



Welcome to the Online course on East Caucasian (Nakh-Daghestanian) languages


Organized by the Linguistic Convergence Laboratory
(HSE University, Moscow)

Supported by the HSE University Basic Research Program and
funded by the Russian Academic Excellence Project '5-100'

As a team, we work in Daghestan

- Studying grammar of minority languages and dialects – Mehweb (<https://langsci-press.org/catalog/book/225>), Kina dialect of Rutul (2017- present time)
- Collecting texts (Archi, Mehweb, Rutul, Tukita and Azeri corpora in progress, corpus of Russian speech of Daghestan available online - <http://www.parasolcorpus.org/dagrus>)
- Working on Typological Atlas of Daghestan (<https://timtim1342.github.io/index.html>)
- Documenting Daghestanian multilingualism (multidagestan.com)
- Digitalizing historical data on the population of Daghestan (<https://multidagestan.com/census>)
- Studying language contact through lexical borrowings (https://lingconlab.github.io/Dagloan_database/DL_database.html)

The links to most resources can be found here <https://ilcl.hse.ru/en/databases> and here <https://ilcl.hse.ru/en/corpora>



Language size, multilingualism, and marriage patterns in Dagestan

Nina Dobrushina

HSE University

Linguistic Convergence Laboratory

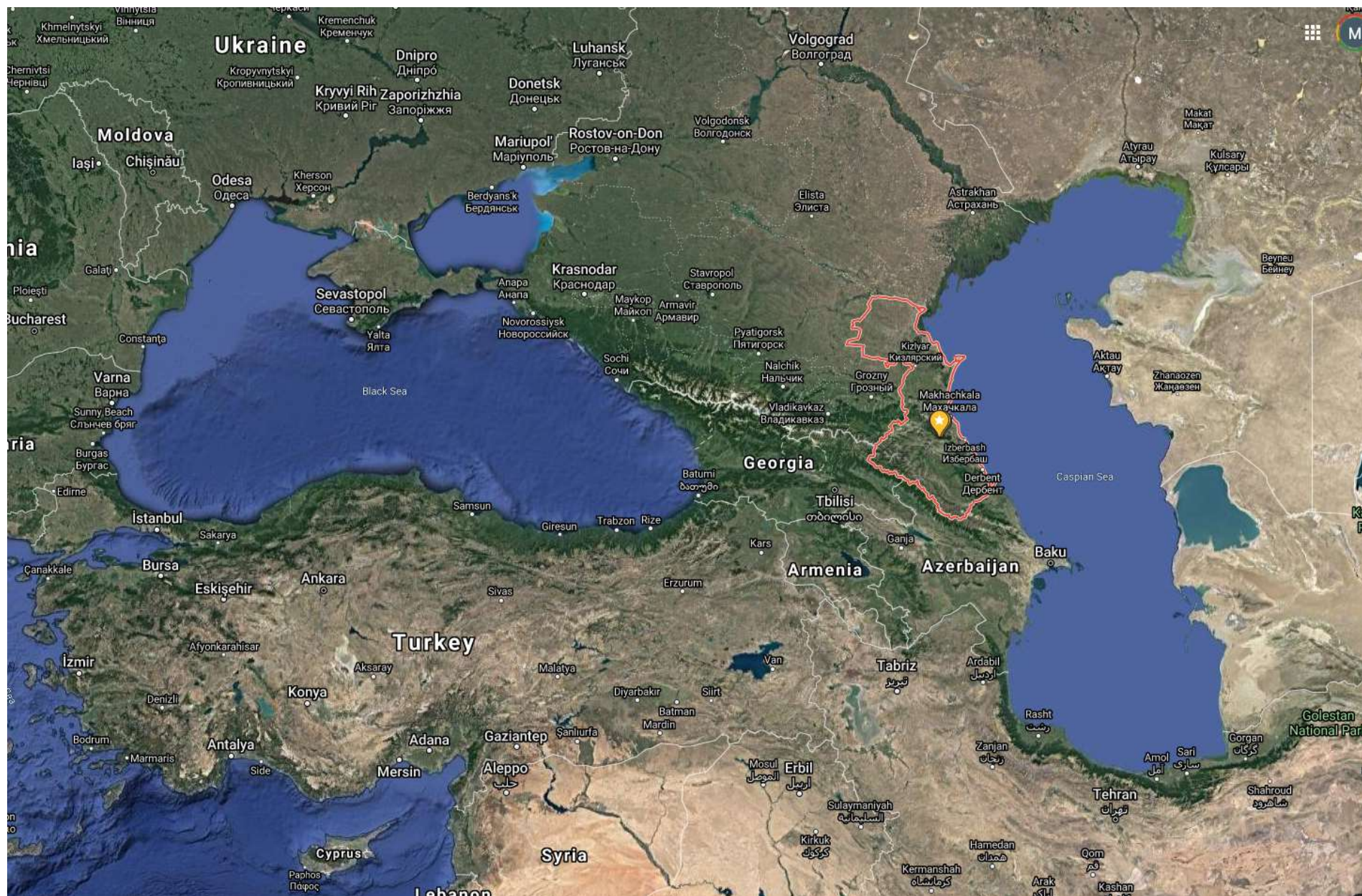
Online course on East Caucasian languages,

14 October – 30 December 2020,

Linguistic Convergence Laboratory

Roadmap

1. Daghestan and Daghestanians
2. Marriage patterns and language size as factors of sustainable diversity
3. Patterns of multilingualism and its dynamics



Daghestan

- **General location:** Northeast Caucasus, Russian Federation, borders with Chechnya, Georgia and Azerbaijan
- **Landscape:** Highlands, mountain ridges
- **Economics:** Diverse geography and economy (lowlands rich and fertile, mountains poor)

Languages of Daghestan

- **Density:** Over 40 languages on a territory of ~50,000 km²
- **Diversity:** Three language families (Nakh-Daghestanian, Turkic, Indo-European). Even related languages are considerably different
- **Beyond Daghestan:** several Nakh-Daghestanian languages are spoken in modern Azerbaijan
- **Vitality:** L1 are still spoken and transmitted to the children in the villages

Daghestanians are rather homogenous in cultural anthropological terms

- Sedentary food producers
- Muslims, apart from Jewish communities of Tats (now almost gone; Clifton et al. 2005, Authier 2012)
- Food, cloth, traditions have (had) lots in common, though with slight distinctions

(Wixman 1980)

Lezginka



Children



And Moscow
students



Until recently Daghestanian mountains
were more inhabited than lowlands

- A lack of flat surface
- A lack of arable land
- The higher, the more severe is the climate

(Nichols 2013)

Lack of forest



Stone-built houses formed dense terraces
down the slope in order to spare arable land
(Anchiq)



Main occupations

Herding:

- Cattle
- Sheep
- Buffalos in the low(er)lands



Main occupations

Agriculture:

- In the highlands - cereal grain, including rye, wheat, and barley
- In the lowlands – maize, potato, apricots, grape

Terrace farming



Village community

- Villages stable for centuries or even millennia

(Arabic inscriptions starting from 10th century – Shikhsaidov 1999, Bobrovnikov 1999)

- High level of mutual social dependence of the villagers from one another
- Main body of traditional village administration - jamaat (from the Arabic ‘community’)

(Karpov 2010)

Families and clans

- **Families:** Large families with strong ties between its members
- **Descent groups:** Patrilineal clans (tukhums) limited to the village (unlike Chechen and Ingush teips)
- **Locality:** Virilocality (wife moves to her husband's place)
- **Marriage patterns:** Endogamy

(Aglarov 1988, Karpov 2010)

2. Marriage patterns and language size as factors of sustainable diversity

Endogamy

Strict endogamy in most of Daghestan, i.e.
marriages within the community

Village-based or clan-based?

- There are traces of both traditions
depending on the village

(Aglarov 1988)

Why endogamy?

