

I. ARTICLES IN THE SPECIAL ISSUE

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Linguistic landscapes of modern Armenia: In the footsteps of Russian-speaking relocants

ABSTRACT. The purpose of the paper is to analyse the linguistic landscape of Armenia during the period of 2022–2023 when the country was flooded by Russian-speaking relocants. The research is based on the empirical material which was collected in the capital of the country by taking photos. Additionally, classification, descriptive and analytical methods were applied. The texts under study are analysed from the viewpoint of the vocabulary, semantics, grammar, script usage, and translation. It is shown that the most interesting cases of the linguistic landscape are multimodal texts which present a mixture and combination of different semiotic codes. The analysis shows that, depending on the addressees, Russian and English (in rare cases – also Armenian) are used in the texts. It is also shown that the relocants have introduced into Armenia a new, mostly gastronomic, and “advanced” youth culture which, in its turn, has made the linguistic landscape of the country much more diverse and interesting.

KEYWORDS: linguistic landscape, Armenian, Russian, English, intercultural communication.

1. INTRODUCTION

The present study is devoted to the description and analysis of the linguistic landscape of Armenia during the period of 2022–2023 when, in connection with well-known events after February 24, 2022, the country had been flooded by relocants. This terminology mainly refers to people who come from Russia to Armenia. The situation in the country which itself was in hard conditions because of ongoing war and blockade in Artsakh, the native Armenian land, has changed abruptly due to relocation, which was accompanied by widely spread Russian language and which, in its turn, has led to the transformation of the linguistic landscape. The description of this practically new linguistic landscape, which has changed abruptly and rapidly is a task of utmost importance and current

interest from the point of view of revealing the sociocultural changes that take place in society, as well as deeper understanding of intercultural communication. In the light of what has been said the novelty, and the urgency of the given study can be stated.

2. LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPES IN ARMENIA

Before moving on to our analysis it is necessary to clarify vital facts. Armenia has always been a monoethnic country with more than 98% of Armenian population. During the Soviet Union, the majority of the population were bilinguals who spoke Russian almost as well as their native Armenian. After the collapse of the USSR the language situation has changed: the younger generation speaks Russian much worse, instead they have a good command of English, which can be explained by numerous factors. Yet, Russian is still popular in Armenia, and this is one of the important reasons for the Russian-speaking relocants to move to Armenia. In addition, it should be clarified that when speaking about the linguistic landscape of modern Armenia as, for instance in Henzelmann (2023), we mostly speak the country's capital Yerevan. In a state with a small territory, practically everything is concentrated there, in the country's heart.

In our research we rest on the following definitions of linguistic landscape: linguistic landscape, according to Landry and Bourhis (1997: 25) is defined as "the language of public road signs, advertising billboards, street names, place names, commercial shop signs, and public signs on government buildings... that can serve two basic functions: an informational function and a symbolic function". Gorter (2006: 2) speaks about any "use of language in its written form in the public sphere". Fedorova (2014: 70) defines the linguistic landscape as "the multiplicity of graphic and written signs and texts that are available to the observer in the public space". In her other work, giving the definition of linguistic landscape, Fedorova (2019: 94) puts forward a beautiful comparison: "The linguistic landscape can be presented as a sum of messages, an open book which the city tries to make clear not only for the 'friends' but also for the guests".

If we consider linguistic landscape in the frame of the theory of communication which is quite logical, then it is necessary to characterize the main elements of this kind of communicative acts, having in mind "the presentation of the social group of the author and the target addressee" (Fedorova 2014: 71). In our case the addresser is always the relocant, while the addressees are relocants (the "friends") and sometimes – the natives ("the foes"). Besides, as Keningi and Nikunlassi (2019: 66) mention quite correctly, "the perception of LL and the signs in it is greatly influenced by the reasons and goals of residing the observer in the given space, as

they predetermine the value of different signs for him". If linguistic landscape is considered in the context of intercultural communication, the problems of "friend and foe", of integration, adaptation and self-identification become crucial, too. It is important to mention that "the written language element is able to reflect the social positioning, the arrangement of political forces, the attitude toward the people in power, as well as different social and national groups. It also serves for their self-identification and self-representation" (Fedorova 2019: 90).

