (Anderson 1983/2006: 43-4). For this study, the central point is that national identity exists within a large yet limited gathering of people who are tied together by means of the idea of commonality, which draws from common history and culture. People may not know each other, but their language and cultural texts are imperative to their unity. This holds true for Russia's sociolinguistic situation, where the Russian language has become the predominant variety that Russian speakers treat with affection, loyalty and respect (Smakman 2018). Due to strong and ideologically coloured

language policy, the standard Russian language has become the only language of communication and interaction (Edygarova 2016).

Another perspective on the national identity discussion is a matter of national ideologies and their association with language, or rather named language. Language is not a stable entity (Blackledge, Pavlenko 2001). In this respect, it is national ideology that creates a construction of permanent language called the 'mother tongue', which does not give room to other distinct languages spoken on the same territory (Billig 1995). Resting upon similar views, the Russian language is considered as a repository of cultural background and mental patterns that constitute an ethnical object of what is seen as Russian national identity. Any interference in it can disturb the equilibrium of the concept of national identity and overall state organisation (Gronskaia 2012, Tishkov 2003, 2009). Moreover, multiple national languages that exist side by side can have certain effects on identity as well. As suggested by a long-lasting study carried out in the Republic of Moldova and 'near abroad' states, multiple languages considered as 'mother tongues' hinder self-identification. However, on the other hand, multiple self-proclaimed languages lead to multiple language identities. The latter phenomenon forces speakers to reconsider their identity regarding national states (Mlechko 2013).

As for national ideology in Russia, an overall situation resulted in peculiar language attitudes towards others who speak the Russian language, especially to those who speak it with errors. The evaluation process occurs either consciously or unconsciously and results in forming one's attitude to those who speak in a certain way. For example, Canadian social psychologist William Lambert was the first to discovered that participants tend to attribute the specific characteristics grounding their evaluation solely to the language chosen rather than speech style or voice quality (Lambert et al. 1960). Lambert's study of attitudes towards French speakers and English speakers in a bilingual region of Quebec (Canada) showed that people's perception of others and their judgements could be formed irrespective of other relevant factors such as speech style or voice (Joseph 2004). Moreover, the Matched Guise Test used by Lambert has also proved itself successful also in measuring attitudes towards one's native language (Andrews 2003).

2.4. Sociolinguistic situation in Russia

Russia can be regarded as a multilingual country where the Russian language takes the dominant position compared to other minor languages. Russian exists in three variants, the first of which is the central variant, spoken in the central part of Russia. The northern and southern group of dialects are mainly used in the North and the South of the country, respectively.

Contemporary Standard Russian is spoken in the central part of the country, and is based on the Moscow dialect (Sussex, Cubberley 2006).

The Russian language is a language that is appreciated unconditionally by its speakers (Smakman 2018), and the reasoning behind this can be traced through the history of its standardisation. The establishment of the modern Russian literary language started in the 18th century. The latter variant replaced the Church Slavonic language. The second wave of standardisation started after the Russian revolution in 1917, which undermined social structure and language. As a result, the standard and non-standard forms of Russian became barely distinguishable. It was expected that the language of the working class would prevail while an old variant of standard language would be replaced. Nevertheless, changes could be seen only in the hierarchy of registers. The colloquial style became stylistically neutral, and the non-standard variant became the colloquial standard (Comrie, Stone 1978).

The game-changing period for the Russian language began during the USSR. Strong and ideologically empowered language policy encouraged Russian people and other countries included in the USSR to glorify the Russian language as a means of unity and commonality. Eventually, Russian gained an exclusive position, and for those to whom Russian was not native, it gained the statue of a 'second native language' (Kreindler 1979). In later years, aggressive and authoritarian language policy combined with an unbending approach to standardization led to the situation when grammatical correctness became of great importance for native Russian speakers and those to whom Russian was the second native language (Kirkwood 1989). Thus, the Soviet period established a strong culture of standard language use that still echoes into the present (Edygarova 2016).

After the dissolution of the Soviet Union, the Russian language undertook another change. Relaxation of ideology and social changes led to alteration of the language norm. Specifically, if in the 1960s incorrectness was blamed, then after 1985, there was a choice to use the vernacular style. Oral and written speech became more spontaneous and personalized and directed towards a particular addressee (Ryazanova-Clarke, Wade 1999). However, the standard language ideology has not changed dramatically, and grammatical correctness was and still is an important indicator of a speaker's level of educatedness (Edygarova 2016).

The Russian language does not reflect the status structure of Russian society. Instead, linguistic variation depends more on social environment and region than on the social status of speakers. Due to advancement in the educational sphere, more and more speakers, irrespective of their social position, prefer standard variants of speaking over their dialectal form. In that sense, the prestige attached to the standard literary language is incontestable. However, with

respect to gender, there are some discrepancies between sociolinguistic research in Russia and previously established predictions in other countries. These are that women are more conservative regarding the language norm than men (Labov 1966, Trudgill 1972); secondly, women could be more sensitive to language change and stopped using a new form when it became overtly stigmatized (Labov 1994, Evans 2004).

Gender studies in Russia could not fully support either of these predictions. For example, there was a tendency that more and more speakers in the South of Russia preferred the standard sound [g] to the marked fricative [ɣ] and its voiceless variant [h]. However, it was men who were the driving force of that change due to their social mobility. Women were more inclined to keep the dialectal form (Krysin 2000, Krysin 2004). Thus, gender can certainly be a contributing factor in measuring language attitudes that should be considered. Age is another factor that can also impact the findings. The same study revealed that younger generations adopted the standard norm of pronunciation faster than the older generations. These findings show that age can influence one's linguistic choice, and thus this variable cannot be ignored.

Overall, correct standard Russian, accurate pronunciation and accentuation and language use are considered as indications of educatedness and intellectuality. Those who can boast proper speech may even regard themselves as intellectually elite. However, the notion of the intellectual elite in Russia does not always correspond to economic wealth, which amounts to higher social status. The social status of well-to-do people and those who have a higher level of education are not the same in Russia (Smakman 2018). In this respect, a middle-class individual, despite their position in economic exchange, can still declare themselves as an intellectual and enjoy their position even though they may not have all the privileges that wealthy people do.

It is also believed that recently the status and structure of the Russian language have been gradually changing. Many Russian linguists express their concerns that these permutations happen too quickly and affect society and language (Krongauz 2009, Gronskaia 2012, Kirilina 2013, Zhdanov 2012). However, despite these doubts, recent studies on Russian have demonstrated tolerance to recently appearing linguistic forms. An example of this is the change in linguistic politeness regarding phone communication. For instance, when taking a call, a speaker starts with introducing themselves or the company they represent along with a greeting which was not common previously (Krongauz 2009). Another example concerns feminitives in Russian that according to popular believe are considered artificial (Krongauz 2009). However, a study conducted by Russian Media Group Rambler suggests that 84 % of

Russian speakers think that feminitives eventually settle down within the Russian language and will be regarded as natural (Rumbler Group n.d.).

The following subsection introduces the research question of this study, as well as some reasons for conducting it in connection with two global factors that may affect language change and social permutation.

2.5. Research questions

Russian national identity and any other identity is prone to change under the pressure of globalisation and digitalization. In that sense, shifts in linguistic and non-linguistic attributes can be indexed to these changes in national identity. This study makes use of two aspects, linguistic and non-linguistic, that can be regarded as peculiar for Russian national identity. These are smiling and syntactical constructions that differ from other languages. Thus, the present study examines whether Russian participants can sense foreignness and, if they do, how they feel about it. The findings obtained may answer the question of whether Russian national identity undergoes a shift mentioned by Russian linguists. The general prediction is that overall attitudes are dependent on the age and gender of participants, which can be contributing factors of evaluation. In particular, younger participants may be less sensitive to uncommon use of verbal and non-verbal signs, whereas women may be more conservative in that sense.

To investigate the topic, three related research questions will be addressed:

(1) Does word order contribute to forming Russian identity; if yes, in which way?

(2) Does smiling contribute to forming Russian identity; if yes, in which way?

(3) Is there a shift in word order use and smiling that can be qualified as 'Western'?

The main hypothesis of this thesis suggests that word order and smiling are two aspects of Russian national identity, discussed in previous research as aspects that shape Russian verbal and non-verbal behaviour (Larina 2009, Krongauz 2009, Sternin 2000). In order to support the hypothesis, findings of the study are expected to indicate the difference between responses towards common and uncommon word order and the naturalness of a genuine smile in certain circumstances. If Russian speakers fail to observe the difference, then word order and smiling will thus have nothing to do with national identity and the challenges mentioned in Section 1.3 forces Russian national identity to adjust to global changes as described in the same section.