– Practical motivation:

- Value of land
- Land belonged to individuals, but their rights of transfer were heavily restricted
- Sale of a plot of land into another community was severely penalized by the jamaat
- The amount of the fine for selling land to an outsider was more than the fine for a murder

(Aglarov 1988, Karpov 2010)

Why endogamy?

– Practical motivation:

- Both sons and daughters inherited the land
- Daughter moved to her husband's place
- If her husband was from another village, the land would also become a property of another village
- This was undesirable, so inter-village marriages were disapproved

Daghestanian endogamy is old

Anthropologists:

endogamy exists more than a thousand years; there is evidence from an Armenian writer living in 10th century that people living near Derbent marry their mothers and sisters (Lavrov 1978).

Geneticists:

“We have shown that Daghestan highland villages have been isolated and endogamous for **hundreds of generations**” (Bulayeva et al. 2008), «Inbreeding and longstanding small effective population sizes have most likely been a **common feature in Daghestan over a sustained period**» (Karafet et al. 2016: 181).

? Endogamy is unusual ?

Most reports about Indigenous multilingual communities describe widely spread or obligatory exogamy:

- **Amazonia** (Sorensen 1967, Jackson 1983, Chernela 1993, Fleming 2016, Epps 2018),
- **Australia** (Heath 1981, Singer & Harris 2016),
- **Vanuatu** (François 2012),
- **China** (Stanford 2009, Stanford & Pan 2013)

Endogamy is not typical of the rest of the Caucasus except for Azerbaijan. The Chechen and the Ingush practiced exogamy (Nichols 2004, Nichols 2013)

The linguistic exogamy is often linked with the small size of groups

“In small groups out-marriage is common” (Evans 2018)

“What all these [small-scale] communities seem to have in common is the following:

2. Each indigenous language **has a small number of speakers (<5,000).**
3. **Marriages between people with different main languages is obligatory or common”** (Singer & Harris 2016)

Discussion in Pakendorf et al. (forthcoming)

Is Daghestanian endogamy due to the larger size of speaker's communities?

At first glance – yes

Size of language groups at the present time

Varies from

600,000 (Avars), 400,000 (Kумыks),
350,000 (Lezgians), 140,000 (Laks)

to

10,000 (Tsakhurs), 8,000 (Karata), 1,500
(Archi), 500 (Hinukh), 500 (Tukita)

But there were significant demographic changes in 20th century

- The population of most villages increased due to improving life conditions and the medical service
- The population of some villages decreased because of voluntary and involuntary relocations
- ...So we should look at an earlier period

https://multidaghestan.com/census



Multidaghestan

About

Field trips

Census data

Team

Sign In

Dagestan census

The demographic database of Dagestanian villages based on rural registers of 1886 and 1895, and national censuses of 1926 and 2010. [Learn more >](#)

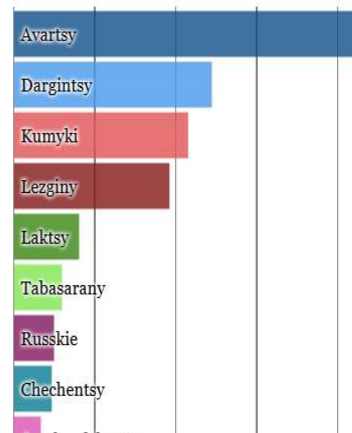
En Ru [How does it work?](#)

Links [Map](#) [Ethnicity](#) [Native language](#) [Primary language](#) [Secondary language](#) [So](#) [Dominant ethnicity](#) [Population](#) [Households](#) [Altitude](#) [Percent of dominant](#) [County](#) [District](#) [Naibstvo](#) [Sex](#)

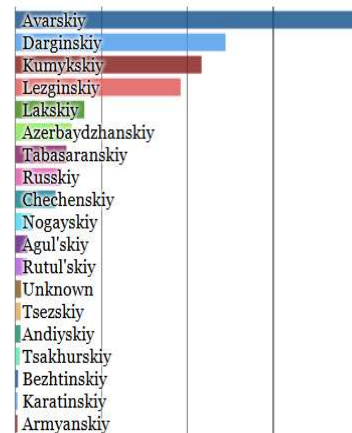
Social [Religion](#)

1885 1895 1926 2010 All 1617 villages selected

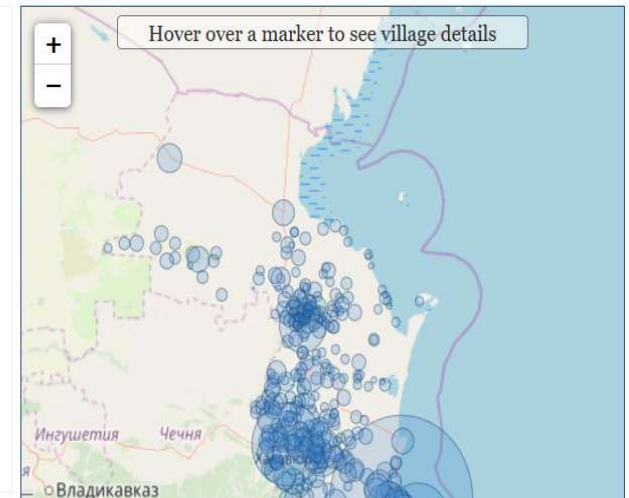
Ethnicity



Native language



Dominant ethnicity ①



Size of language groups at the beginning of the 20th century

Varies from

124,000 (Avars), 61,000 (Kumyks), 88,000 (Lezgians), 38,000 (Laks)

to

3,300 (Tsakhurs), 4,700 (Karata), 800 (Archi), 650 (Tukita), 150 (Hinukh)

(Census 1926)

According to Evans (2018), an average number of speakers per language in Australia was between 650 and 3,000, for Papua New Guinea about 3,300 – 5,000.

According to the census of 1926, in Daghestan 70% of languages had **less than 5000 speakers**.

Endogamy was typical even of smallest languages communities, such as the Archis or the Mehweb

Why marriage patterns are important?

If language communities are small, frequent exogamous marriages enhance multilingualism

Exogamous marriage add a new language to the family

Children grow up with two or more languages

Exogamous marriages lead to early bilingualism

Early bilingualism presumably
plays a role in language evolution

Early bilinguals (presumably) acquire L2 in
its full complexity

Early bilingualism (presumably) leads to
complexification of L1

(Trudgill 2001, Trudgill 2011)

Studying endogamy through occasional exogamy: Field research of linguistic behavior in the rare cases of mixed marriages

61 interviews with in-married women from 18
villages in 2017, 2018 and 2019

Southern Daghestan –

Kina, Gel mets, Khlut, Khnov, Gdym, Burkikhan,
Amukh, Khuppuk

Central Daghestan –

Hinukh, Kidero, Karata, Tukita, Tad-Magitl,
Tlibisho, Kubachi, Uragi, Urtsaki, Sutbuk

Exogamous marriages were never completely excluded

- In every village there are several mixed families (from two to three to more)
- Some villages used to have more strict endogamy (Archib, Kubachi), some seem not to show traces of endogamy at all (Tsnal)
- Mixed marriages always involved residents of adjacent villages

Mixed marriages occurred under special circumstances

Someone who could not easily find a partner in the home village

- Not a first marriages (widow(er)s, divorced)

- Orphans

*"He was an orphan - who would marry him?
Girls always marry the rich. An orphan who has
nothing, no one loves such people, do they?"*

- Physical disabilities

Attitudes towards mixed marriages

- Leaving home village was considered bad luck
“How unlucky she is, poor one – to marry to another village” (Archib)
A woman from Khnov quoted her grandmother, who used to say
“However bad the man from the same village, better to marry him
<than someone from elsewhere>”.
- Leaving home village was stigmatized for woman
“In the old times, it was a disgrace, foul people were those who
married to other villages” - Tukita

Avar proverbs:

«ЛъикIаб лакдаца гIер бахунаро» -
«A good cow will not cross the river»

«ЛъикIаб чужлъ лъар бахунаро - лъикIай ясалъ росу толаро»
«A good horse will not cross the river – a good girl will not leave her village»

If the adjacent village speaks a different language, a marriage would cross the language border

If the adjacent village speaks the same language, the incoming woman most likely speaks another dialect (there are usually at least slight distinctions between even very closely located villages)

Wives from other languages

- The in-coming wife is **expected to learn the language of her husband**, and to communicate with her husband, his family and other villagers in their language

Only three women in my database do not speak the languages of their husbands, including two non-Daghestanians (one Russian and one Chechen)

- The new language is most often acquired **during the first year. Why?**
- Linguistic performance of in-coming woman is usually highly evaluated **by other villagers**
“She speaks better than us!”