Our research is based on the empirical material, which we collected in 2022–2023 in downtown Yerevan using the method of taking photos. These photos were carefully evaluated, classified, and sorted before being prepared for this study. Therefore, classification, descriptive and analytical methods were used. All figures presented in this paper were taken by the author, unless otherwise specified. Before proceeding to the analysis itself, let us dwell on the key notion of the research – the "relocant".

Armenia today, in relocants' opinion, is the most hospitable and friendly country towards them. The guests from Russia who have arrived in Yerevan with a one-way ticket are called jokingly *emigrants*, *relocants*, *vacationers*, or also *new Russian Armenians* (Kireyev 2022). Putting aside the joking nominations "vacationers" and "new Russian Armenians" which by themselves carry great, though different semantic and pragmatic load, we must mention that in the dichotomy of the terms "emigrant-relocant" the neologism "relocant" spread very rapidly. Now instead of the term "emigration" the term "relocation" is used much more often in Armenia than the others. In a newspaper article entitled "We are not emigrants, we are relocants. How do the Russians who have left after February 24 live" we read: "Emigrants are those who are afraid of political persecution. But those people whom I've come across have another motivation. They have moved to wait out and do not feel as emigrants. They are rather relocants" (Fontanka.ru 2022).

The neologism "relocant" which has originated from the English "to relocate" – "to move (sb, sth) to, or build (sth) in, another place" (Hornby 1995: 1064), denotes a person who moves to a new place of residence, a new country, as rule, because of a job. Thus, a relocant is a person temporarily displaced to another country, mainly an employee who has, unlike emigrants, another motivation. The process of relocation relates to adaptation to new living conditions, new challenges and their overcoming, integration into new sociocultural environment and, undoubtedly, with desire to preserve national and cultural identity. To make this process easier, relocants have established places of location, meeting places where various events, such as exhibitions, performances, master-classes, educational courses, etc. take place.

We will now consider the names of several locations, which have become a part of linguistic landscape of Yerevan.

N1. **“Ковчег”** – an organization which helps relocants. The word itself implies an especially important meaning: a place offering shelter or protection. The name is written in Cyrillic script.

N2. **“Triglinki”** – a co-living where its founders who have moved from St. Petersburg organize a wide range of events: concerts, masterclasses, trainings, film screening, yoga classes, group therapy sessions and so on. The name written in Latin script, has originated from the address Glinka Street 3 in St. Petersburg where the co-living was first founded.

N3. **“Common Ground Books and Spirits”** – is a location for avid readers, where lectures and presentations of new books, as well as courses of folk dances are organized. The title is a word combination written in English.

N4. **“Letters and Numbers”** – is a place where painters and art lovers meet, drink wine and discuss high ideas, give lectures and educate themselves. It serves also as a coworking space. The name is represented by a word combination in English.

N5. **“Dom Yerevan”** – is a location for music lovers and music creators, also for needleworkers and craftsmen who make jewelry and decoration. The name is presented by a word combination which is a mixture of “friend” (Dom) and “foe” (Yerevan) and where the Russian word is written in Latin script.

N6. **“Ari”** – a stand-up club. The name written in Latin alphabet presents an Armenian word “արի”, to be more precise, the imperative form of the verb “գալ” meaning “to come”. As the founders of the club say, it is called “Ari” because on the parking of the building where one of their stand-up comics live, when helping to park the car, people used to say “ari-ari”, so they decided that it is a nice name.

N7. **“ПЭУ”** – a meeting place for relocants and the locals.

This abbreviation stands for “Embassy of Aesthetic Pleasures” (russ. *Посольство Эстетических Удовольствий*). There is an ironic allusion to the topic of real embassies in the title. The “ПЭУ” project puts forward the idea of virtual citizenship, the ideas of equality and tolerance. Their goal is to promote in the world up-to-date gastronomic and event culture. On the territory of “ПЭУ” there is a garden with terraces, cafes and bars where also the locals work and relax (Media Max 2022). To show their respect to the Armenian culture, the founders of ПЭУ installed a traditional Armenian pulpulak (a realia, a traditional Armenian drinking fountain).