3. Method

This study is aimed at measuring the attitudes of Russian speakers towards a person who presumably may use atypical linguistic forms or a smile in a situation where a smile is not common. In order to do so, selected participants should meet certain requirements. Specifically, they should be born and raised in Russia and live permanently in the country. Also, they should have a higher level of education to ensure that their knowledge of correct Russian was not an obstacle preventing them from completing the required tasks. Another two factors that were taken into consideration were age and gender.

The test used was the Matched Guise Test which aimed at measuring people's attitudes towards language spoken in language communities (Lambert et al. 1960). Results were collected by means of a 5-point Likert-scale rating (see Appendix 1) that contained several personality characteristics. The categories were adopted from the study on gender effects on language attitudes conducted by David R. Andrews (Andrews 2003).

Example of a 5-point Likert-scale rating:

Vyskazyvanie 1. *(Utterance 1).*

Moi muzh i ya sobiraemsya v magazin *'My husband and I are going to the shop'*

1. Obrazovannyy/intelligent *(Educated/intellectual)*

polnost'yu ne soglasen / ne soglasen / neytral'no / soglasen / polnost'yu soglasen
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

2. «Svoy» chelovek *('My man')*

polnost'yu ne soglasen / ne soglasen / neytral'no / soglasen / polnost'yu soglasen
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

The test results were coded and analysed with respect to gender, age, and afterwards, they underwent statistical treatment to determine correlations between the factors mentioned.

3.1. Participants

The present study involved Russian speakers (n=22) (11 males and 11 females) aged between 20 and 63 years and currently residing in Russia. The participants were selected based on several factors, such as age, gender, and education level. The mean age of all participants was 36.23 (*SD=11.131*). The mean age of male participants was 33.18 (*SD=12.36, Min=20,*

Max=63), the mean age of female participants was 39.27 (*SD=9.328, Min=27, Max=58*). The distribution of the main characteristics of all participants is shown below in Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Main characteristics of participants

N	*Gender*	*Age*	*Gender*	*Age*
PP1	M*	20	F*	27
PP2	M	20	F	32
PP3	M	21	F	34
PP4	M	30	F	34
PP5	M	31	F	35
PP6	M	31	F	37
PP7	M	33	F	37
PP8	M	34	F	42
PP9	M	41	F	42
PP10	M	41	F	54
PP11	M	63	F	58

**M=male, F=female.*

The first prediction was that people of a younger age would be less sensitive to the unusual language use than people of older ages as they have different linguistic backgrounds. Thus, all participants were divided into two groups, namely those born before the collapse of the USSR and those born after 1990. This was done to consider the Critical Period during which individuals attain and develop their speech patterns, which are further challenging to alter (Labov 1994, Lenneberg 1967). Consequently, the distribution of participants by age is demonstrated below in Table 3.2.

Table 3.2. Characteristics of participants according to their age

N	*Group 1*		*Group 2*	
	Age	Gender	Age	Gender
PP1	20	M*	33	M
PP2	20	M	34	M
PP3	21	M	41	M
PP4	30	M	41	M

PP5	31	M	63	M
PP6	31	M	32	F
PP7	27	F*	34	F
PP8			34	F
PP9			35	F
PP10			37	F
PP11			37	F
PP12			42	F
PP13			42	F
PP14			54	F
PP15			58	F

**M=male, F=female*

Gender was also a relevant factor because, as mentioned earlier, men and women's sensitivity to language change and language attitudes can differ. It was also worth noting that those who participated in the study had a solid university- or institute-based educational background. The latter condition was met by all participants.

3.2. Tasks and procedures

The data collection procedure comprised two tasks; a test on word order and a test on smiling. The method chosen was the Matched Guise Test introduced by Lambert (Lambert et al. 1960). Likert scales were used in order to measure language attitudes. Tasks that required testing were carried out by means of the online service MS Forms.

The first task was to evaluate two phrases in Russian that were spoken by the same female speaker. A guise enunciated two phrases *Moy muzh i ya sobirayemsya v magazin* 'My husband and I are going to the shop' and *My s muzhem sobirayemsya v magazin* 'We with my husband are going to the shop' with the Central Russian accent in separate audios. Attention was also paid to the accent and intonation that had to be levelled and as closely resembling a real-life utterance as possible. After listening to each phrase, participants were offered to fill in a Likert-scale questionnaire.

The second task was to assess the behavior of a Russian character, specifically, a Russian girl in her twenties from a film scene. The setting was a Russian open market. A girl, presumably a seller dressed and looking typically like a Russian person, smiled at a total stranger. Her smile could be described as the Duchenne smile due to the workings of the facial

muscles. This kind of smile is typically reserved to a closer circle to which a stranger on a marker could not be attributed (for a detailed description of cultural difference in smiling, see Section 1.2.). Given the setting, her smile could be regarded as unnatural, and she smiled when a smile was not appropriate. The scene was taken from the film 'Anna' directed by Luk Besson. After watching the scene, every participant was offered to fill in a Likert-scale questionnaire.

With respect to the Matched Guise Test and Likert scales, some limitations should be noted. Firstly, a significant limitation of the Matched Guise Test is its validity (Agheyisi, Fishman 1970). A possible solution to this is a specific arrangement of the research design that can help avoid issues with validity (Díaz-Campos, Killam 2012, Purnell et al. 1999). To tackle this issue, this research involved only one guise in measuring opinions towards word order but not one's voice quality or accent. Moreover, Central Russian was used, which is familiar to any speaker in Russia due to its extensive use on Russian National television. As for the test on smiling, the scene was chosen so that it contained various Russian attributes. These were a standard view of a Russian open market, a scene where a stranger who received a smile had been scolded by a passer-by who carried a heavy handcart loaded with goods (which is not uncommon on a Russian open market) as well as scenes with other unsmiling people and unsmiling sellers around the stranger. Moreover, the scene was played without sound in order to keep participants focused on what they could see.

A 5-point Likert scale was used that contained seven qualities that a participant had to attribute to guises. The number of points was chosen considering that human short-term memory can hold no more than seven points in mind (Leary 2014). Also, special consideration was devoted to the labelling of points that comprised gradients from 'strongly disagree' to 'strongly agree' which were placed accurately from left to right for each trait in order to avoid mistakes in case a participant confused the side where positive or negative scales started (Smakman 2018). Special attention was paid to characteristics for both tasks.

The traits for verbal and non-verbal tasks are presented in Table 3.3.

Table 3.3. Verbal and non-verbal traits for evaluation

Verbal task	*Non-verbal task*
Obrazovannyy / intelligent 'Educated/intellectual'	*Iskrennyaya* 'Sincere'
'Svoy' chelovek 'My man'	*'Svoy' chelovek* 'My man'
Govorit gramotno 'Speaks correctly'	*Dostoyna doveriya* 'Trustworthy'

Umnyy ‘Smart’	*Vezhlivaya* ‘Polite’
Priyatnyy ‘Pleasant’	*Priyatnaya* ‘Pleasant’
Russkiy chelovek ‘It is a Russian person’	*Russkaya devushka* ‘It is a Russian girl’
Obespechennyy ‘Well-to-do’	*Privetlivaya* ‘Friendly’

When choosing these characteristics, three social aspects were taken into consideration. Firstly, the aspect of *prestige* attributes was included considering that correct Russian was a prestigious trait valued by Russian speakers (for detailed explanation, see Section 2.4). Traits used in this study were adopted from the study carried out by Andrews on the sensitivity of gender towards prestigious language variety (Andrews 2003). Particularly, traits such as ‘educated/intellectual’, ‘smart’, and ‘well-to-do’ were meant to describe a guise from a status perspective. Secondly, the *attractiveness* of an interlocutor was evaluated through traits such as ‘sincere’, ‘trustworthy’, ‘polite’, ‘friendly’, and ‘pleasant’. These were chosen based on a study conducted by Sternin (2005), who aimed at addressing a concept of the Russian language that existed among its speakers and comparing it with a concept of the German language. Sternin collected key traits that outlined an image of an ideal Russian interlocutor. Sternin thought that the ideal interlocutor was a collective unity and attributed it to national identity that comprises age identity, gender identity, social identity, professional identity, etc. (Sternin 2005). Thirdly, ‘my man’, which represented one’s belonging to the same group, ‘a Russian person/girl’, and ‘speaks correctly’ were included in order to provide participants with traits that collectively could describe *Russianness* as a concept. This concept includes all qualities that Russian speakers value (for more details, see Section 1.2.).

The data obtained was presented in the form of a matrix where age and gender were combined with traits assessments (e.g. from ‘strongly negative’ to ‘strongly positive’) included in every assignment (see Appendix 2). As shown in Table 3.4, each assessment was assigned a number for the purpose of conducting statistical treatment later. Table 3.5 describes how the data obtained was treated and coded (see Appendix 3).