Even if several women from the same village got married to the same settlement, they stuck to the language of their husbands

- Mother-in-law in Rutul village of Kina does not speak her L1 with her daughter-in-law, although both are from a Tsakhur village

“We speak the language of the place whose bread we eat”.

- Two women from Rutul village Khnov, in-married to Lezgian Gdym live next door and speak Lezgian to each other

“Everyone does so here”.

This is different if wife speaks another dialect!

- In the areas speaking Dargwa languages, where cross-dialect marriages were practiced, the incoming wives were expected to keep their dialects.

The woman who in-married from Urari to Sutbuk said she does not speak Sutbuk dialect and does not want to speak it. She would be hurt if her parents and ex-villagers say “Look, you are speaking Sutbuk!”.

The old man from a Dargwa village said “It is a disgrace if woman who married in does not speak her own language [patrilect]. People would say she has sold her language for bread”.

Wives in mixed marriages

- In-married woman keeps **identifying herself** with her patrilect and can be reproached for abandoning it

*Avar woman who in-married to Rutul village and decided not to teach her children Avar complained that some Rutul people reproached her that she **has sold her own language***

- In-married woman finds herself between two loyalties - her patrilect and the the language of the village where she resides



Children in mixed families

- Speak only patrilect in their early childhood
- Often acquire their matrilect when they communicate with their maternal grandmother, aunts, uncles and cousins while they spend time in their mother's village
- Mother can start teaching her children her native language only when they grew up and already acquired their patrilect. She can be reproached for *not* doing this by her husband and mother-in-law:
“Speaking several languages is beautiful!”
- Elder children often speak the languages of both their father and their mother, but the command of matrilect is usually worse

Language ideology

- People identify themselves strictly with their patrilect, irrespective of where they live and what is the language of their husband or mother
- Language belongs to the village

Language is linked to the village rather than to the father

The only case of **husband's relocation** in my database:

*A man was born in an Aghul village of Tsirkhe and married a woman from a Dargwa village of Amukh, and quite exceptionally had to move to her village. **He spoke to his children not in his native language, but in Amukh Dargwa, the language of his wife and the village where he lived.** “Why did your father speak Dargwa to you?” - “It’s a Dargwa village, so everyone speaks Dargwa”.*

- The in-group communication is performed only in the language of the village
- Languages are usually named after villages:
 - the dialect of Rutul spoken in Kina -> the Kina language (*но-кинински*)
 - the dialect of Bagvalal spoken in Tlibisho -> Tlibisho language (*но-тлибишински*)

Exogamous marriages are “re-analyzed” in endogamous pattern

- In the rare cases of exogamous marriages, language differences are not taken into account
- Mixed marriages are treated in such a way that they would fit into an otherwise fully endogamous society
- Mixed marriage does not lead to a new language coming to the village, nor does it lead to an early multilingualism in children
- The community digest rare inclusions of the residents speaking another language without adapting to them
- The principle of ethnic and linguistic homogeneity is sustained

As a result of endogamy

- Highland villages are ethnically and linguistically homogenous
- Endogamy contributed to the linguistic diversity of Daghestan (*Lavrov 1971, Comrie 2008*)

*The rule of speaking the language of the village was **equally applied to all local languages**, irrespective of their size and local significance*

- No early bilingualism in Daghestan

3. Patterns of multilingualism and its dynamics

Key features of multilingualism in Daghestan

Diversity: Villages with different local languages are often located within walking distance from one another

The main source of multilingualism: communication with the residents of other villages, mainly adjacent

Stability: Language contacts were presumably stable (over past centuries)

The usage of L2: not within the family, not with the residents of the same village, not as a daily practice

The age of L2 acquisition: adolescence or later

Preservation: Traditional patterns of multilingualism are still traceable

Dynamics: Communication in local L2 is under way of being displaced by Russian

Mehweb and Sogratl'



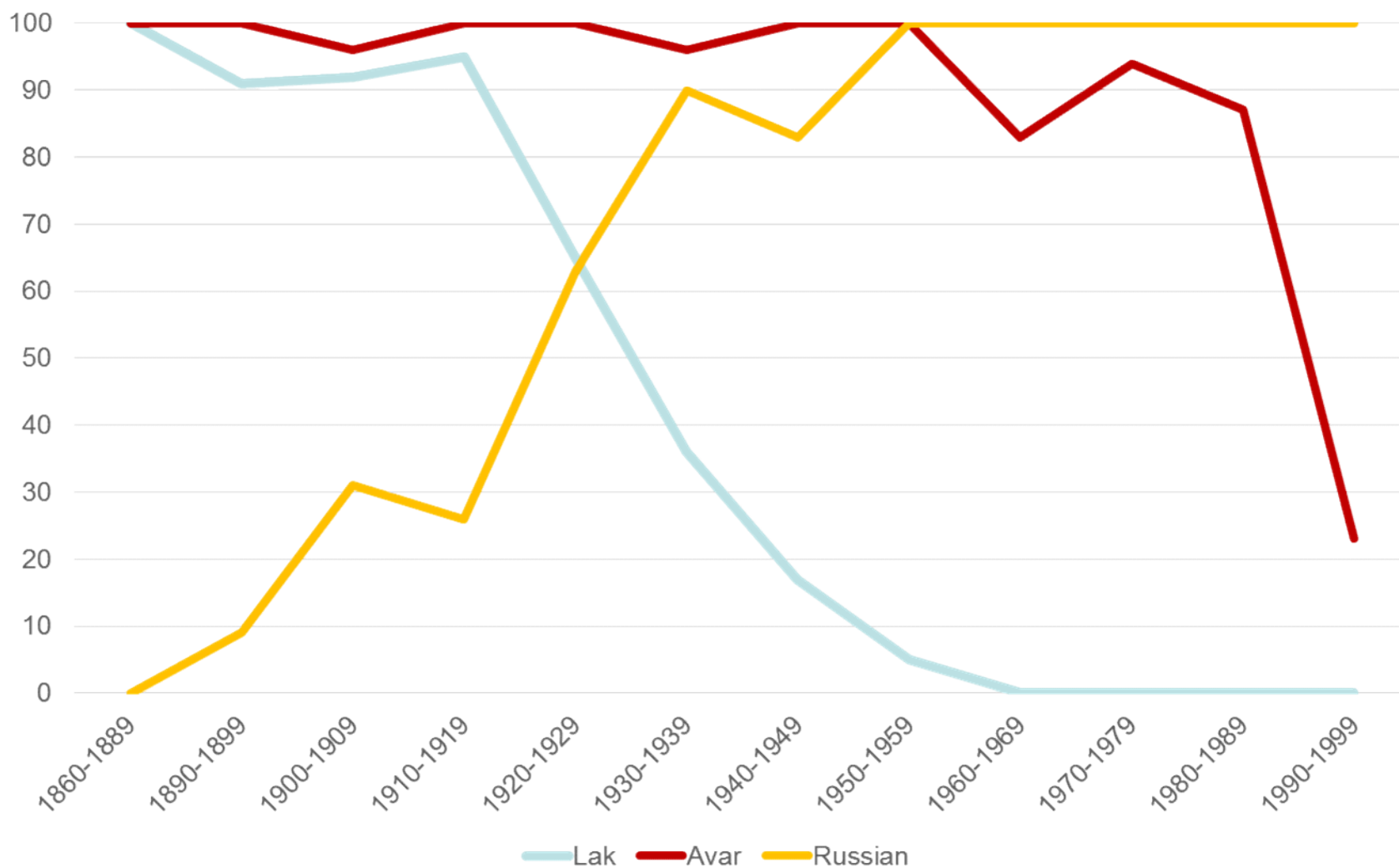
The method of retrospective family interviews (Dobrushina 2013)

- Rate of bilingualism at the community level is taken to be a proxy for the intensity of language contact
- Short interviews about language repertoire of locals are recorded
- The respondent reports data not only about herself but also about all her elder relatives whom (she thinks) she remembers

Why retrospective?

