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Abstracts

Bash.org.ru: A Treasury of New Linguistic and Cultural Phenomena

Alexander Berdichevsky, University of Bergen

This paper is a brief presentation of the project I hope to pursue as a PhD student in the “Future of Russian” project. I am going to perform a multidisciplinary investigation of the linguistic and cultural features of the community formed on the website *bash.org.ru* (BOR).

BOR is a website where funny quotations from real conversations in ICQ, IRC and other instant messengers are posted by users. Being one of the most popular Russian websites, BOR is certainly a fine example of “Russian on the Internet.” It is a unique collection of excerpts from everyday conversations, which otherwise would be hard to gather. IT-slang, different youth slangs, *iazyk padonkov* and other marginal idioms of the Russian language are widely used. From the point of view of a linguist, the most interesting class of phenomena that may be observed on BOR are those related to the weakening of the norm.

BOR visitors, though most of them ignore the standard norm, are not indifferent towards the fate of Russian language. Some of them lament the common illiteracy. Some are prone to introspection and discuss the changes in the language they observe. Some regard norm as an important social marker.

<Trent_Reznor> <Ангулема> ну во-первых орфография пишется через и

<Ангулема> А кто ты такой, чтоб разговаривая с тобой, я писла правельно?

All of them are in the vice of the least effort principle: they want to communicate as fast as possible, but they still want to understand each other easily. Thus, some norm violations are tolerated, some are not. Actually, new tacit conventions about what one can and cannot do are being developed.

Катя у тебя есть решения по математике

Bush спасибо, я знаю.

Катя я тебя спрашиваю?

Bush ты меня спрашиваешь?

New expressive means are constantly being created by Internet users, and many may be found on *вор*. Cf:

bashenko: (у меня все спят уже)

maria: а ты чего в скобках пишешь?

bashenko: (чтобы не разбудить)

maria: шепотом чтоли?

Sometimes these new means lead to the emergence of new linguistic phenomena. An outstanding one is a change of noun gender caused by orthographical changes, viz. by *язык padonkov*. Nouns of feminine gender are spelt with final *o* instead of atonic *a*. Surprisingly, it makes them change their morphological gender to neuter: *мое деvушко, могило сырое, горнолыжное каско* etc.

вор is also a very popular trend of “The Russian Literary Internet.” We are witnessing a birth and rapid development of a new system of folklore. It has its own stereotypes, a stable set of heroes is already forming. Memes travel within *вор*, the most successful leave its limits and become inherent parts of the Russian Internet culture. The new technologies allow performing a unique research: to monitor the fate of these memes in a real time. One of the challenges might be to collect such memes, perform a quantitative analysis of their success and find out what factors affect this success.

The Evolution of Russian Literary Internet and the Tradition of Oral Folk Text

Andrey Esaulov, Moscow

Most of the research works on the topic of Internet literature emphasize the genetic bound between contemporary literary practices on the Internet and theoretical debates of different philological schools of the twentieth century. It is often stated that theoretical studies of structuralism and post-structuralism have finally found their realization in the new medium—the Internet. However, I would like to propose that the core poetical principles of the contemporary literary Internet—alterable, flexible, ever developing texts—are in fact based on the tradition of oral folk text.

To illustrate this statement I would like to sketch the form and function of the *Wikipedia—the free encyclopedia*. Following the practice that emerged from programmers' sphere called *open source*—where the source of a program can be used and changed by anyone—*Wikipedia* allows its users not only to read and reproduce information, but also to become a co-author and change every article at will. The concepts of final version or authorship are alien to the *Wikipedia*. As a folksong, once performed, it creates a certain impression on the recipient, listener/reader, who in turn can be an interpreter/author himself by re-writing the original text—no interpretation can be valued as final or correct.

Comparative Literature studies have documented and researched the influences of one text on another very well. I believe however that its methods cannot be directly used in the analysis of the modern literary Internet. If in traditional literature one can observe, document and research the influences of one text on the process of creating of another, the new internet culture, following the principles of oral text tradition, is in fact *not trying to form a new kind of a text* completely. On the contrary—every interpretation of the text is being seen as the same text—be it an article from the *Wikipedia* that was rewritten several minutes ago, or a contemporary Russian novel that is being written

by the group of authors simultaneously.

I will test this theory by analyzing the work of different literary groups inside of the biggest social community website in Russia—*www.vkontakte.ru*. My analysis will follow the methodology of Reception Studies, which assume that the examination of commentaries provided by friends, reviewers, or formal critic helps explain how and why the style, ideas, aims, or forms of a writer evolve. A number of literary groups within social networks presents a perfect opportunity to study the reader's responsive and modification of the author's purposes and aims. The sociological background of the readers is also available. The amount of personal information that the user/reader shares on the social network is enormous.