Table 3.4. Numerical coding of answers

Assessment	*Number*
Strongly disagree	1
Disagree	2
Neutral	3

Agree	4
Strongly agree	5

Table 3.5. Example of coding of data for further analysis

Utterance: *Moy muzh i ya sobirayemsya v magazin* 'My husband and I are going to the shop'

N	*Age*	*Gender*	*Educated/ intellectual*	*'My man'*	*Speaks correctly*	*Smart*	*Pleasant*	*Russian*	*Well-to-do*
PP1	32	F*	4	3	5	4	5	3	3
PP2	63	M*	4	3	4	4	4	4	3
PP3	34	F	3	1	3	3	4	4	3
PP4	34	M	3	1	1	3	3	4	3

**M=male, F=female*

3.3. Coding scheme and analysis

After the data was obtained, it was coded and subject to two forms of statistical analysis (see Section 3.2.). The statistical methods of analysis were a Matched Samples T-test or a Paired-samples T-test and an Independent Samples T-test. Both tests were selected in order to analyze whether there existed a difference between the two means for each of the two groups. A Matched Samples T-test was aimed at measuring two means of two related entities. An Independent Samples T-test was used in order to find whether there was a difference between the two means of two unrelated entities (Field 2018). A brief summary of variables can be found below in Table 3.6.

Table 3.6. Variables used for statistical treatment

Variables	*Numerical Categories*
Independent Variables	Age (Group 1=20-31, Group 2=32-63); Gender (Male, Female).
Dependent Variables	Traits for the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I'; Traits for the phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband'; Traits for the film scene

A Matched Samples T-test was used to compare the average scores given to each trait for the two utterances, irrespective of the age and gender of participants as independent variables. The t-test can be considered significant when a significance level (*p*) is less than .05.

Three Independent Samples T-test were produced. They tested the correlation between age groups and gender and the materials of two tasks separately. The threshold for the two age groups was 31 years old. For the t-tests mentioned, the significance of each trait needed to be less than .05 in order to claim a significant difference between the variables.

4. Results

This chapter is devoted to detailing the findings of two tasks aimed at measuring Russian participants' attitudes towards verbal and non-verbal aspects of identity. The method used was the Matched Guise Test. The evaluation scale ranged from ultimately positive to ultimately negative values, which corresponded to a numerical coding from one to five (e.g., 'strongly disagree'=1, 'strongly agree'=5). The first section of this section is focused on the verbal aspect; word order use. An evaluation of word order of two phrases was conducted according to prestige, attractiveness, and the Russianness of a guise. The second subchapter focuses on assessment of the non-verbal aspect, namely the meaning of a smile. An evaluation was performed in accordance with the attractiveness and Russianness of a guise's smile in the given circumstances. The specific traits can be found in detail in Section 3.2.

4.1. Word order

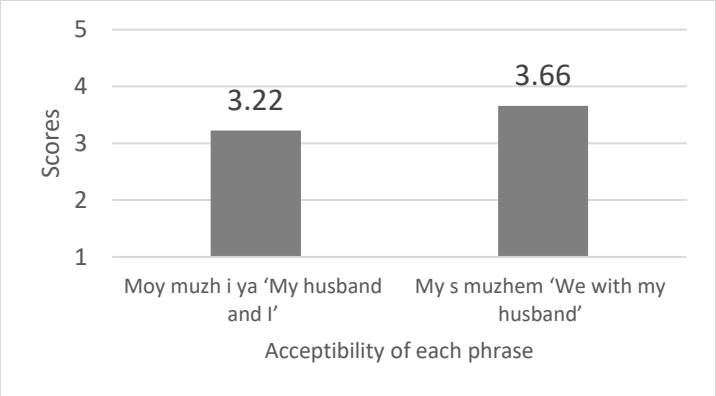
As discussed in Section 1.1, Russian word order is governed by communicative goals rather than rigid grammatical rules. However, some phrases can be regarded as natural such as *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' and some phrases can be considered unnatural such as *ya i moy muzh* 'I and my husband'. An English equivalent of the same phrase is 'my husband and I', which sounds unnatural in literal translation to Russian.

The difference in word order between two phrases which were *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' and *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' were evaluated according to three basic qualities: prestige, attractiveness and Russianness. These qualities were distributed across seven traits, namely educatedness ('educated/intellectual'), commonality ('my man'), correctness ('speaks correctly'), intelligence ('smart'), pleasantness ('pleasant'), Russianness ('Russian person'), and wealth status ('well-to-do'). As previously mentioned, all values were

coded numerically on the scale from one to five where value one was considered the lowest score, and value five corresponded to the highest score.

All participants evaluated the two phrases separately across seven traits, amounting to a total of 120 evaluations per phrase. The phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' was less positively evaluated compared to the second phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband'. Figure 4.1 demonstrates the overall acceptability of the two phrases across all traits.

Figure 4.1. Overall evaluation of the two phrases across three basic qualities: prestige, attractiveness and Russianness (n=22)



As previously mentioned, each phrase was evaluated separately in accordance with prestige, attractiveness and Russianness, which was distributed across seven traits. Table 4.8 below summarises the average scores that participants attributed to each trait and their standard deviations. The results shown in the table are presented irrespective of the age or gender of participants.

Table 4.8. Overall distribution of means across seven traits

	Moy muzh i ya 'My husband and I' (n*=22)		*My s muzhem* 'We with my husband' (n*=22)		*Difference between means*
	M	*SD*	*M*	*SD*	M_d**
Educated/intellectual	3.59	.908	3.5	.859	.09
'My man'	2.59	1.008	3.45	.912	-.86
Speaks correctly	3.32	1.427	3.95	.785	-.63
Smart	3.5	.802	3.5	.598	0
Pleasant	3.41	.959	3.68	.839	-.27
Russian person	3.14	1.082	4.05	.653	-.91

Well-to-do	3.05	.785	3.45	.596	-.4

**n=number of participants*

***M_d=Mean difference*

As seen in Table 4.8, such traits as 'my man', 'speaks correctly', 'pleasant', 'Russian person', and 'well-to-do' were valued higher for the phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' compared to the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I'. The traits mentioned corresponded to the concept of Russianness (see Section 3.2.). Interestingly, participants scored the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' only slightly lower on the category 'speaks correctly' compared to its equivalent. Higher evaluations of the phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' compared to the other indicated an agreement among participants that the former utterance sounded more natural and Russian-like than the latter.

To compare participants' responses regarding the two utterances, a Matched Samples T-test was used. The procedure involved a within-subject design in which participants in the two conditions were similar. In this type of design, the scores of seven traits of one utterance were correlated with the seven traits of the other utterance. This was done in order to reduce the estimated error variance. Confidence intervals were adjusted to within 95 %. A Matched Samples T-test can be considered significant if a significant value (*p*) is less than .05.

All results across seven traits obtained after performing the test showed a significant difference between three particular groups of traits as shown in Table 4.9, which corresponded to the evaluation of the Russianness of two phrases.

Table 4.9. Overall significance for two phrases across seven traits

	M	SD	t	df	Sig.*
Educated/intellectual	.091	1.019	.418	21	.680
'My man'	-.864	1.283	-3.156	21	***.005****
Speaks correctly	-.636	1.497	-1.993	21	.059
Smart	.000	.816	.000	21	1
Pleasant	-.273	1.420	-.901	21	.378
Russian person	-.909	1.151	-3.705	21	***.001****
Well-to-do	-.409	.734	-2.614	21	***.016****

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

As seen from Table 4.9, results for the traits 'my man' and 'Russian person' are significant, demonstrating the salience of the concept of Russianness. The results for the category 'well-to-do', referring to the prestige of phrases, are also significant. Based on Cohen's interpretation (*d*: small = .20, medium = .50, large = 80), the effect size for traits 'my man' and 'Russian person' are estimated to be as large, *d=.89* and *d=1.01*, respectively. As for the trait 'well-to-do', the effect size is estimated as slightly above medium, *d=.57* (1992).

In order to establish a correlation between gender or age and the choices that participants made with respect to the phrases *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' and *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband', two Independent Samples T-tests were run separately for gender and age. An Independent Samples T-test was used with the aim of determining the relationship between two groups and scores for two phrases across seven traits. Using this type of design, the scores from one group did not correlate with the scores from the other group. Confidence intervals were adjusted to within 95 %. An Independent Samples T-test can be considered significant if a significant value (*p*) equals less than .05.

With respect to age, the group was divided into two subgroups, those aged from 20 to 31 years old and those from 32 to 63 years old, accordingly. Overall, two Independent Samples T-tests were performed separately for each phrase, as shown in Tables 4.10 and 4.11.