- From the establishment of Soviet schools in the 1930s, Russian quickly spread over Daghestan as L2
- Traditional language repertoires have been almost completely ousted by Russian as a lingua franca

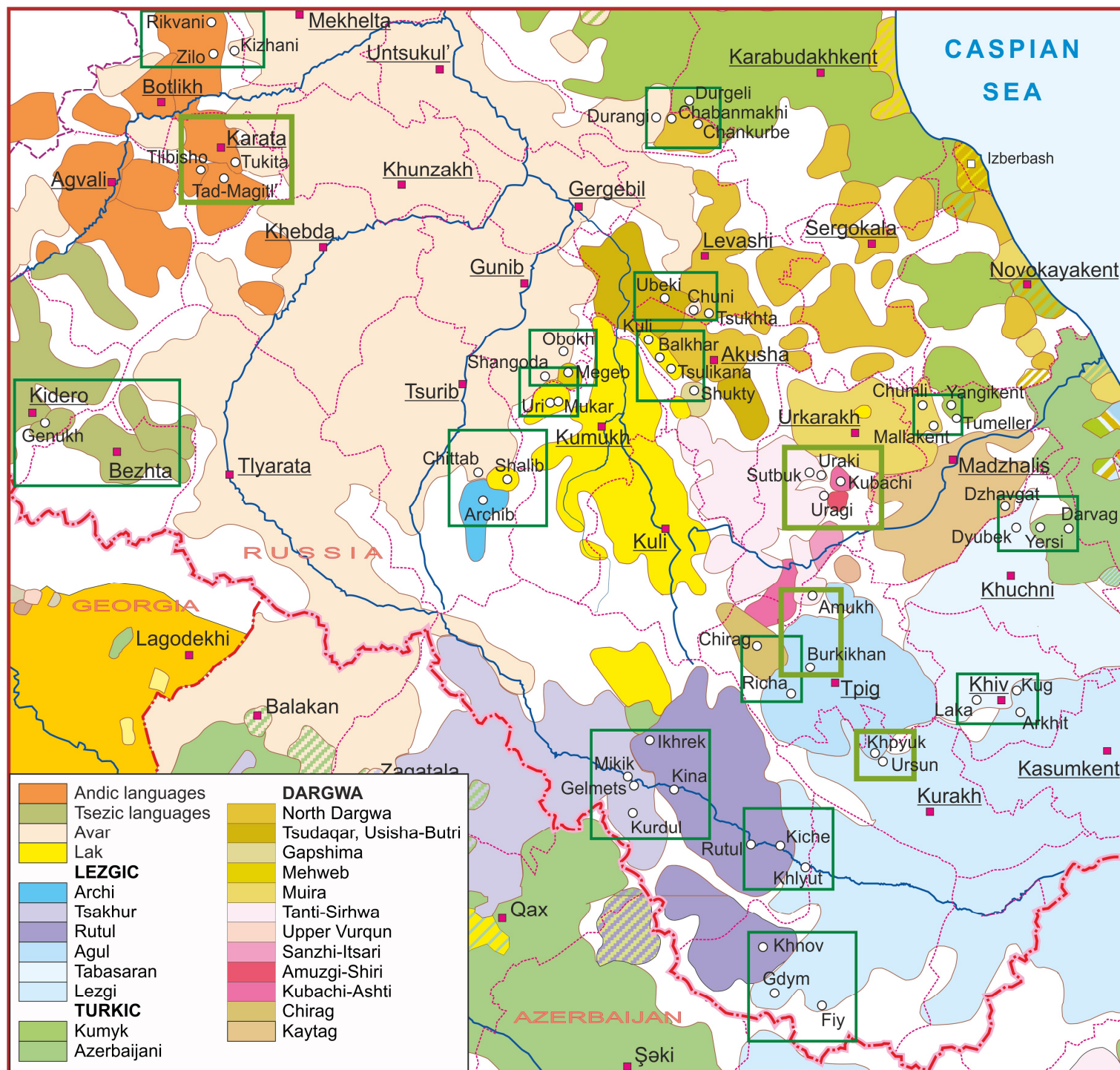
Second languages in Mehweb (years of birth)



Team & travel

- We collect data in teams – usually two supervisors and 6-8 students
- ... choose a village on the border of two languages
- ... come for 4-7 days
- ... work in this village and in other adjacent villages (which are reachable by foot)
- field trips to 19 clusters of villages
(2 to 5 villages per cluster); totality of 68 villages

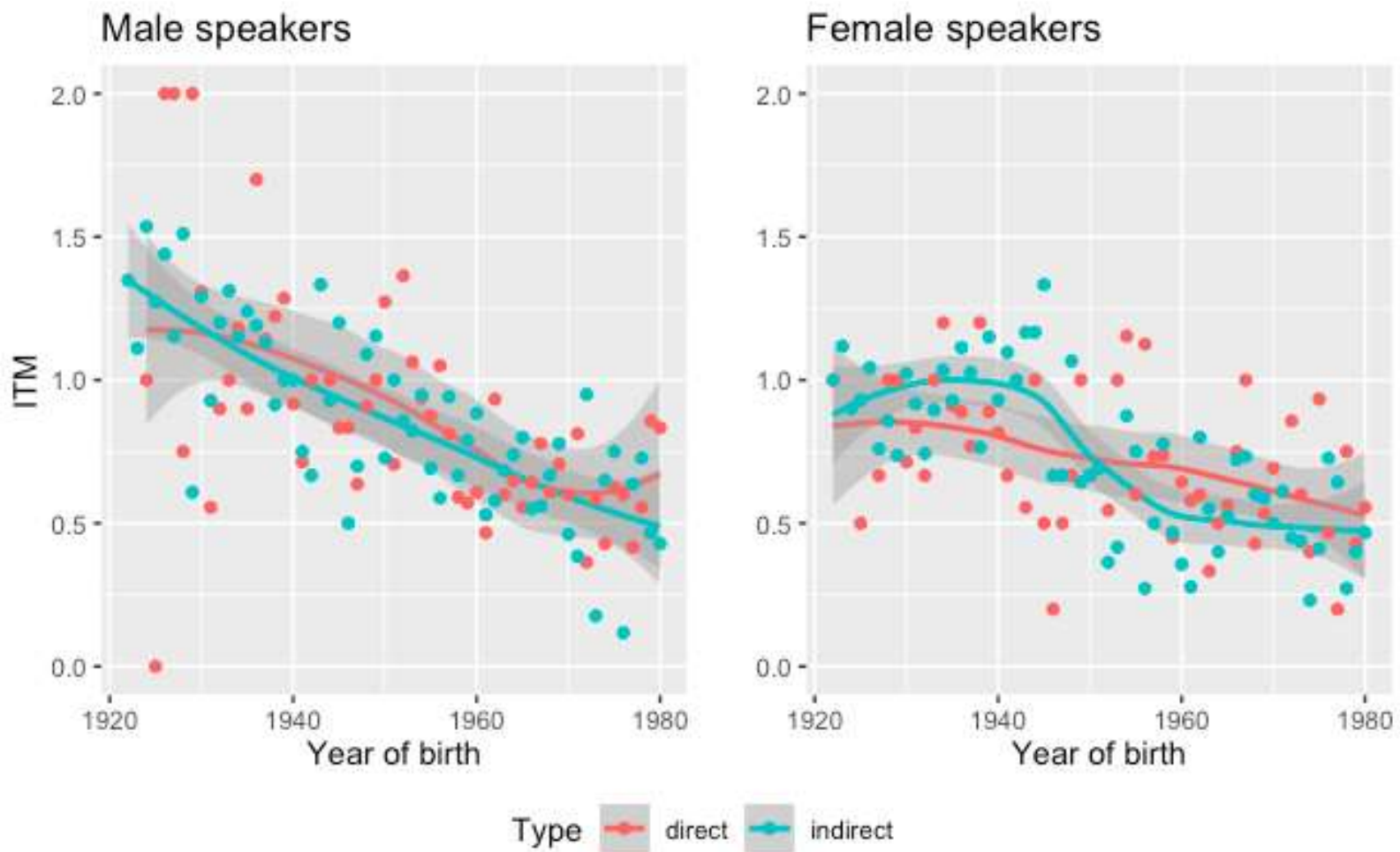
(Dobrushina, Daniel, & Koryakov 2020)