Gramota.ru: Language Monitoring, Folk Linguistics, and the Battle for Norms in the Russian New Media

Michael Gorham, University of Florida

Russian language mavens commonly look with disdain to the contemporary mass media as the main cause of what they perceive to be the pollution (*ogriaznenie*) or distortion (*iskazhenie*) of the “great and mighty” national tongue. From the infusion of vulgarity and foreign loans to the near viral spread of *olbanskii iazyk*, both old and new media have been tagged by many as a wholly negative influence on post-Soviet Russian language culture. This paper challenges this common assumption by examining one media-based response to the “linguistic lawlessness” (*iazykovoï bespredel*) that has come to be associated with the 1990s and early 2000s.

Since its inception in November 2000, the internet site “Russkii iazyk” (more commonly known by its web address, *Gramota.ru*) has marketed itself as a “portal” for the Russian language. With generous state funding, it has established itself as the premier online authority for issues in language usage, policy, and monitoring. In addition to serving as an interactive reference source for users with questions about proper usage, the project serves as a venue for scholarship, competitions, games, and a wide range of language-related news and discussions. Despite its widely recognized reputation as the go-to authority for all things language-related (underscored by its self-proclaimed status as “portal”), few have examined the extent or nature of such a resource’s actual influence. To what extent can *Gramota.ru* be seen as a successful player in the ongoing process of linguistic normalization? In what ways does its new-media based platform enhance its influence on contemporary language culture?

In this paper I provide some preliminary answers to these questions through an examination not only of the body of knowledge that constitutes the portal, but also of the individuals and institutions foremost involved in both the production and reception of that knowledge.

Given the pretense of interactivity of such a resource, I pay particular attention to “folk linguistics” and its role in both *Gramota.ru* and the broader debates over contemporary Russian language usage and norms.

The Pragmatics of Collecting Linguistic Evidence Online

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This paper presents critical reflections on my five-year experience of collecting/filtering/creating memes and other lexical, gestic, visual and phonic (acoustical) items in the LiveJournal.com. Comparing the very acts of collecting relevant data with historical and methodical prototypes (harvesting literary texts by Suida (tenth c.), folklore material by Dahl (nineteenth c.), media and other sources of the recent corpus lexicography, I argue that the new medium of the blogosphere implies some of the most archaic forms of dealing with words and signs, forms that I first made acquaintance with several decades ago, when studying the time of early literacy in Greece. It is not only a sort of coercive creativity, which may be as disgusting as the composition of mythical monsters (seen in the vase-painting as well as in the earliest epics of Homer and Hesiod).

Another pattern of collecting key-words of the blogosphere can be found in the philosophical etymologies based on the classical Greek tradition of *spoudaiogeloion*, a mixture of the serious and the comic. The traces of this mostly unrecognized tradition is still preventing many people from studying the blogosphere as an important and noteworthy subject of cultural anthropology and linguistics. However, new technical opportunities (as some e-mail-services promise—“you do not need to empty your bin any more”) create a menace of deluge, in other words, a break of communication because of the tremendous opulence of irrelevant words and virtual worlds.

Дискуссии о «советском»: русская блогосфера в поисках нового языка

Sergey Kuznetsov, Moscow

Последние пять лет русская блогосфера стала тем местом, где происходит постоянное обсуждение наиболее значимых и болезненных вопросов—от политических до гендерных и этических. Одной из причин этого явления стало «затухание» дискуссий в большом публичном пространстве (ТВ, газеты и тд). Один из постоянно всплывающих вопросов—восприятие «советского».

Мы попытаемся, на основе анализа нескольких дискуссий вокруг «советского», реконструировать основные позиции и идеологии. Обращает на себя внимание, что «советское» понимается не столько как «наследие», сколько как «опыт», то есть 70 лет советской истории воспринимаются как замкнутый период, слабо связанный с предшествующим и последующим. При этом «советское» воспринимается как целостный опыт, и попытка введения в современный обиход любых элементов «советского» воспринимается как попытка «реабилитации» всего периода в целом; это восприятие характерно как для критиков, так и для апологетов советского периода истории. Кроме того, можно заметить, что дискуссии о «советском» по-прежнему ведутся в терминах перестройки и начала девяностых, да и вообще—в рамках сформировавшихся еще тогда концепций. Хотелось бы поговорить о том, почему этот язык не работает сегодня, и о том, что может прийти ему на смену.