Table 4.10. Overall significance for the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' with respect to age

	M_d**	SE_d**	t	df	Sig.*
Educated/intellectual	-.390	.417	-.937	20	.360
'My man'	.238	.470	.507	20	.618
Speaks correctly	-1.210	.612	-1.975	20	.062
Smart	.105	.375	.279	20	.783
Pleasant	.810	.412	1.966	20	.063
Russian person	-1.057	.449	-2.354	20	***.029****
Well-to-do	-.562	.346	-1.623	20	.120

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

***M_d=mean difference, SE_d=standard error difference*

Table 4.11. Overall significance for the phrase *my s muzhem* ‘we with my husband’ with respect to age

	M_d**	SE_d**	t	df	Sig.*
Educated/intellectual	-.105	.402	-.260	20	.797
‘My man’	.248	.424	.584	20	.566
Speaks correctly	-.276	.363	-.760	20	.456
Smart	.314	.271	1.158	20	.260
Pleasant	-.257	.389	-.661	20	.516
Russian person	-.562	.279	-2.012	20	.058
Well-to-do	-.381	.266	-1.431	20	.168

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

***M_d=mean difference, SE_d=standard error difference*

The results demonstrated that the younger age group (*M=3.86, SE=.340*) was less sensitive to the Russianness of the phrase *moy muzh i ya* ‘my husband and I’ than the older group (*M=2.80, SE=.262*) (see Appendix 4). As seen in Table 4.11, the difference between responses was significant for the category ‘Russian person’, which corresponded to the large effect size of *d=1*.

As for gender, two Independent Samples T-tests were performed for men and women separately for each phrase. The test showed a significant difference between gender groups for the category ‘Russian person’ regarding the phrase *moy muzh i ya* ‘my husband and I’. Tables 4.12 and 4.13 demonstrate the results discussed.

Table 4.12. Overall significance for the phrase *moy muzh i ya* ‘my husband and I’ with respect to gender

	M_d**	SE_d**	t	df	Sig.*
Educated/intellectual	.273	.392	.696	20	.495
‘My man’	.455	.428	1.061	20	.301
Speaks correctly	.273	.621	.439	20	.665
Smart	.091	.350	.260	20	.798
Pleasant	-.273	.415	-.658	20	.518
Russian person	1	.417	2.4	20	***.026****

Well-to-do	-.273	.338	-.808	20	.429

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

***M_d=mean difference, SE_d=standard error difference*

Table 4.13. Overall significance for the phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' with respect to gender

	M_d**	SE_d**	t	df	Sig.*
Educated/intellectual	-.273	.370	-.736	20	.470
'My man'	.364	.390	.933	20	.362
Speaks correctly	-.273	.338	-.808	20	.429
Smart	-.091	.260	-.349	20	.731
Pleasant	.273	.361	.755	20	.459
Russian person	.273	.279	.978	20	.340
Well-to-do	-.182	.257	-.707	20	.488

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

***M_d=mean difference, SE_d=standard error difference*

The results above suggest that men *(M=3.64, SE=.203)* were less sensitive to the Russianness of the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' than women *(M=2.64, SE=.364)* (see Appendix 4). As seen in Table 4.12, the difference between responses was significant on the category 'Russian person', which corresponded to the large effect size of *d=.89*.

The preliminary findings suggest that participants were receptive to the traits that described the concept of Russianness. Both tests on age and gender revealed significant differences on the category 'Russian person' with respect to the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I'. In this regard, the gender and age of participants can be concluded to be significant factors.

4.2. Smiling

In order to address the non-verbal aspect of identity, two kinds of smiling were studied; the Duchenne and non-Duchenne smile. The former kind of smile is typically only used with people from a closer circle, e.g., family and friends, and is considered sincere. Also, a Russian person realises that the use of the Duchenne smile can be interpreted as an offer to start a conversation. In this respect, the Duchenne smile is not always a necessary attribute of verbal interaction. The non-Duchenne smile is considered a polite smile and valued less. Moreover, it

is not a common non-verbal method of communication with strangers, and a polite smile primarily belongs to the business sphere where Western traditions of interaction are more suitable (for more details, see Section 1.2). The difference discussed was used to test the attitude Russian participants towards the Duchenne smile, which was used between strangers when eye contact was established. The test was based on a scene from a film where a girl smiled sincerely at a stranger.

Several characteristics were considered, which were divided into two categories: attractiveness and Russianness (see Section 3.2). The attractiveness category encompassed such traits as sincerity ('sincere'), honesty ('trustworthy'), politeness ('polite'), likability ('pleasant'), sociability ('friendly'). As for Russianness, this encompassed two traits: 'my man' and 'Russian girl'.

An overall evaluation of the sincere smile trait can be seen in Table 4.14, which summarises the average scores for each trait separately. The results were collected irrespective of gender and age of participants. To reiterate, the scale used ranged from one to five, where one corresponded to 'strongly disagree' and five represented 'strongly agree'.

Table 4.14. Overall distribution of means across seven traits

	M	SD
Sincere	3.09	1.192
'My man'	2.95	.999
Trustworthy	3.05	.785
Polite	3.86	.560
Pleasant	3.50	.859
Russian girl	3.82	1.006
Friendly	4.05	.844

Table 4.14 indicates that the Duchenne smile is, on average, assessed as polite, pleasant and friendly, which prompts the assumption that participants considered the use of a smile used as attractive. However, traits such as 'sincere' and 'trustworthy' received fewer values. Even though the category 'Russian girl' received average evaluation compared to other scores, lower values for the category 'my man' were compatible with the categories responsible for sincerity and honesty. Thus, it can be assumed that participants recognised the meaning of a smile as

polite and friendly, but they demonstrated their distrust and considered it unnatural in given circumstances.

To address whether gender or age played a role in evaluations given, two Independent Samples T-tests were run with two independent variables: gender and age. Thus, it could be determined if there was a correlation between gender and age regarding the evaluations of a smile. The confidence interval was adjusted to within 95 %, and results were considered significant only if a significant value (*p*) was less than .05.

All participants were divided into two age groups, 20-31 years old and 32-63 years old. Table 4.15 illustrates the overall results for the two age groups after conducting the Independent Samples T-tests.

Table 4.15. Overall significance for the Duchenne smile with respect to age

	M_d**	SE_d**	t	df	Sig.*
Sincere	1.181	.493	2.397	20	***.026****
'My man'	.562	.451	1.245	20	.228
Trustworthy	.276	.363	.760	20	.456
Polite	-.200	.259	-.772	20	.449
Pleasant	.314	.397	.792	20	.438
Russian girl	.362	.465	.778	20	.446
Friendly	.276	.391	.706	20	.488

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

***M_d=mean difference, SE_d=standard error difference*

As seen in Table 4.15, the two age groups assessed the sincerity of a smile differently. Specifically, the findings show that the younger group (*M=2.29, SE=.360*) evaluated the sincerity of a smile from a stranger more negatively than the older group *(M=3.47, SE=.291)* (see Appendix 4). The results show that this difference is significant, as it corresponded to the large effect size of *d=1*.

As for gender, Table 4.16 demonstrates the results obtained from the Independent Samples T-test carried out for men and women.

Table 4.16. Overall significance for the Duchenne smile with respect to gender

	M_d**	SE_d**	t	df	Sig.*
Sincere	-.364	.514	-.707	20	.488

'My man'	-.273	.432	-.631	20	.535
Trustworthy	.455	.328	1.387	20	.181
Polite	-.091	.244	-.373	20	.713
Pleasant	-.455	.361	-1.258	20	.223
Russian girl	-.182	.438	-.415	20	.682
Friendly	-.273	.364	-.705	20	.462

**Significant at .05 level, two-tailed test*

***M_d=mean difference, SE_d=standard error difference*

As seen from Table 4.16, men and women were in accordance with each other on their overall evaluation of the Duchenne smile from a stranger. Thus, it can be concluded that the perception of a smile depended more on age than the gender of participants.

Consequently, the findings detailed in this chapter suggest that both verbal and non-verbal aspects were significant in terms of identifying Russianness. The results also demonstrated that the concept of Russianness was connected to the wealth of a guise as a prestigious factor with respect to word order. As for gender, men were less sensitive compared to women, who proved to be more conservative with regards to word order use. The age of participants also seemed played a role. Younger participants were less sensitive compared to older participants, who characterised the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' as less common in terms of common Russian word order use. As for the Duchenne smile, younger participants were more sensitive than older ones, who considered the smile used to be more sincere.