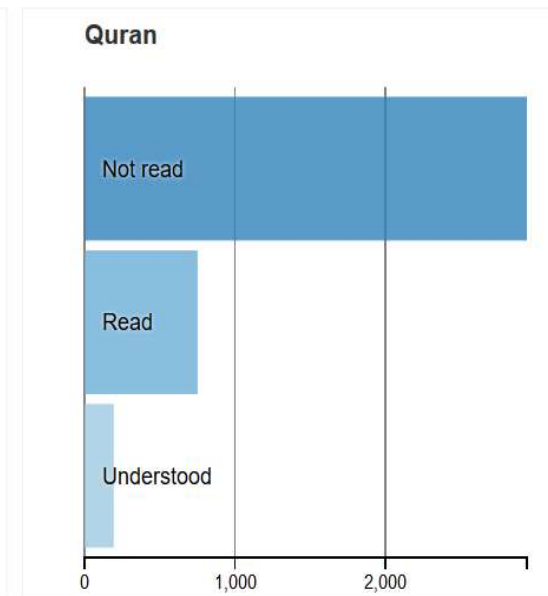
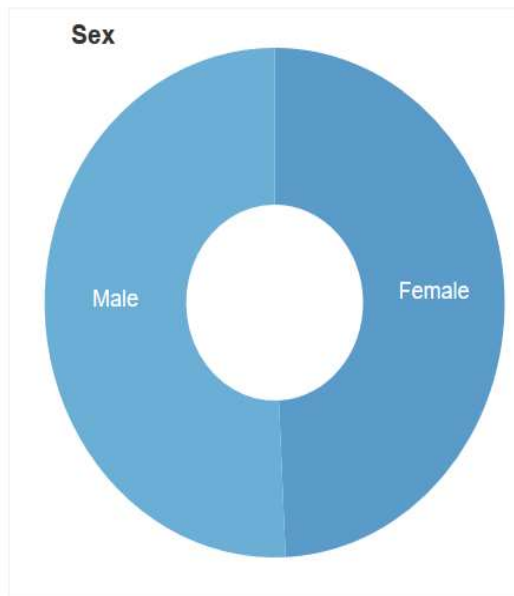
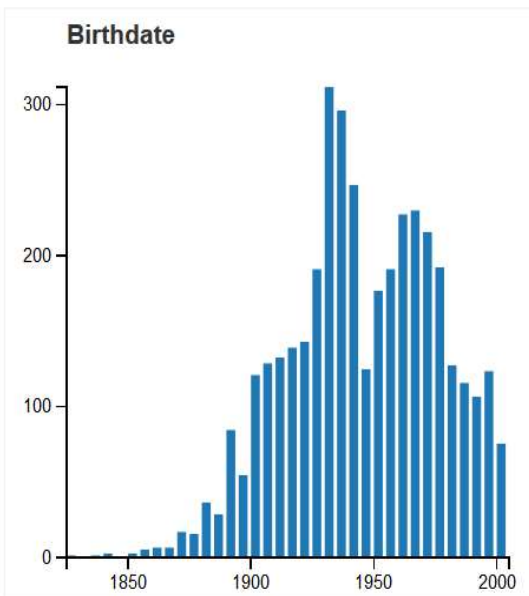
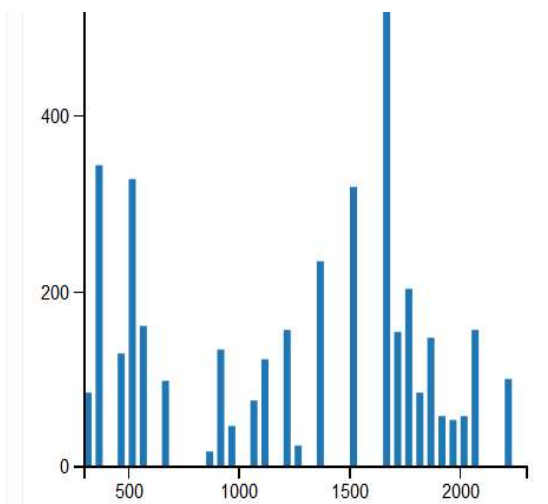
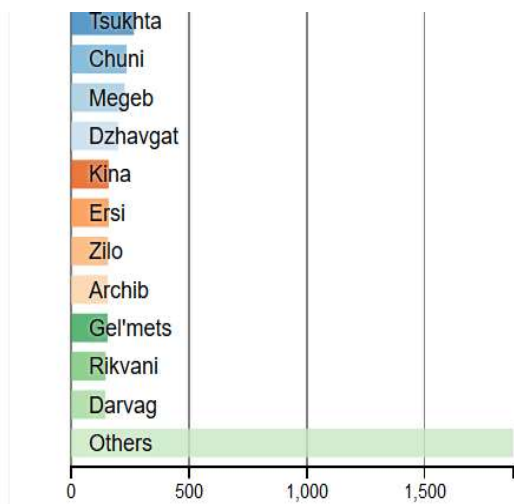
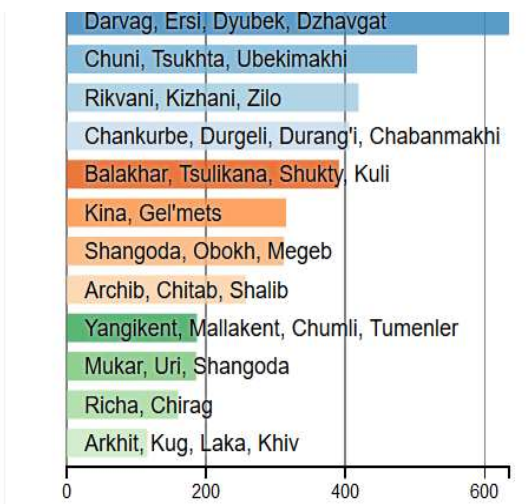
Problems and restrictions

- The method fully relies on the respondent's self-assessment and her assessment of the (recollected) multilingualism of her elder relatives
- Multilingual situation is often stereotyped and generalized and extended to the self's relatives. ("Our people spoke this language, so my parents did, too.")
- For the eldest relatives (e.g. born in 1880), only multilingualism at a later age could be reported

Comparing the results of direct and indirect answers (Daniel et al., submitted)



Multidagestan.com



The data shown below usually relate to
people born before 1919

Distant vs. vicinal (adjacent) L2

- **Distant languages** are spoken beyond the neighbourhood and acquired in the course of seasonal activities:

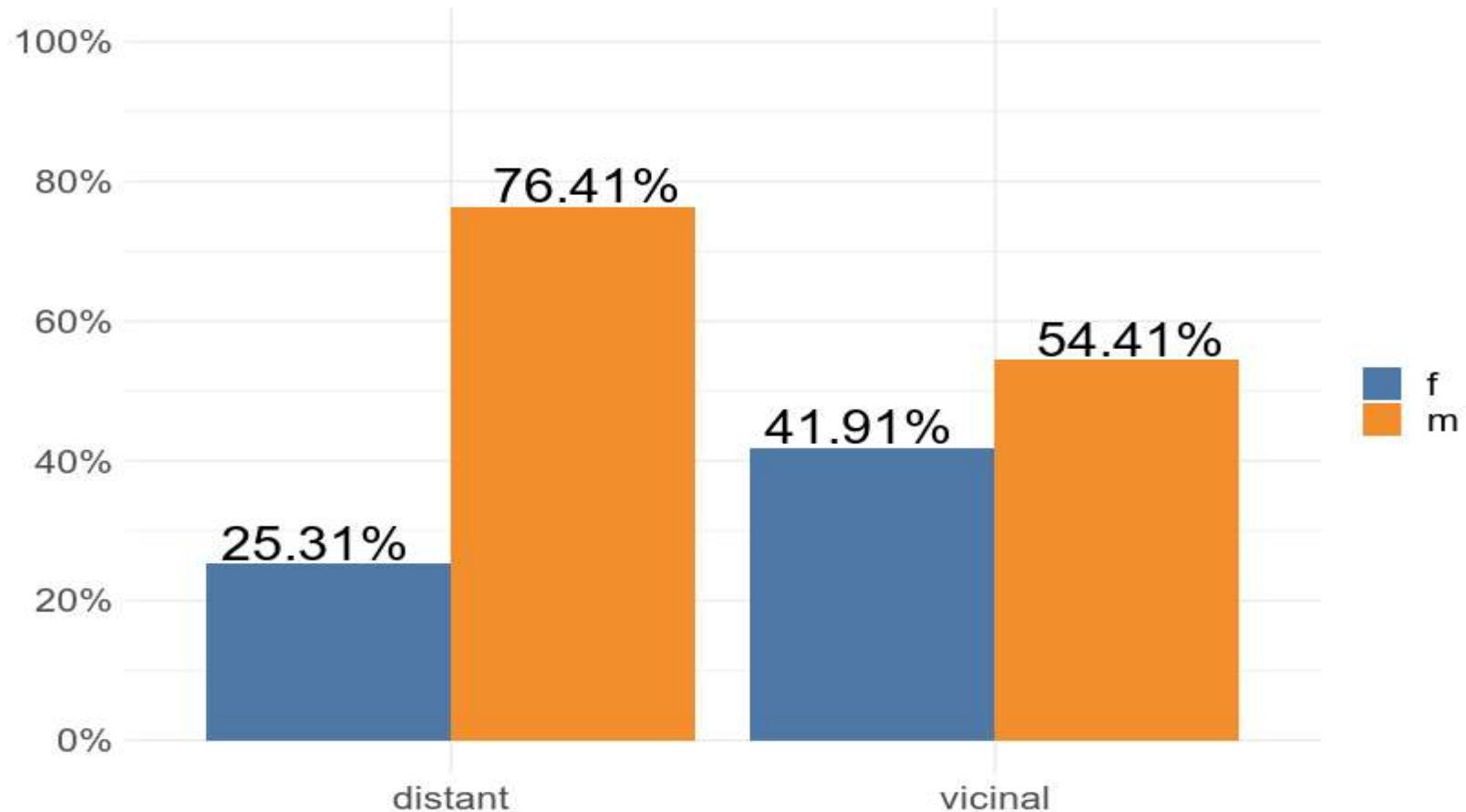
tinning, selling pottery or carpets, taking part in seasonal oil extraction, seasonal shepherding etc.

- **Vicinal languages** are spoken in the adjacent villages and acquired in the course of weekly activities

Why do we need to distinguish between distant *vs.* vicinal multilingualism?

- The two types differ with respect to the number of bilingual people (***rate of bilingualism***)
- The two types are asymmetrical in terms of gender (females spoke vicinal ls, but did not speak distant ls) (are ***gendered***)

Males and females spoke vicinal languages to the same extent, but bilingualism in distant languages was more typical of men (Dobrushina et al. 2019)



Multilingualism in distant and vicinal languages before 1919 year of birth

Vicinal multilingualism

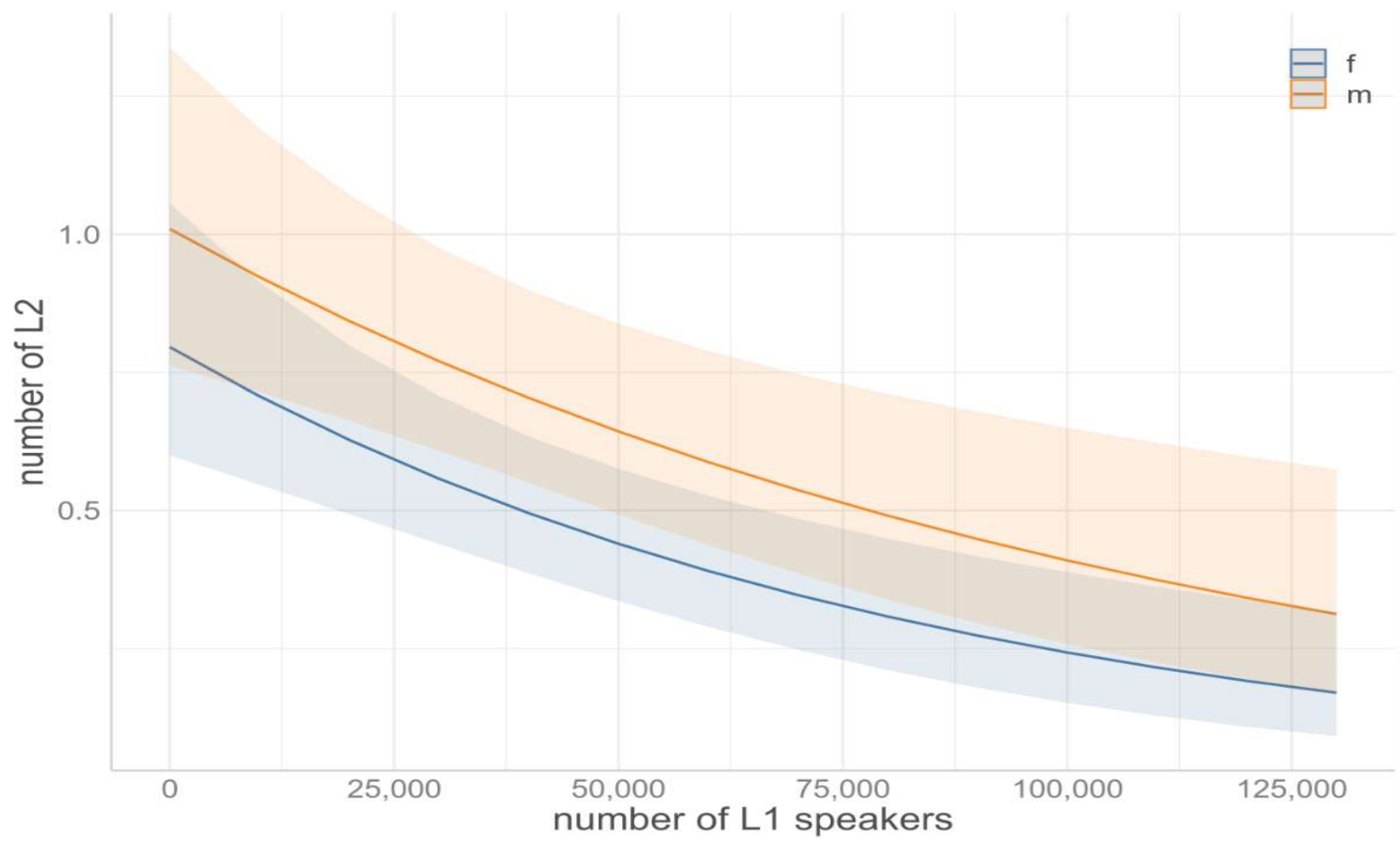
- **symmetrical bilingualism** (adjacent villages spoke the languages of each other) – **2 cases**
- **lingua franca** - Southern Daghestan (Azerbaijani), some parts of central Daghestan (Avar, Kumyk)
- **asymmetrical bilingualism** (only one of the two village populations had a decent command of the language of the other village) – **dozens** of cases