N8. **“Tuf”, “Түф”, “Tuf Club”** – a multifunctional café-bar. This is one of the first institutions established by relocants, where one can also hear the Armenian language. “TUF” is a fashionable club-café right in the centre of Yerevan, which has become a favourite place both for the relocants and the locals. Tuf is an Armenian “national” stone of pinkish colour Yerevan has been revetted with, which is

why it is often called “the pink city”. The order of how the title is written is worth mentioning: first, the Armenian word is written in capital letters transliterated in Latin alphabet, then the name is written in Cyrillic, consequently – in Latin alphabet. Inside the bar there is a slogan “Туф-туф-туф-тыш”. The owners of “TUF” decided to make “something familiar, something that was in Moscow”, and they explain the choice of the word “туф” as the name for their cafe, saying that in their opinion it is an “Armenian and warm, like a sunbaked stone” (Virabov 2022). It is a good example of integration and combination of “friend and foe”.

N9. **“Aysi”** – a beer bar where the locals like to be as well. This beer bar situated in the outskirts of Kond, one of the oldest and very atmospheric part of Yerevan, was established by the founders of the bar “Сосна и липа” in Moscow. Because many of their regular clients moved to Armenia, they have decided to establish a bar for them in Yerevan, too, and have brought with them recipes of liquors using also Armenian fruit: apricots, peaches, figs and so on. The name “Aysi” (meaning “garden” in Armenian and written in Latin alphabet) the founders of the bar explain as follows. Moscow’s “Сосна и липа” is often called “beer garden”. So, they thought, it is also a beer garden, but the name “Garejur aygi” (“Beer Garden” in Armenian) seemed strange for them, and they left only “Aysi”. The owners of the bar wanted very much that it would be a place for the locals as well, and they are very glad that the Armenians like to go there (Avetisyan n.d.).

N10. **“Korridorrr”** – a bar where the Russians and the locals relax. There is doubling and even tripling of the consonant “r” in the Russian word written in Latin alphabet, and this conscious distortion of a word aims at attracting attention.

N11. **“Mama Jan”** – bar. The name of this bar established by Russian relocants contains Armenian loving form of address and exclamation “jan” (“ջան”), which indicates reference to the Armenian culture, the desire to come closer to it.

N12. **Кофейня “Աստղիկ” (Звездочка)**. The owner of the coffee house (by the way, there were only cafes (кафе) before, “coffee house” – “кофейня” is a word that has been penetrated with relocation) is a Russian relocant from St. Petersburg. In his words, from the very beginning an Armenian word to name the coffee-house was chosen, as he positioned himself from the point of view of life in Armenia and realized that being a guest, he must adapt to new conditions. He suggested the translation of the word “Звездочка” because that is how he calls his wife (Melikyan n.d.). In the beginning a new word for the linguistic landscape of Armenia is indicated (as mentioned above) – the Russian word “кофейня”, then comes the Armenian word which is followed by its translation into Russian (in brackets).

N13. **Կոնժարան. Пельменная БОРЩ/Рюмочная. Пельменная БОРИЩ**. A Russian-Ukrainian restaurant that locals also frequently visit. In the name which is stated parallelly in Armenian (in the left-side) and in Russian (in the

right-side), the main dishes of Russian and Ukrainian cuisines are denoted. The word “борщ” (*borshch*) itself is written in capital letters under the corresponding parts of the text where the character of the restaurant is mentioned, in the Armenian part it is transcribed.