5. Conclusion

This study was aimed at addressing whether word order and smiling contributed to forming Russian national identity. Another question asked was whether such trends as globalization and digitalization forced a shift towards a more Western-wise perception of the two aspects mentioned. The examination was conducted through the Matched Guise Test that made use of five-point Likert scales. Participants (n=22) were selected according to their age (from 20 to 63 years old), residence in Russia and education level. It was also important to have an equal number of male (n=11) and female (n=11) representatives, as this factor should be taken into consideration due to the different attitudes towards language use possessed by men and women. The analysis included descriptive statistics, a Matched Samples T-test, and

an Independent Samples T-test. This study was conducted as a response to concerns of Russian linguists who claimed that an overall decline of literacy and the intrusion of foreign structures into the Russian language have had detrimental effects on Russian national identity.

5.1. Main findings

In order to establish the role of word order and smiling in Russian national identity formation, several statistical treatments were conducted. Overall, the results suggested a correlation between the gender and age of participants in their perception of linguistic and non-linguistic forms (see Sections 4.1 and 4.2). The main concept with which age and gender correlated was the Russianness of the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I'. With respect to the phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband', no correlation was found. The main category with which the meaning of a smile was correlated was sincerity. Specifically, the younger group was found to be less prone to accept it as sincere compared to the older group. Overall, the findings indicated a homogeneity of attitudes that supports the assumption that word order and meaning of smiling are indeed aspects that participate in the formation of Russian national identity. They can be considered indices pointing toward social identity that become salient when interacting with a phenomenon that does not belong to a particular community.

Overall, the phrase *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' received higher evaluations than the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I' (see Figure 4.1, Section 4.1). Participants' assessments were higher on traits that characterised the former phrase as more Russian-like compared to the latter phrase, although they accepted it as relatively correct (see Figure 4.8., Section 4.1). The concept of Russianness was also linked to the prestige of the natural use of a certain phrase (see Table 4.9, Section 4.1). As for the correlation with age and gender, the only category that showed a significant difference was 'Russian person' with respect to the phrase *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I'. Specifically, younger participants were less sensitive than older participants to uncommon word order of the phrase (see Table 4.10, Section 4.1). As for gender, female participants proved to be more conservative with respect to typical word order (see Table 4.12, Section 4.1).

As for the meaning of a smile, categories that measure sincerity, honesty and belonging to a group ('my man') received the lowest scores (see Table 4.14, Section 4.2). These findings suggest that Russians' notoriously known non-smiling facial expression can be regarded as an index of Russian national identity. Also, the younger group assessed a smile from a stranger as less sincere than the older group did (see Table 4.15, Section 4.2). As for gender, both male and female participants were in agreement when assessing a smile.

5.2. Answering research questions

The findings of this study showed consistent relationships between linguistic and non-linguistic aspects and Russian national identity. Given that, the research questions can be answered as follows.

(1) Does word order contribute to forming Russian identity; if yes, in which way?

Word order contributes to Russian identity formation and serves as its marker. Despite Russian word order being thematical rather than positional, many word combinations are indexical, such as the ones used in the present study. In this respect, the traits that represent Russianness outstood the rest, which can serve as an indication that social identity is activated. Additionally, the general hypothesis can be supported as all participants noticed the difference between the phrases and accurately pointed out what was different. The results showed overall agreement that the phrase with the first-person pronoun in the second place, *moy muzh i ya* 'my husband and I', sounded less natural and prestigious than *my s muzhem* 'we with my husband' (see Table 4.9, Section 4.1). This is especially significant compared to the relatively high scores received for the trait that measured correctness of speech and the level of educatedness of a guise. Moreover, the significant correlation between common and unusual word order use, which participants marked as unnatural, supports this conclusion.

(2) Does smiling contribute to forming Russian identity; if yes, in which way?

Similar to the findings on word order, smiling can also be attributed to a phenomenon of indexical order. Russians do not generally smile at strangers (Ter-Minasova 2008a, Larina 2009), and this situation stayed unchanged despite some spheres such as business and service having adopted some Western traditions. In this study, participants distinguished a certain kind of smile, namely the Duchenne smile. Furthermore, a smiling person was described as friendly, and this evaluation supported the idea that Russians understand the meaning of both types of smile; a 'felt' and a social smile. The smile used for the test received higher scores (see Table 4.14, Section 4.2). However, the cultural meaning of a smile as a sincere representation of feelings towards a counterpart seemed stable and valued higher in given circumstances (Larina 2009, Wierzbicka 1994, 1999). In this respect, the Duchenne smile can be used only with people whom an individual knows personally. Those who display this particular type of smile in the street cannot be trusted, and this showed in the findings of the study (see Table 4.14, Section 4.2). The results demonstrated that participants felt that a smiling person did not behave

as a community member, despite looking like one, and evaluated a smiling person as insincere and untrustworthy.

(3) Is there a shift in word order use and smiling that can be qualified as 'Western'?

As findings suggest, word order and smiling are indices of Russian national identity, and there is no shift in word order and smiling that can be attributed to the influence of many English-speaking cultures.

Generally, the two aspects mentioned can be assumed as a group attitude due to their general agreement on the common use of verbal and non-verbal aspects with respect to the concept of Russianness. However, there are some discrepancies between the age and gender factors. Specifically, younger participants were less perceptive towards uncommon use of word order, but more sensitive in terms of the non-verbal aspect (a smile). The non-verbal aspect received a certain degree of distrust among younger participants compared to older ones (see Section 4.2). Female participants were more conservative than males towards infrequent use of word order (see Table 4,12, Section 4.1). This can be said to support the long-term theoretical tradition of assuming women are more conservative towards standard forms of language. However, no significant difference in values towards typical Russian word order between men and women was apparent, thus supporting the notion that group identity was at play when evaluating the non-verbal aspect of identity.

Undoubtedly, globalization and digitalization influenced an overall sociolinguistic situation in Russian, just as they did to the rest of the world. These changes were mentioned when describing the sociolinguistic situation (see Section 2.4) (Krongauz 2009, Gronskaia 2012, Kirilina 2013, Zhdanov 2012). However, this influence did not primarily affect word order and smiling as aspects of Russian national identity. As stated in previous research, these two aspects have remained relatively stable (see Section 1.1. and 1.2.). Another assumption is that the influence of lockdowns resulting from the COVID-19 pandemic can explain this steadiness (the study was conducted in the first half of 2021). The resulting reduction of communication between people from different language communities, as well as a decrease in tourism that encourage inter-group verbal and non-verbal exchange, could be considered as influential factors here.

5.3. Findings compared to other research

Research on the sociolinguistic situation in Russia, and Russian identity in particular, falls under several rubrics.

The first rubric is the degradation of literacy among Russians due to migration, which remains the most-debated topic. For instance, Russian linguists argue that a certain degree of ethnic and linguistic diversity is due to migration from CIS countries such as Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Ukraine and some Russian regions where Russian competes with minor languages. The main issue is that newcomers do not undergo alteration in terms of their national identity, and they still live by their inner cultural guidelines. However, Russian takes over other ethnical languages, and, under its influence, these languages are less visible. Despite the fact that language policy in Russian is claimed to be relaxed, monolingual attitudes are spreading throughout the country. For example, there is a tendency for disapproval of the illiterate use of the Russian language in Moscow, which forces migrant groups to adjust (Fedorova, Baranova 2018). However, a contrasting point of view is that the migration process may produce adverse effects on Russian linguistic identity. Specifically, close neighbouring with other ethnic groups influences the Russian language as well as the worldview of its users. Historically, Russian was and always has been a 'non-homogenous unity' as Mikhail Bakhtin put it (cited by Gronskaia 2012). In this respect, Russian has always been surrounded by other minor languages that complicated the linguistic and cultural equilibrium. However, overall, the current situation indicates that ongoing changes contribute to a language and national adjustment. This adjustment does not have a positive effect on Russian identity and national unity (Gronskaia 2012).

Secondly, the influence of the English language should also be treated with the same caution considering the well-established fact that global English substituted all other languages and has become a lingua franca between speakers of all nationalities (Kirilina 2013, Graddol 2006). On the one hand, intrusion of the English language is occuring due to the absence of certain concepts and, on the other hand, a changing fashion of using particular words among people, e.g., *pol'zovatel'* in Russian and its English equivalent 'user'. Another stance is that the process mentioned has been initiated after permutations in some spheres of social life after the period of 'perestroika', a political movement of reformation following the year 1987. So, such areas as a free-market economy, multi-party system and overall transformations of the political sphere, the fashion industry, lifestyle, and the liberalization of media led to linguistic and national identity modification (Rathmayr 2013). However, attitudes toward language borrowings are never stable and undergo constant alterations (Kolesov 2004). Apart from

fashionable nature of loanwords, there are other reasons to use English words instead of Russian. Firstly, speakers can highlight their belonging to one or another community, e.g., the notion ‘user’ belongs to the digital sphere, and ‘business lady’ can be attributed to the field of business. Secondly, some English words used in Russian conceal their negative connotations, e.g., the Russian word *prodazhnost’* ‘corruptibility’ has more negative connotations than *korruptsiya* ‘corruption’ (Kushnareva 2016). The changes mentioned lead to lexical and conceptual changes in the Russian language as well as in the Russian mentality and Russian linguistic identity (Verenich, Kruglikova 2012, Bondarenko 2020). However, such a process as globalisation cannot be stopped due to the openness of language systems and extremely intense language contact, and thus should be considered (Sidelnikov 2004).