Russian Internet Culture and the Russian Literary Canon: On “The Fundamental Electronic Library of Russian Literature and Folklore”

Kåre Johan Mjør, University of Bergen

This paper addresses the relationship between Russian Internet culture as it emerged in the 1990s as a counter-cultural practice, and the more official projects that have later been initiated by the state in response. The Russian Internet of the 1990s was characterised by a total disregard of copyrights and a seemingly unlimited dissemination not only of new text but also of Classic Russian literature. When the “Fundamental Electronic Library of Russian Literature and Folklore” (www.feb-web.ru) was launched in 2002, its main purpose was not only to provide the users with a new online library consisting of reliable, scholarly editions of a traditional canon of texts and acclaimed commentary literature. It was also implicitly intended to counterweigh against the alleged “chaos” that had become characteristic of Internet publication of Russian literature. The texts provided in this portal represent a normative canon. In this respect, it may be seen as a parallel to the *The Russian Language* portal (www.gramota.ru), both of which have been created in the Putin era in order to reintroduce a set of norms.

In my paper, I will in particular focus on the principles of canonisation that are inherent in the Electronic Library’s “selective interpretation” (Dominick LaCapra’s term) of primary and secondary texts. What are its manifest and/or tacit notions of Russian literature? Does it merely reflect a traditional canon or does this digitalisation stimulate new processes of canonisation as well? With this paper I hope to contribute to a further discussion of the relationship between official and unofficial cultural tendencies and strategies in Russian Internet culture today.

“Pushkin Places” on RuNet

Catherine Nepomnyashchy, Columbia University

“Pushkin places” (*pushkinskie mesta*) have long been a staple of the Pushkin cult in Russia. Virtual “Pushkin places,” sites devoted to Pushkin and, in particular, sites devoted to actual geographical and architectural sites commemorating Pushkin’s life and works (including, for instance, the Lyceum at Tsarskoe Selo, Pushkin’s apartment on the Arbat in Moscow, Pushkin’s estate in Mikhailovskoe, the Petersburg apartment in which Pushkin died) serve as especially good starting points for studying intersections between the virtual topography of the internet, the mapping of Pushkin in “real” time and space, and the imaginary geography of Pushkin as culture hero. Of particular interest in this study will be the question of what I will term “cultural inertia,” that is, the tendency to mimic traditional forms of memorialization rather than exploiting the new possibilities the technology of the internet makes possible. Taking Pushkin internet sites as my point of departure, I will endeavor to “map” Pushkin’s presence as a cultural marker in blogs. Again, my primary goal here will be to use the representation of Pushkin on RuNet as a means of examining how the internet challenges or reinforces longstanding, conventional cultural images and allegiances. In line with the topic of this conference, my paper will pay particular attention to questions of how “cultural inertia” is expressed in language and how the language of virtual Pushkin sites and blogs replicates or subverts the formulaic language of the Pushkin cult.

East Slavonic Languages and the Latin Alphabet in the Era of New Technology

Martin Paulsen, University of Bergen

This paper will give a presentation of the research project I intend to conduct within the framework of the “Future of Russian” project. I propose to study how the increase in computer-mediated communication has challenged the position of the Cyrillic alphabet as the code for writing Belarusian, Russian and Ukrainian. To achieve this I shall explore how and why new technology has made the Latin alphabet more relevant for the users of the East Slavonic languages (the technological aspect), what characterises Latin-based writing used for these languages (the linguistic aspect), as well as the reactions to this development (the metalinguistic aspect).

In order to clarify the approach I plan for my research project and to show the wide scope of material, I will use this opportunity to present short examples connected with each of the three aspects identified above. First I shall present a discussion on the “Seelangs” electronic mailing list for slavists about the use of Cyrillic writing in emails and use this discussion as an example to investigate some technological obstacles to using the Cyrillic alphabet in computer-mediated communication. Second, I shall present the case of the Belarusian movement for promotion of the Latin alphabet, organised around the web site *lacinka.org* and the LiveJournal community *Bielaruskaja lacinka*, in order to illuminate the linguistic aspect and the various opportunities available for using the Latin alphabet for writing in the East Slavonic languages. Third, I plan to present the regulations set for writing on the forum of the web site *torrents.ru*, and use this example to discuss the metalinguistic aspect of my project.

A New Intimacy? Authorial Self-Image and Reader Contact on Russian Writers' Websites

Tine Roesen, Copenhagen

The Internet has become the new electronic hearth, allowing readers, fans, and writers to communicate at a previously unimaginable level of intimacy.