N14. **Рюмочная “Дружба”**. This drinking place “rumochnaia” is very popular among relocants who have moved from Russia, Ukraine and Belarus. The title is incredibly significant from the point of view of its semantics. It should be mentioned that there have always been many restaurants, cafes and bars in Armenia mainly in Yerevan, which the locals like to visit. Yet, the relocants have introduced into this business their own new colours, in particular a trend for the so-called “rumochnaias”. “Today we, the new Russian emigrants reveal Russian “rumochnaias” for Armenia”, – says one of the founders. They have found out that there is no equivalent to the word “рюмка” (glass, wine glass) in the Armenian language, and now either in joke, or seriously they want to ask the specialists of Armenian language working at the Institute of Linguistics of the National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Armenia to create a word for it (Svyazka 2023).

In the mentioned above drinking and eating establishments relocants and locals visit equally often. Yet, in Yerevan, there are “purely relocant” establishments that do not conceal that they are intended for “friends” and for themselves, meaning that they are not going to integrate into the local life. As a bright example can serve the name of the bar:

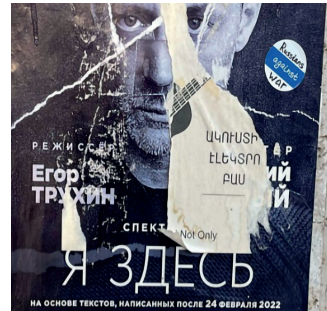
N15. **“Релокантъ”**. The name is very eloquent, speaking for itself. To attract attention, it is spelled the old way by means of imitation of the archaic name.

Let us now pass on to the consideration of the new outdoor advertising: banners, posters, ads, slogans and inscriptions that have appeared as the result of relocation. In Yerevan, and especially in its centre, there are a vast number of posters on the walls of buildings. Even more can be seen on every vertical surface. The key words and expressions on such posters are “relocation” and connected with it search of work and colleagues, as in the new conditions of relocation the necessity to be based on their usual values – family, professional and national-cultural identity, belonging to their group, as well as various interests is increasing. It should be mentioned that, at the same time there is a group of “passive” relocants in Yerevan – these are IT specialists who continue to live as before, working remotely and not trying to integrate into the new life. Created to help relocants navigate the city, the “UpTown Ереван” project features posters that point out “where they can find Moscow in Yerevan”, like “Places of IT specialists in Yerevan”, “Where to drink coffee”, etc. Below, we will highlight the most vivid posters from our material, which are grouped according to their subject.

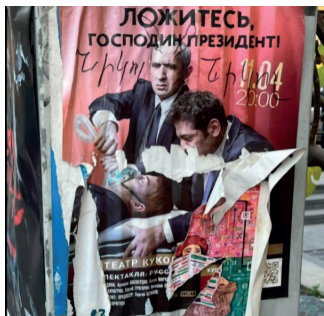
Posters about cultural events and activities



N16. Concert poster
Source: own study.



N17. There is additional information about the political character of the performance in the text, the title is written in capital letters and is emphasized, using a large font
Source: own study.



N18. There are playbills put up everywhere in the city. These are posters about Sergey Tselikov's comedy performance based on Oksana Nekritsova's play
Source: own study.

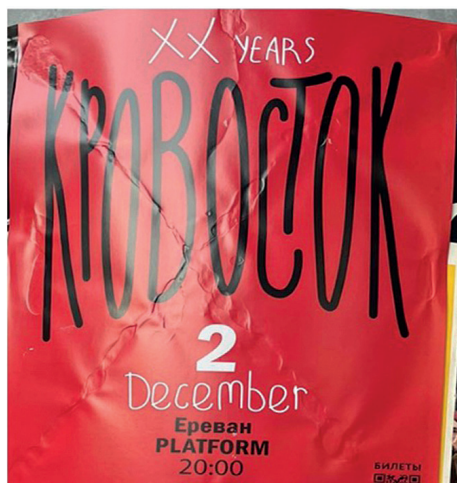


N19. A poster for a comedy featuring award-winning actors from the Soviet era
Source: own study.



N20. "Minsk" – a film about protests in Belarus by Boris Guts
Source: own study.

On the posters, which can be found all around the city, there is additional information about the provocative, very emotional character of the film.



N21. All these posters and playbills are exclusively in Russian

Source: own study.