(cf. Lavrov 1953, Volkova 1967, Chirikba 2008)

Symmetrical, asymmetrical or lingua franca

Village and its language	Percent of bilinguals	Degree of symmetry	Percent of bilinguals	Village and its language
Shalib (Lak)	62	0,94	58	Chittab (Avar)
Kina (Rutul)	27	0,74	20	Gelmets (Tsakhur)
Tsulikana (Lak)	63	0,51	32	Shukhty (GDargwa)
Mallakent(MDargwa)	86	0,38	33	Jangikent (Kumyk)
Chumli (MDargwa)	93	0,35	33	Jangikent (Kumyk)
Chabanm (KDargwa)	33	0,27	9	Durangi (Avar)
Chirag (ChDargwa)	28	0,21	6	Richa (Agul)
Khiv (Tabassaran)	83	0,17	14	Arkhit (Lezgi)
Archib (Archi)	92	0,13	12	Chittab (Avar)
Zilo	94	0,12	11	Kizhani
Chuni (Avar)	98	0,11	11	Tsukhta (AkDargwa)
Chuni (Avar)	96	0,08	8	Up. Ubeki (TsDargwa)

Asymmetry was to a large extent dictated by the size of language population (Dobrushina & Moroz forthcoming)



Summary: empirical

- Adjacent villages always had some means of communication
- Most often it was one of the two vicinal languages; lingua franca was less frequent
- Bilingualism between adjacent villages was most often asymmetrical

Summary: theoretical

The areas of small-scale multilingualism are characterized by exogamy (Singer & Harris 2016, Evans 2018)

Not true for Daghestan: small language groups and endogamous marriages

The areas of stable multilingualism are characterized by **the absence of language dominance** (Aikhenvald 2007: 42)

Not true for Daghestan, where **multilingualism was stable**, but **language dominance existed**

A frequent corollary of asymmetrical bilingualism is language shift, and **decrease in language diversity** (Thomason 2001: 9)

In Daghestan, asymmetrical bilingualism **rarely lead to language shift in the observable past**

Asymmetry of bilingual patterns was balanced by a strict association of one village to one language, which did not depend on the status of the language in terms of size or local importance

An afterward:
What happened next

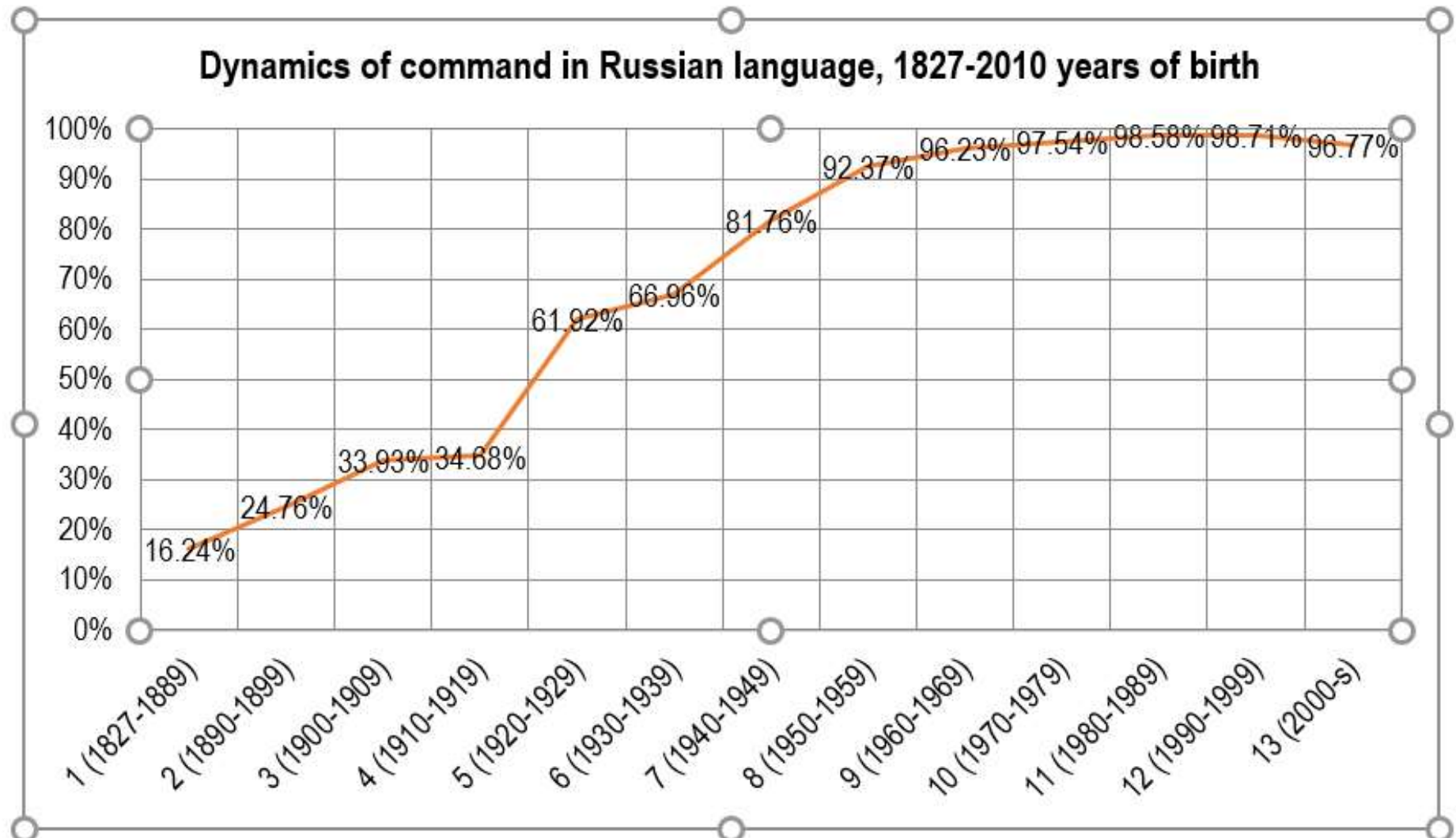
- Late 19th century: only one person per 1,000 could speak some Russian (Volkova 1967: 31).
- 1930s: Soviet authorities opened secular Soviet schools in every village; obligatory education
- Russian was one the main subjects
- In 1950s, Russian teachers were sent to the villages to teach Russian and other subjects

The Archis building the road, a Russian teacher watching (1930 y.b.)



Number of people bilingual in Russian

(Dobrushina & Kultepina 2020)



An afterward: *What happened next*

- After the 1950s (y.b.), everyone speaks Russian
- Russian became first all-Daghestanian lingua franca
- Spread of Russian ousted the command of other second languages
- The documentation of the patterns of multilingualism is urgent!