J. Michael Straczynski

In this paper my general interest is the cybercultural self-staging of contemporary Russian writers. Concentrating on the official websites of six widely read authors—Vladimir Sorokin (b. 1955), Boris Akunin (b. 1956), Aleksei Slapovsky (b. 1957), Aleksandra Marinina (b. 1957), Oksana Robski (b. 1968), and Aleksei Ivanov (b. 1969)—I will characterise and compare the virtual presence of the author on his/her site; the biographic and bibliographic presentations and their relative weight; references to the artistic process and to the buyable book; and, last but not least, the form and degree of interface interactivity offered to the users, i.e. the readers-cum-customers.

My particular interest is to explore the interface of these websites as expressions of the individual author's attempt to master and delimit this new form of computer-mediated interaction between the artist and society. A completely new intimacy is possible, born from the participants' coexistence in virtual reality and the resulting communicational immediacy. But while most of the websites in question feature forums or guest books, or link to the author's LiveJournal blog, the degrees of openness, activeness or, conversely, obvious reticence vary considerably. This variation may to some extent be explained by technical difficulties and habit, but I believe that it may also be related to the opposite camps in general discussions of the (globalised & democratic) blessings or (globalised & commercial) dangers of the World Wide Web (as exemplified by Lévy vs. Robins & Webster).

As regards the complexity of the literary work, in that it represents both a symbolic and a commercial value (cf. the art and the money as-

pect of symbolic goods, cf. Bourdieu), I wish to investigate specifically how and to what extent the delicate matter of money is introduced into the new cyber-“friendship” between the author and his readers.

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“The Right to Swear”: Linguistic Imperfection in Russian Literary Blogs

Ellen Rutten, University of Bergen

When Tat’iana Tolstaia started a literary blog in 2007 (*tanyant.livejournal.com*), her first post emphatically stated that the author claimed “the right to:—write with typos;—disobey all grammar rules if I feel like it;—swear.” That Tolstaia marks specifically her weblog as a space for linguistic imperfection is no coincidence. Russia’s widest-read literary blogs are consistently marked by stylistic and linguistic laconism. Rather than a result of authorial sloppiness, I purport that their apparent imperfection is in fact consciously and meticulously constructed. This paper zooms in on both Tolstaia’s blog and her social career in order to show how her desire to “make typos” and “swear” joins an international trend—one in which technological perfection sparks an artistic thirst for imperfection.

How Far is the West: The Old Meanings in the Age of New Technology

Lara Ryazanova-Clarke, University of Edinburgh

For the past three hundred years, the notion of ‘the West’ has been a cornerstone in the Russian view of themselves, a factor of both attraction and rejection. Vera Tolz calls the comparison with ‘the West’ “the most important ingredient of modern Russian identity” (2001:69).

The various portrayals of ‘the West’ continue to be debated and negotiated in the public discourse of contemporary Russia, demonstrating that in post-Soviet Russian, this category still functions as a constituent of the nation’s vision of self, a measurement of aspiration, or conversely, of self-loathing. The paper aims to explore the notion of запад in various contemporary discursive contexts and trace the discursive mechanisms of meaning construction and negotiation. The corpus semantics approach employs two computer-assisted tools: the Integrum database and corpus linguistics analysis software WordSmith5.

These allows to ascertain patterns of use of the noun запад and its derivatives across large corpora of texts, especially the lexical patterns that otherwise are not available to observers. Keeping in mind Michael Stubbs’ words that without the discussion of meaning descriptive statistics is deficient (1996:11), the meaning is placed in the centre of this corpus based study.

Two corpora were collected that represent the above two types of discourses produced from 2004 to 2008, i.e. during the second term of Vladimir Putin’s presidency. The dominant discourse is represented by the mainstream pro-governmental publication *Izvestia*. For the liberal-democratic counter-discourse, the data includes the media texts written in the same period by the oppositional journalist Iuliia Latynina. Included are her programme *Kod dostupa* on the “Echo of Moscow” radio station and her articles in the internet-only publications *Ezhenedel’nyi zhurnal* (2004), and the title’s successor, *Ezhednevnyi Zhurnal* (2005–2008).

The results of the investigation demonstrate that while certain el-

ements of the meanings attributed to ‘the West’ diverge significantly between the discourses in question, others are surprisingly common across the discourses. Both, the dominant and the oppositional discourse demonstrate evidence that they regard ‘the West’ as a single concept related to a uniform space and characterised by more or less uniform attributes of cultural, social, political, attitudinal and other fields. Moreover, in both types of discourse, the characteristics attributed to ‘the West’ seem to be used primarily to define Russia. This inextricable conceptual link is exemplified by the statistical finding that, excluding grammatical words, the geographical term Россия comes up in both types of data as the top most frequent collocate to the key words запад and западный.