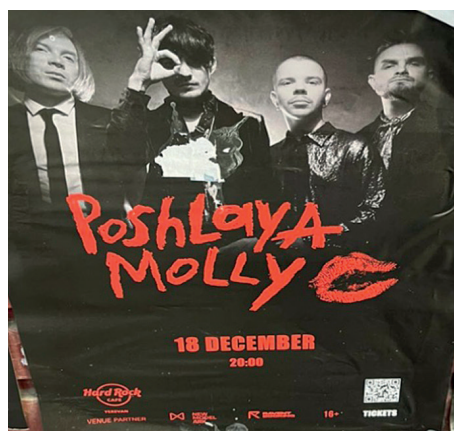
N22. This is an example of a poster which combines information written in Russian (first) and a Russian expression presented in Latin alphabet

Source: own study.



N23. An English-language poster featuring a colour-based semiotic contrasting

Source: own study.



N24. The poster is particularly striking due to its visual composition: vibrant red typography set against a black background is paired with an image of the actors to complement the verbal information. The latter is written in Latin letters, and the graphical presentation (combination of capital and lowercase letters) gives the possibility of multiple interpretation

Source: own study.

Posters informing on drinking establishments

Turning now to the category of drinking establishments, several posters stood out in the linguistic landscape of Yerevan.



N25. The whole poster is written in Russian, the text contains an additional information on the character of the establishment, its atmosphere, the closing time and, of course, first of all, it mentions that it is the first establishment of its kind in Armenia (more in detail about the drinking place was written above). The size of the font is capital letters

Source: own study.



N26. On the poster about this coffee-house (which was described in detail above) the verbal information is accompanied with a picture: a flared star on top of Ararat is depicted – and in this we are inclined to see not only the expression of respect and gratitude to the country that has given the relocants the possibility of residence (though temporarily), but also the expression of hope that the light will flash across Armenia again and that Ararat – the main symbol of the country, will become Armenian, as before

Source: own study.

Another key theme in the urban landscape involves posters with political messages.



N27. The meaning of this text is strengthened not only due to its composition (both parts of the well-known saying are written in a column, which intensifies the idea of opposition and the direction of movement to the goal, to the light) and graphical manifestation (everything is written in capital letters), but also deliberately chosen colour of the letters (the first part is printed in black, which symbolizes dark forces, gloom, and the last part – in blue which is associated with peace, harmony, truth and revival)

Source: own study.



N29. The meaning of complete hopelessness, despair and uncertainty is expressed in the text by means of antonymic use of the word "home"

Source: own study.



N28. The Russian text is accompanied by a line after line translation into English. The meaning of verbal appeal for help is intensified non-verbally – by depicting the flags of Artsakh, the ancestral Armenian land, and of Ukraine – in the form of hearts

Source: own study.



N30. Чем эта ночь отличается от других
Что страшного происходит прямо сейчас
Мама, зачем ты дрожишь? Как ты смеешь дрожать?

Почему я не там, где ты?

The gloomy text sentiment is created due to the use of the lexemes "terrible", "tremble", "hurt", "death" (translated from Russian). Additionally to the text, a picture of a bird and a QR-code can be observed

Source: own study.

Finally, let us consider the slogans of the “Ковчег” organization, which was mentioned in the previous paragraph.



N31. A set of Slogans to the “Ковчег”

Source: own study.



N32. In these examples only Russian text can be observed. Nonetheless, the scriptures are not short in meaning

Source: own study.



N33. On the sticker inscription there is an allusion to the famous novel “1984” by George Orwell. This laconic but meaningful hybrid text consists, apart from the verbal constituent, of figures and Latin abbreviation

Source: own study.



N34. In contrary to the previous figure, here we can detect non-verbal text, which depicts the scene from the ballet “The Swan Lake”.

There is an allusion to the well-known events as a symbol of a pivotal moment and great upheaval in the country

Source: own study.