Thirdly, the topic of overall digitalization affects Russian language use. Two issues are widely discussed. Firstly, there is a general reduction of literacy in web communication, and secondly there is the emergence of new words (Badrach, Shirnen 2015). With respect to the first issue, Russian speakers are experiencing an unprecedented opportunity to reduce their textual message so that it encompasses more information, which come at the expense of literacy (Ivanova 2011). Essentially, Internet communication is a separate form of exchange that shapes its unique and spontaneous style, and therefore requires further research (Ivanov 2001). As for the second issue, there is a certain concern regarding the development of new words or neologisms. Neologisms are undoubtedly an inevitable part of in any language. However, they preserve their own equivalents, signifying national and linguistic potency (Badrach, Shirnen 2015).

Before turning to more specific aspects of identity research, such as age and gender, it is worth mentioning a contrasting point of view on the matters described. Firstly, it is noteworthy to mention that language is a self-developing mechanism that absorbs alien forms and lexical items and adjusts them to the grammatical regulations of a native language. Like any other language, Russian possesses an ability to absorb, as well as to filter out all unnecessary forms that have not found their place in the system or proven to be unfit. In this respect, neologisms and borrowings can become enrichments rather than a burden, especially considering that new forms train speakers of any language to treat newcomers with caution and sensitivity (Chumakova 2014). As for non-verbal signs of interaction such as a polite smile, a study conducted by Rathmayr suggested that Russians were familiar with a polite smile and identified it as a necessary attribute of the service industry yet they perceived it as a foreign phenomenon that could not be regarded as genuine or sincere. Thus, politeness attributes did not justify the insincerity of a person who claimed to be a Russian (Rathmayr 2013).

Research that makes use of such variables as gender and age showed that there was more variation among age groups than there was among gender groups. Specifically, Krysin (2004) suggested that there existed a so-called 'student jargon' that was used by mainly students. This jargon was created in order to use more creative and brighter equivalents so that they could express literary notions more vividly. The variant mentioned bore expressive and emotional functions (Serebrennikov 1970). Additionally, the notions used were highly unsteady and changed with the passing of generations. However, Krysin noted that when students found themselves among strangers, e.g., other speakers of Russian not from their circle, they used a modern Russian literary variant (2004: 372-5). The present study showed that younger participants were more sensitive to non-verbal communication than to verbal exchange.

As for gender, gender research in Russian is still in its infancy, and this particular area needed further investigation. However, researchers found that there was minor variation among male and female languages (Sharonov 1999, Andrews 2003). For instance, Sharonov revealed some linguistic forms, e.g., phraseological units specific for a particular sphere (e.g., military talk, vulgar lexicon and others) that could be attributed to men or to women separately. However, those forms were not exclusive, and both genders could use them. When a representative of one gender used a form that was normally used by an opposite gender, it was done to produce a humorous effect (Sharonov 1999). Furthermore, research carried out by Andrews was devoted to the difference in language attitudes between men and women towards a certain Russian variety. It showed little or no significant difference between genders (Andrews 2003).

Nevertheless, even though previously mentioned studies showed a minor difference between genders, the study performed by Grenoble demonstrated that women tended to be more interactive than men with respect to interruptions, questions and tag questions (Grenoble 1999). This supports the idea that women are more supportive and express solidarity more often compared to the opposite sex. In terms of politeness, they appeal to positive face of a speaker and encourage their interlocutor while communicating (Holmes 1998). In this particular study, women proved to be more sensitive to a typical word order compared to men.

Overall, this study is consistent with the research mentioned in this subsection. Globalisation and digitalisation are indeed two trends that can be regarded as threats towards the Russian language and Russian national identity. However, as the contrasting stance suggests, the threat mentioned are slightly overstated. This study supported such a notion, demonstrating that Russian cultural and linguistic heritage had not been influenced by the

global language. The Russian language and Russian linguistic identity are indeed well equipped so that these systems filter out unnatural behaviour, both verbal and non-verbal, especially when it comes to those that constitute national identity. With respect to gender and age grouping, there are no inconsistencies with this research study either. Undoubtedly, gender and age play a role, as can be seen from this study and other examples (Labov 1994, Milroy, Milroy 1994, Woods 1997, Smakman, Smith-Christmas 2009). However, when Russian speakers are challenged with revealing their national identity, gender and age contribute to its salience.

5.4. Research limitations and possible solutions

This study into the language attitudes of Russian speakers toward distinctive verbal and non-verbal aspects of national identity can be reviewed for certain limitations. The limitations given in this section are accompanied by their solutions that facilitate further examination of this line of study.

Firstly, the low sample size of participants (n=22) did not allow to include more factors that could have contributed to the assessment of a guise. In particular, power status based on average annual income and region of residence can be determining factors along with age and gender. The latter considers historical, political and cultural aspects that could help draw a broader picture of attitudes. Additionally, expanding the number of factors enables the use of statistical treatments such as a chi-square test to compare categorical data such as gender and region of residence, assuming that Russia is a geographically large and diverse country. The use of an ANOVA test could also help determine the correlation between three or more independent variables. The use of factor analysis could help understand the structure of factors that affect identity and learn which of them can be grouped together. Also, a larger sample size could enable the division of participants into more specific and accurate age groups, thus aiding the prediction of whether younger generations are different from older generation with respect to identity (see Section 2.1). It could also be valuable to include more representatives of the younger generation in this study, considering that Russian speakers who study at universities have their own variant of the Russian language, which affects their language attitudes. Also, while the student jargon evolves over generations, it can reflect a contemporary sociolinguistic situation. Especially considering that the younger generation develops their own codes of communication on social media, which differs considerably from Russian's literary norm (Badrach, Shirnen 2015). This limitation is also relevant for gender groups, assuming controversial results on the difference in communicative behaviour of men and women (see Section 5.3.).

Another limitation worth noting is a lack of qualitative data that could help support the numerical data presented. Interviews may have given insights which would help explain the reasons why participants chose to evaluate a guise the way they did it.

Additionally, the artificial settings in which participants had to perform the tasks could also be a limitation of this particular study (Fasold 1984). Judging only by a voice or by a scene from a film run the risk of being inconsistent with the sincere feelings that a participant could experience in a real-life situation. For example, when hearing a particular phrase from their interlocutor or encountering a smile from a stranger.

Overall, within the frames of this study, it was attempted to reduce all possible gaps and limitations. Undoubtedly, there are opportunities to solve the issues mentioned and consider strategies for their correction. Additionally, other aspects of identity could be included in order to expand this study's scope and further investigate the other characteristics of Russian national identity.

5.5. Discussion

This study addressed word order and smiling as contributing factors to forming Russian national identity. It was discussed that identity could be ascribed twofold. Firstly, an individual possesses a personal identity that becomes salient when interacting with their group members. Secondly, another facet is social identity which becomes noticeable when a person needs to display communal identity in inter-group communication. In that sense, social identity can be formed at a national level when many people are tied together through common history and culture and share the same territory. Both personal and social identity use various markers such as age, gender, place of origin, kinship role, power status, etc. A person represents as many identities as they have to fulfil. Thus, identity is a volatile phenomenon prone to change, especially with an individual grows older with age. However, its components can be seen and attributed to either personal or group identities through interaction. Moreover, language can function as a means of displaying one's identity. In this sense, language and identity are tightly intertwined.

All markers are indices that help to define identity and facilitate one's ability to develop certain attitudes towards one's language use. They also help to judge an interlocutor and decide whether to show their affiliation or detachment. This study aimed to identify whether word order and a smile could be those indices that form national identity and whether they changed under the pressure of such trends as globalization and digitalization.

The study selected participants according to their gender and age. They also had to possess a higher education and reside permanently in Russia. These conditions ensured participants' command of Russian. The same holds for the common use of a smile. In order to test verbal and non-verbal attitudes, two tasks were offered to the participants. Both tasks were studied through the Matched Guise Test. The first task was to assess a guise who pronounced two equivalent phrases with typical and atypical use of word order. The other task was to evaluate non-verbal behaviour, such as a smile of a character to a stranger from a film scene.