This is a collective project

- **Fieldwork:** Michael Daniel, Darya Baryl'nikova, Ilja Chechuro, Maria Chudnovskaja, Anna Djachkova, Aleksej Fedorenko, Konstantin Filatov, Dmitry Ganenkov, Polina Kasjanova, Aleksandra Khadzhijskaya, Aleksandra Konovalova, Elizaveta Kozhanova, Aleksandra Kozhukhar', Marina Kustova, Yevgenij Lapin, Aleksandr Letuchiy, Aleksandra Martynova, Stepan Mikhailov, Valeria Morozova, Yevgenij Mozhaev, Timofei Mukhin, Polina Nasledskova, Ivan Netkachev, Elena Nikishina, Olga Shapovalova, Semen Sheshenin, Aleksandra Sheshenina, Maria Shejanova, Mikhail Sonin, Anastassija Vasilisina, Samira Verhees, Aigul Zakirova
- **Hospitality:** Karim Musaev and his family, Anwar and Maisarat Musaevy, Kamil and his family, Hamzat and his family, Ibadulla, Akhmed, Dzhalil, Ramazan, Said Sulejmanov and his family, Sejdul, Khadizhat, Isamudin and his family and many other people
- **Logistics:** Rasul Mutalov
- **Maps:** Yuri Koryakov
- **Statistics:** George Moroz and Olga Kultepina
- **Discussion, support and help:** fellows of Linguistic Convergence Laboratory





References

- Aglarov, M. A. 1988. Sel'skaja obščina v Nagornom Dagestane v 17-načale 19 v: Issledovanie vzaimootnošenija form xozjajstva, social'nyx struktur i ètnosa. Nauka.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra Y. (2007). Grammars in contact: a cross-linguistic perspective. In Alexandra Aikhenvald & Robert Dixon (eds.), *Grammars in contact: a cross-linguistic typology*, 1-66. Oxford University Press.
- Authier, G. 2012. Grammaire juhuri, ou judéo-tat, langue iranienne du Caucase de l'est. Wiesbaden: Reichert.
- Bobrovnikov V.O. Arabic epigraphics (14th – 20th centuries). Dagestanskoe selo: voprosy identichnosti. Moskva 1999.
- Daniel M., Koshevoy A., Schurov I., Dobrushina N. Can indirect data be trusted? Submitted to Field methods.
- Dobrushina N., Daniel M., Koryakov Y. Atlas of multilingualism in Daghestan: A case study in diachronic sociolinguistics // Languages of the Caucasus. 2020. Vol. 4. P. 1-37.
- Dobrushina, N. 2013. How to study multilingualism of the past: Investigating traditional contact situations in Daghestan. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*. Volume 17 Issue 3. 269-411.
- Dobrushina, N., Daniel, M., Koryakov Y. 2020. Languages and sociolinguistics of the Caucasus. In Maria Polinsky (ed.) *Oxford Handbook of Languages of the Caucasus*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Dobrushina, Nina; Aleksandra Kozhukhar; and George Moroz. 2019. Gendered multilingualism in highland Daghestan: story of a loss. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 40(2). 115-132.
- Chirikba, Viacheslav A. 2008. The problem of the Caucasian Sprachbund. *From linguistic areas to areal linguistics*, ed. by Pieter Muysken. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 25-94.
- Dobrushina, N. Kultepina, O. 2020. The rise of a lingua franca: The case of Russian in Dagestan. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, Online First.
- Chernela, J. (2013). Toward a Tukanoan ethnolinguistics: Metadiscursive practices, identity, and sustained linguistic diversity in the Vaupés basin of Brazil and Colombia. In P. Epps, & K. Stenzel (Eds.), *Upper Rio Negro: Cultural and Linguistic Interaction in Northwestern Amazonia* (pp. 197–244). Rio de Janeiro: Museu do Índio - Funai.
- Clifton, John M., et al. "Sociolinguistic situation of the Tat and Mountain Jews in Azerbaijan." (2005). <https://www.sil.org/resources/archives/9077>
- Comrie, Bernard. 2008. Linguistic diversity in the Caucasus. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 37. 131-143.

References

- Evans, N. (2017). Did language evolve in multilingual settings? *Biology & Philosophy*, 32(6), 905–933.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10539-018-9609-3>
- Jackson, J. E. (1983). *The Fish People. Linguistic Exogamy and Tukanoan Identity in Northwest Amazonia*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Epps, P. (2018). Contrasting linguistic ecologies: Indigenous and colonially mediated language contact in northwest Amazonia. *Language & Communication (Indigenous Multilingualisms)*, 62, 156–169.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.langcom.2018.04.010>.
- Fleming, L. (2016). Linguistic exogamy and language shift in the northwest Amazon.
International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 2016(240), 9–27.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2016-0013>.
- François, Alexandre. 2012. The dynamics of linguistic diversity: egalitarian multilingualism and power imbalance among northern Vanuatu languages. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 214. 85–110.
- Heath, Jeffrey. 1981. A case of intensive lexical diffusion: Arnhem Land, Australia. *Language* 57(2). 335-367
- Karafet, Tatiana; Kazima B. Bulayeva; Johanna Nichols; Oleg A. Bulayev; Farida Gurganova; Jamilia Omarova; Levon Yepiskoposyan; Olga V. Savina; Barry H. Rodrigue; and Michael F. Hammer. 2016. Coevolution of genes and languages and high levels of population structure among the highland populations of Daghestan. *Journal of human genetics* 61(3). 181-191.
- Karpov, Y. Y. (2010). The Dagestani mountain village: From the traditional Jamaat to its present social character. *Anthropology & archeology of Eurasia*, 48(4), 12-88.
- Lavrov L.I. 1953. Nekotorye itogi Dagestanskoj ekspedicii. Kratkie soobščeniya Instituta ètnografii, XIX.
- Lavrov L.I. 1978. O prichinakh mnogojazychija v Daghestane. In: Lavrov L.I. *Istorikoetnograficheskie ocherki Kavkaza*. Leningrad, Nauka.

References

- Nichols, J., 2004. The origin of the Chechen and Ingush: A study in alpine linguistic and ethnic geography. *Anthropological Linguistics*, pp.129-155.
- Nichols, J. 2013. The vertical archipelago: Adding the third dimension to linguistic geography. *Space in Language and Linguistics*, ed. by Peter Auer; Martin Hilpert; Anja Stukenbrock; and Benedikt Szmrecsanyi. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter. 38-60.
- Pakendorf B., Dobrushina N., Khanina O. A typology of small-scale multilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, forthcoming.
- Shikhsaidov A.R. Important epigraphic artifacts from Rutul region.
- Singer, R., & Harris, S. (2016). What practices and ideologies support small-scale multilingualism? A case study of Warruwi Community, northern Australia. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 2016(241), 163–208. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2016-0029>
- Sorensen Jr, A. P. (1967). Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon 1. *American Anthropologist*, 69(6), 670-684.
- Stanford, J. N., & Pan, Y. (2013). The sociolinguistics of exogamy: Dialect acquisition in a Zhuang village. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17(5), 573-607. Stenzel, Kristine. 2005. Multilingualism in the Northwest Amazon, revisited. Paper presented at Memorias del Congreso de Idiomas Indígenas de Latinoamérica-II, 27 – 29 de octubre de 2005, University of Texas at Austin.
- Thomason, Sarah G. (2001). *Language contact: an introduction*. Washington: Georgetown University Press.
- Trudgill P (2001) Contact and simplification: Historical baggage and directionality in linguistic change. *Linguistic Typology* 5: 371–374.
- Trudgill, Peter. 2011. *Sociolinguistic typology: Social determinants of linguistic complexity*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Volkova, Natalija G. 1967. Voprosy dvujazyčija na Severnom Kavkaze [Bilingualism in the Northern Caucasus]. *Sovetskaya ètnografija*. No 1. 27-40.
- Wixman, Ronald. 1980. *Language aspects of ethnic patterns and processes in the North Caucasus*. Chicago: University of Chicago, Department of Geography.

Thank you for your attention!

**Linguistic Convergence Laboratory,
HSE University (Moscow)**