3. CONCLUSION

Our analysis has led us to the following conclusions of linguistic, intercultural, and glottodidactic character:

1. From the viewpoint of the vocabulary, in the onimization of appellatives there are words that have very important semantic load for the relocants: “Ковчег”, “Релокантъ”, “Korridorrr” (reference to their situation), “Дружба”, “Dom Yerevan”, “Mama Jan” (indication to the main values), “Աստղիկ” [Звездочка] – indication to light. There are also realia in the names, both Russian (“БОИЦ”, “рюмочная”, “кофейня”), and Armenian (“TUF”, “Կփ”). In addition, neologisms (“релокант”, “ПЭУ”, “Triglinki”) were created.
2. There have been cases of translation: “Aygi” (the Armenian equivalent for “сад” – garden) and “Աստղիկ” (the Armenian translation of “Звездочка” – star).
3. What concerns the use of parts of speech, there has been a unique case of usage of a verb in the name (the verb “գալ” in the imperative mood: “Արի” – “Ari”) with nouns dominating. Many word combinations have been detected as well. Examples for these are: “Common Ground Books and Spirits”, “Letters and Numbers”, “Dom Yerevan”, “Mama jan”.
4. A case of abbreviation has been defined: “ПЭУ” – “Посольство эстетических удовольствий” (engl. Embassy of Aesthetic Pleasures).
5. What concerns spelling, there has been a case of distortion of a word (“Korridorrr”), as well as of old spelling (“Релоконтъ”).
6. From the point of view of script usage, both Latin alphabet and Cyrillic were incorporated. The following inscriptions can only be found in Cyrillic: “Ковчег”, “ПЭУ”, “Дружба”, “Релокантъ”, posters and ads “Места айтишников в Ереване”, “Где пить кофе в Ереване”, “Ложитесь, господин президент”, “Кровосток”, “ЧЕРЕЗ ТЕРНИИ /к/ ЗВЕЗДОЧКАМ”, etc. Exclusively Latin-based signage is evident in: “Triglinki”, “Common Ground Books and Spirits”, “Letters and Numbers”, “Dom Yerevan”, “Ari”, “Aygi”, “Korridorrr”, “Mama jan”, “Vinil Selection /by/ Petr Prokhorov”. In this group there is a name with transliteration of a Russian word (“Dom”), as well as Armenian words (“Ari”, “Aygi”, “Jan”).
7. In terms of language didactics, linguistic landscapes of this type can be seen as an active field of learning, which depicts multilingualism as a relevant tool for different cultural communities. The inscriptions examined offer authentic and realistic language use, in our study the use of Russian in Armenia. We conclude that this material can be used to ex-

perience vibrant multilingualism in public spaces. It promotes language awareness and highlights the relevance of learning a foreign or second language, as it exists not only in distant places, but also in the viewer's familiar environment. Vocabulary acquisition, access to Russian as an important language, and intercultural skills are stressed and strengthened in a sustainable manner for both a local audience and relocants.

8. The most interesting cases of linguistic landscape are undoubtedly hybrid, multimodal texts. These texts are particularly complex in their linguistic arrangement and the way they employ translation or transliteration: colour and picture use, in a word, – mixture and combination of different semiotic codes. Among such cases we have singled out distinct types. These are, in particular,
 - a) an interplay of picture, colour, verbal information, the Russian word written in Latin letters, a combination of capital and lowercase letters in a word (example N24),
 - b) a Russian text combined with a picture (examples N26, N32),
 - c) a text written in capital letters in a column combined with colour (example N27),
 - d) a Russian text presented in parallel (line after line) translation into English paired with pictures (example N30),
 - e) a fusion of verbal information in Russian, figures and Latin abbreviation (example N33),
 - f) a combination of Russian expression with Russian words written in Latin letters (example N22),
 - g) a specific notational sequence: an Armenian word in capital letters transliterated into Latin, followed by Cyrillic, and finally in Latin script (example N8),
 - h) the name in Armenian followed by its Russian translation in brackets (example N12),
 - i) parallel notation in large font of a transcribed Russian word into Armenian on the left-side and in Russian on the right-side (example N13),
 - j) the co-occurrence of a verbal constituent with a picture (example N29),
 - k) a purely visual composition consisting of an image only (example N34),
 - l) finally, additional details that specify the main information (examples N17, 20, 25).
9. The study shows that in the considered above texts mainly two languages are used: Russian and English. In rare cases Armenian is also present. The addressees of the texts in Russian, written in Cyrillic script, are pri-