The findings showed that participants were sensitive to uncommon use of word order and smiling and did not show any deviation from common word order use. Thus, the unanimity of responses led to the conclusion that both aspects could be regarded as Russian national identity indices. A significant difference between age and gender was detected with regards to the uncommon use of word order. Specifically, the younger group was less sensitive compared to the older group. Regarding gender, women were more conservative than men in their evaluation of the uncommon word order use. As for the non-verbal aspect, the younger group was less prone to accept a smile from a stranger as a sincere response compared to the older group. However, the low sample size of participants could have helped contribute toward reaching more generalisable conclusions. Consequently, this study can be seen as a preliminary step towards extensive research on Russian national identity and its verbal and non-verbal aspects, especially in light of the lack of experience in experiments with tests on language attitude (Andrews 2003). Another aspect of potential future research is the possible flexibility of Russian national identity under external circumstances such as globalisation, social media invasion or even pandemic, especially given the fact so few studies have been devoted to the current sociolinguistic situation in Russia.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Тест: Вербальные и невербальные аспекты русской личности

Test: Verbal and non-verbal aspects of Russian Identity

Имя *(Name)*_____

Возраст *(Age)*_____

Задание 1. *(Task 1).*

Оцените говорящего по двум высказываниям по следующим категориям.

(Please rate a speaker by two utterances on how much you agree or disagree with the categories.)

Высказывание 1. *(Utterance 1).*

‘Мой муж и я собираемся в магазин’ *(‘My husband and I are going to the shop’)*

1. Образованный/интеллигент *(Educated/intellectual)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

2. «Свой» человек *(‘My man’)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

3. Говорит грамотно *(Speaks correctly)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

4. Умный *(Smart)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

5. Приятный *(Pleasant)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

6. Русский человек *(It is a Russian person)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен

(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

7. Обеспеченный *(Well-to-do)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

Высказывание 2. *(Utterance 2).*

‘Мы с мужем собираемся в магазин’ *(‘We with my husband are going to the shop’)*

3. Образованный/интеллигент *(Educated/intellectual)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

4. «Свой» человек *(‘My man’)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

5. Говорит грамотно *(Speaks correctly)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

6. Умный *(Smart)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

7. Приятный *(Pleasant)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

8. Русский человек *(It is a Russian person)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

9. Обеспеченный *(Well-to-do)*
полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
(strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

Задание 2. *(Task 2).*

Оцените поведение девушки и ее реакцию (улыбку) из сцены по следующим категориям.

(Please rate girl's behaviour and her reaction (a smile) from the scene on how much you agree or disagree with the categories.)

1. Искренняя *(Sincere)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

2. «Свой» человек *('My man')*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

3. Достойна доверия *(Trustworthy)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

4. Вежливая *(Polite)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

5. Приятная *(Pleasant)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

6. Русская девушка *(It is a Russian girl)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

7. Приветливая *(Friendly)*
   полностью не согласен/ не согласен/ нейтрально/ согласен/ полностью согласен
   (strongly disagree / disagree / neutral/ agree / strongly agree)

Appendix 2
Test results

			Мой муж и я собираемся в магазин **'My husband and I are going to the shop'**						
ID	**Age**	**Gender**	**Educated/ intellectual**	**'My man'**	**Speaks correctly**	**Smart**	**Pleasant**	**Russian person**	**Well-to-do**
PP1	32	f	agree	neutral	strongly agree	agree	strongly agree	neutral	neutral
PP2	63	m	agree	neutral	agree	agree	agree	agree	neutral
PP3	34	f	neutral	strongly disagree	neutral	neutral	agree	agree	neutral
PP4	34	m	neutral	strongly disagree	strongly disagree	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral
PP5	31	m	agree	disagree	strongly agree	strongly agree	neutral	strongly agree	neutral
PP6	54	f	disagree	strongly disagree	disagree	neutral	neutral	strongly disagree	neutral
PP7	42	f	disagree	strongly disagree	strongly disagree	disagree	disagree	strongly disagree	disagree
PP8	27	f	strongly agree	strongly disagree	strongly agree	neutral	disagree	strongly agree	strongly agree
PP9	42	f	strongly agree	neutral	strongly agree	strongly agree	neutral	disagree	agree
PP10	34	f	strongly agree	neutral	strongly agree	strongly agree	strongly agree	neutral	agree
PP11	41	m	neutral	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral	agree	neutral
PP12	37	f	neutral	agree	disagree	agree	strongly agree	disagree	neutral
PP13	37	f	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
PP14	21	m	agree	neutral	agree	agree	agree	neutral	neutral
PP15	58	f	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	disagree
PP16	41	m	agree	agree	agree	neutral	agree	neutral	neutral
PP17	30	m	agree	neutral	disagree	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
PP18	33	m	strongly agree	agree	neutral	agree	agree	neutral	strongly disagree
PP19	20	m	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral	disagree	agree	agree
PP20	20	m	agree	neutral	strongly agree	neutral	agree	neutral	neutral
PP21	35	f	neutral	neutral	strongly disagree	neutral	agree	disagree	neutral
PP22	31	m	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral

			Мы с мужем собираемся в магазин **'We with my husband are going to the shop'**						
ID	**Age**	**Gender**	**Educated/ intellectual**	**'My man'**	**Speaks correctly**	**Smart**	**Pleasant**	**Russian person**	**Well-to-do**
PP1	32	f	disagree	neutral	neutral	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral
PP2	63	m	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral
PP3	34	f	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral	agree	agree	agree
PP4	34	m	neutral	agree	neutral	agree	agree	agree	neutral
PP5	31	m	agree	agree	strongly agree	agree	agree	strongly agree	agree
PP6	54	f	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	strongly agree	agree
PP7	42	f	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	neutral

PP8	27	f	strongly agree	strongly disagree	strongly agree	neutral	agree	strongly agree	strongly agree
PP9	42	f	agree	strongly agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree
PP10	34	f	strongly agree	neutral	strongly agree	strongly agree	strongly agree	neutral	agree
PP11	41	m	neutral	neutral	agree	agree	strongly agree	agree	neutral
PP12	37	f	disagree	disagree	agree	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral
PP13	37	f	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
PP14	21	m	neutral	agree	disagree	neutral	agree	agree	agree
PP15	58	f	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
PP16	41	m	agree	agree	agree	neutral	agree	neutral	neutral
PP17	30	m	agree	agree	agree	neutral	agree	agree	neutral
PP18	33	m	agree	agree	neutral	agree	agree	strongly agree	agree
PP19	20	m	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral	agree	agree	agree
PP20	20	m	neutral	agree	strongly agree	agree	agree	agree	neutral
PP21	35	f	strongly agree	strongly agree	strongly agree	agree	agree	agree	neutral
PP22	31	m	neutral	neutral	agree	neutral	neutral	strongly agree	neutral

			A scene from a film: A smiling girl						
ID	**Age**	**Gender**	**Sincere**	**'My man'**	**Trustworthy**	**Polite**	**Pleasant**	**Russian girl**	**Friendly**
PP1	32	f	agree	agree	neutral	agree	agree	agree	strongly agree
PP2	63	m	disagree	disagree	neutral	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral
PP3	34	f	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree
PP4	34	m	disagree	disagree	neutral	neutral	agree	strongly agree	strongly agree
PP5	31	m	disagree	disagree	neutral	strongly agree	neutral	strongly agree	strongly agree
PP6	54	f	disagree	disagree	disagree	agree	neutral	neutral	agree
PP7	42	f	neutral	neutral	neutral	agree	agree	disagree	agree
PP8	27	f	strongly disagree	strongly disagree	strongly disagree	neutral	disagree	strongly agree	agree
PP9	42	f	strongly agree	strongly agree	agree	agree	strongly agree	strongly agree	strongly agree
PP10	34	f	disagree	disagree	disagree	strongly agree	strongly agree	strongly agree	strongly agree
PP11	41	m	strongly agree	neutral	agree	agree	disagree	agree	strongly agree
PP12	37	f	agree	neutral	neutral	agree	agree	agree	strongly agree
PP13	37	f	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree
PP14	21	m	neutral	agree	neutral	agree	neutral	agree	agree
PP15	58	f	neutral	neutral	disagree	agree	neutral	neutral	disagree
PP16	41	m	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral
PP17	30	m	disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	neutral	agree	neutral
PP18	33	m	strongly agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	strongly agree	agree
PP19	20	m	disagree	neutral	neutral	agree	agree	disagree	agree
PP20	20	m	disagree	disagree	neutral	agree	agree	neutral	neutral
PP21	35	f	agree	neutral	neutral	neutral	neutral	agree	agree