marily relocants. These texts concern themselves purely with “relocant” establishments (“Ковчег”, “Релокантъ”, etc.) and posters with “relocant” orientation (e.g. “Места айтишников в Ереване”, “ЧЕРЕЗ ТЕРНИИ /к/ ЗВЕЗДОЧКАМ”). There are much more texts in English or in Latin letters, the addressees of which are both “the friends” and “the foes”, which speaks about the openness of the relocants and their desire to adapt and integrate into their new reality of life. This manifests much more vividly in the texts combining “friend” and “foe” (“Dom Yerevan”, “TUF (Түф)”, “Мама Jan”, “Աստիսիկ [Звездочка]”, etc.). Moreover, it is also observable in other cases – by using only Armenian words in the names written in Latin letters (“Ari”, “Ayi”).

To summarize, it is important to mention that relocants have introduced into Armenia a new, mostly gastronomic, and “advanced” youth culture, which also has an effect on the linguistic landscapes of Armenia. The influx has transformed the public space into a more diverse and vibrant environment. Not only does this shift change the aesthetic of the streets, it also serves as a reflection of a society in transition. This transition is immediately felt by the younger generation, whose daily interactions are shaped by these new linguistic realities. Consequently, these changes inevitably find their way into the educational sphere, as schools and universities must respond to the evolving communicative environment of their students. By integrating these real-world observations into the curriculum, educators can tap into the lived experience of learners, making the city itself a primary source of knowledge. As Gorter (2013: 203) puts it: “The attention to the linguistic landscape in an educational context provides a promising way to teach about language awareness and literacy practices”.

Beyond its general educational value, incorporating the linguistic landscape into classroom practice carries a significant inclusive potential. As the relocant community settles, their children will increasingly be entering the Armenian school system. For these students, seeing their native linguistic and cultural markers reflected in the curriculum provides a sense of visibility and validation within their new environment. Simultaneously, for local students, engaging with these diverse signs fosters not only linguistic awareness but also a deeper human understanding of their peers’ backgrounds. This shared exploration of the urban space promotes an atmosphere of mutual respect, effectively turning the linguistic landscape into a bridge for social integration and intercultural empathy.

Ultimately, the posters found in Yerevan’s streets are more than just advertisements for new cafes and leisurely activities. They are practical examples of how language is changing right now. Using these materials in class helps students to not only understand different languages better but also to connect

with the people behind them, turning a simple poster into a starting point for real intercultural conversation.

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**Krajobrazy językowe współczesnej Armenii.
Śladami rosyjskojęzycznych przesiedleńców**

ABSTRAKT. Celem artykułu jest analiza krajobrazu językowego Armenii w latach 2022–2023, kiedy to kraj ten został zalany przez rosyjskojęzycznych przesiedleńców. Badania opierają się na materiałach fotograficznych zebranych w stolicy kraju. Dodatkowo zastosowano metody klasyfikacyjne, opisowe i analityczne. Zebrane teksty analizowane są pod kątem słownictwa, semantyki, gramatyki, użycia pisma i tłumaczenia. Wykazano, że najciekawszymi przypadkami krajobrazu językowego są teksty multimodalne, które przedstawiają mieszaną i połączenie różnych kodów semiotycznych. Analiza pokazuje, że w zależności od adresatów w tekstach używa się języka rosyjskiego i angielskiego (w rzadkich przypadkach również ormiańskiego). Wykazano również, że osoby, które przeniosły się do Armenii, wprowadziły do tego kraju nową, głównie gastronomiczną i „zaawansowaną” kulturę młodzieżową, która z kolei sprawiła, że krajobraz językowy kraju stał się znacznie bardziej zróżnicowany.

SŁOWA KLUCZOWE: krajobraz językowy, język ormiański, język rosyjski, język angielski, komunikacja interkulturowa.

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