PP22	31	m	agree	agree	agree	agree	agree	disagree	agree

Appendix 3

Output. Numerical coding of test results

			Мой муж и я собираемся в магазин ‘My husband and I are going to the shop’						
ID	**Age**	**Gender**	**Educated/ intellectual**	**‘My man’**	**Speaks correctly**	**Smart**	**Pleasant**	**Russian person**	**Well-to-do**
PP1	32	f	4	3	5	4	5	3	3
PP2	63	m	4	3	4	4	4	4	3
PP3	34	f	3	1	3	3	4	4	3
PP4	34	m	3	1	1	3	3	4	3
PP5	31	m	4	2	5	5	3	5	3
PP6	54	f	2	1	2	3	3	1	3
PP7	42	f	2	1	1	2	2	1	2
PP8	27	f	5	1	5	3	2	5	5
PP9	42	f	5	3	5	5	3	2	4
PP10	34	f	5	3	5	5	5	3	4
PP11	41	m	3	3	2	4	3	4	3
PP12	37	f	3	4	2	4	5	2	3
PP13	37	f	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
PP14	21	m	4	3	4	4	4	3	3
PP15	58	f	3	3	3	3	3	3	2
PP16	41	m	4	4	4	3	4	3	3
PP17	30	m	4	3	2	3	3	3	3
PP18	33	m	5	4	3	4	4	3	1
PP19	20	m	3	2	4	3	2	4	4
PP20	20	m	4	3	5	3	4	3	3
PP21	35	f	3	3	1	3	4	2	3
PP22	31	m	3	3	4	3	2	4	3

			Мы с мужем собираемся в магазин ‘We with my husband are going to the shop’						
ID	**Age**	**Gender**	**Educated/ intellectual**	**‘My man’**	**Speaks correctly**	**Smart**	**Pleasant**	**Russian person**	**Well-to-do**
PP1	32	f	2	3	3	3	2	4	3
PP2	63	m	3	3	4	3	2	4	3
PP3	34	f	3	3	4	3	4	4	4
PP4	34	m	3	4	3	4	4	4	3
PP5	31	m	4	4	5	4	4	5	4
PP6	54	f	4	4	4	4	4	5	4
PP7	42	f	4	4	4	4	4	4	3
PP8	27	f	5	1	5	3	4	5	5
PP9	42	f	4	5	4	4	4	4	4
PP10	34	f	5	3	5	5	5	3	4
PP11	41	m	3	3	4	4	5	4	3
PP12	37	f	2	2	4	3	2	4	3
PP13	37	f	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
PP14	21	m	3	4	2	3	4	4	4
PP15	58	f	3	3	4	3	3	3	3
PP16	41	m	4	4	4	3	4	3	3
PP17	30	m	4	4	4	3	4	4	3
PP18	33	m	4	4	3	4	4	5	4
PP19	20	m	3	3	4	3	4	4	4
PP20	20	m	3	4	5	4	4	4	3
PP21	35	f	5	5	5	4	4	4	3
PP22	31	m	3	3	4	3	3	5	3

			A scene from a film: A smiling girl						
ID	**Age**	**Gender**	**Sincere**	**'My man'**	**Trustworthy**	**Polite**	**Pleasant**	**Russian girl**	**Friendly**
PP1	32	f	4	4	3	4	4	4	5
PP2	63	m	2	2	3	3	2	4	3
PP3	34	f	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
PP4	34	m	2	2	3	3	4	5	5
PP5	31	m	2	2	3	5	3	5	5
PP6	54	f	2	2	2	4	3	3	4
PP7	42	f	3	3	3	4	4	2	4
PP8	27	f	1	1	1	3	2	5	4
PP9	42	f	5	5	4	4	5	5	5
PP10	34	f	2	2	2	5	5	5	5
PP11	41	m	5	3	4	4	2	4	5
PP12	37	f	4	3	3	4	4	4	5
PP13	37	f	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
PP14	21	m	3	4	3	4	3	4	4
PP15	58	f	3	3	2	4	3	3	2
PP16	41	m	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
PP17	30	m	2	2	3	4	3	4	3
PP18	33	m	5	4	4	4	4	5	4
PP19	20	m	2	3	3	4	4	2	4
PP20	20	m	2	2	3	4	4	3	3
PP21	35	f	4	3	3	3	3	4	4
PP22	31	m	4	4	4	4	4	2	4

Appendix 4

Output. Means used for T-tests

Gender. Word order

Мой муж и я собираемся в магазин 'My husband and I are going to the shop'					
	Gender	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Educated/ intellectual	m	11	3.73	.647	.195
	f	11	3.45	1.128	.340
'My man'	m	11	2.82	.874	.263
	f	11	2.36	1.120	.338
Speaks correctly	m	11	3.45	1.293	.390
	f	11	3.18	1.601	.483
Smart	m	11	3.55	.688	.207
	f	11	3.45	.934	.282
Pleasant	m	11	3.27	.786	.237
	f	11	3.55	1.128	.340
Russian person	m	11	3.64	.674	.203
	f	11	2.64	1.206	.364
Well-to-do	m	11	2.91	.701	.211
	f	11	3.18	.874	.263

Мы с мужем собираемся в магазин 'We with my husband are going to the shop'					
	Gender	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Educated/ intellectual	m	11	3.36	.505	.152
	f	11	3.64	1.120	.338
'My man'	m	11	3.64	.505	.152
	f	11	3.27	1.191	.359
Speaks correctly	m	11	3.82	.874	.263
	f	11	4.09	.701	.211
Smart	m	11	3.45	.522	.157
	f	11	3.55	.688	.207
Pleasant	m	11	3.82	.751	.226
	f	11	3.55	.934	.282
Russian person	m	11	4.18	.603	.182
	f	11	3.91	.701	.211
Well-to-do	m	11	3.36	.505	.152
	f	11	3.55	.688	.207

Age. Word order

Мой муж и я собираемся в магазин 'My husband and I are going to the shop'					
	Age	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Educated/ intellectual	>= 32	15	3.47	.990	.256
	< 32	7	3.86	.690	.261
'My man'	>= 32	15	2.67	1.113	.287
	< 32	7	2.43	.787	.297
Speaks correctly	>= 32	15	2.93	1.438	.371
	< 32	7	4.14	1.069	.404
Smart	>= 32	15	3.53	.834	.215

	< 32	7	3.43	.787	.297
Pleasant	>= 32	15	3.67	.900	.232
	< 32	7	2.86	.900	.340
Russian person	>= 32	15	2.80	1.014	.262
	< 32	7	3.86	.900	.340
Well-to-do	>= 32	15	2.87	.743	.192
	< 32	7	3.43	.787	.297

Мы с мужем собираемся в магазин 'We with my husband are going to the shop'					
	Age	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Educated/ intellectual	>= 32	15	3.47	.915	.236
	< 32	7	3.57	.787	.297
'My man'	>= 32	15	3.53	.834	.215
	< 32	7	3.29	1.113	.421
Speaks correctly	>= 32	15	3.87	.640	.165
	< 32	7	4.14	1.069	.404
Smart	>= 32	15	3.60	.632	.163
	< 32	7	3.29	.488	.184
Pleasant	>= 32	15	3.60	.986	.254
	< 32	7	3.86	.378	.143
Russian person	>= 32	15	3.87	.640	.165
	< 32	7	4.43	.535	.202
Well-to-do	>= 32	15	3.33	.488	.126
	< 32	7	3.71	.756	.286

Gender. Smiling

Smiling					
	Gender	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Sincere	m	11	2.91	1.221	.368
	f	11	3.27	1.191	.359
'My man'	m	11	2.82	.874	.263
	f	11	3.09	1.136	.343
Trustworthy	m	11	3.27	.467	.141
	f	11	2.82	.982	.296
Polite	m	11	3.82	.603	.182
	f	11	3.91	.539	.163
Pleasant	m	11	3.27	.786	.237
	f	11	3.73	.905	.273
Russian girl	m	11	3.73	1.104	.333
	f	11	3.91	.944	.285
Friendly	m	11	3.91	.831	.251
	f	11	4.18	.874	.263

Age. Smiling

Smiling					
	Age	**N**	**Mean**	**Std. Deviation**	**Std. Error Mean**
Sincere	>= 32	15	3.47	1.125	.291
	< 32	7	2.29	.951	.360
'My man'	>= 32	15	3.13	.915	.236
	< 32	7	2.57	1.134	.429
Trustworthy	>= 32	15	3.13	.743	.192

	< 32	7	2.86	.900	.340
Polite	>= 32	15	3.80	.561	.145
	< 32	7	4.00	.577	.218
Pleasant	>= 32	15	3.60	.910	.235
	< 32	7	3.29	.756	.286
Russian girl	m	11	3.93	.884	.228
	f	11	3.57	1.272	.481
Friendly	m	11	4.13	.915	.236
	f	11	3.86	.690	.261