Both discourses first and foremost construe ‘the West’ as ‘the Other’—the overwhelming percentage of instances, 80.4% in *Izvestiia* and 97.6% in Latynina’s text—make it a significant (and unexpected for the liberal discourse) reading.

Altogether, the liberal counter-discursive meanings of ‘the West’ carry on being defined within the broad, centuries-old Westernized tradition. Their semantic elements point to the interpretation that Russia needs to learn from ‘the West’, listen to the advice coming from there and adjust its practices and ways accordingly. The high proportion of the normative framing and the positive meaning attributed to ‘the West’ against which the Russian frame is often imbued with negative connotations, support the liberal pattern of language practice. The dominant discourse represented by *Izvestiia* displays more duality and complexity in the construction of ‘the West’. In an almost schizophrenic combination of attraction and repulsion, ‘the West’ emerges as an unreliable ‘other’, a place that needs to be constantly debunked for its spurious qualities, in general far inferior in comparison with those of Russia; but also a place of decency and standards to be aspired to and a model to be pursued by reluctant followers.

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Ludus and Paidia: Russian Literature on the Internet between Game and Play

Henrike Schmidt, Freie Universität Berlin

After nearly two decades of literary activities on the Internet, the question of genre classification has not been answered in any satisfactory way. How do technical, software-generated communication formats, such as hypertext or weblog, interact with traditional literary genre patterns? What is true for 'Digital Literary Studies' as a whole accounts for the literary 'segment' of RuNet as well. The divergence of literary practices and the ever-changing technical formats seem to contradict any effort to formulate precise definitions. Classification is nevertheless needed if we want to analyse not only isolated phenomena, but also evolutionary trends—'the overall picture', if I may venture to propose the existence of such a thing with regard to the overwhelming multiplicity of texts on the Internet.

Instead of using essentialist definitions of specific genres, in my presentation I intend to apply to the 'realities' of RuNet the more general distinction of *ludus* and *paidia*, of game and play as two types of creative activity on the Net, developed by Marie-Laure Ryan. Within this classification, *ludus* accounts for the joy of rule fulfilment while "the pleasures of *paidia* reside in the free play of the imagination" (Ryan). This distinction promises (hopefully) to be an appropriate approach that allows putting into relation such diverse (and seemingly contradictory) literary practices as, on the one hand, the strict poetic regulatory of the *tanketki* (<http://26.netslova.ru/>) and, on the other, the transfictional narrative expansions of net folklore.

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Pelevin-117.DIR

Dirk Uffelmann, University of Passau

Although reviewers have paid a lot of attention to Viktor Pelevin's usage of new media technologies, hardly any exhaustive attempt has been made to conceptualize the interconnection between his fiction and the actual technological level achieved (and practiced in Russia) at the time he wrote novels such as *Generation P (Homo Zapiens/Babylon, 1999)*. This paper intends to profit from Pelevin's way of addressing media technology in order to learn more about the temporal and logical order of technology and literature and to have a fresh look at theoretical concepts such as media determinism. In this respect, special attention will be paid to the short story *Sviatochnyi kiberpunk, ili rozhdestvenskaia noch'-117.dir (Christmas Cyberpunk or 'Christmas night-117.DIR')* which will be analyzed with reference to Derrida's negative salvation theory of "destinerrance" from his *Pas d'apocalypse, pas maintenant (à toute vitesse, sept missiles, sept missives) (No apocalypse, not now (full speed ahead, seven missiles, seven missives), 1995)*.

«Йа как всегда сижу скучакаю...»: языки самоописания подростков-блоггеров

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1. В культуре цифровых коммуникаций русский язык адаптируется к новым медиа: различные группы пользователей по-своему приспособливают лексику, орфографию, и саму идею грамотности к технологическим особенностям средств коммуникации. В их практиках можно увидеть ответы на запросы о конвенциональном—«правильном», «удобном», или «оригинальном»—языке, отличающем то или иное сообщество. Меняющаяся лингвистическая мода также сказывается на трансформации установок по отношению к своему текстовому поведению.

Для исследования того, как происходит адаптация русского языка к Интернет-коммуникации, рассмотрим тексты, которые производит одна из самых инновативных и динамичных групп—тинейджеры-блоггеры. Подростки, ведущие свои сетевые дневники, чувствительны к культурным и лингвистическим трендам. Они стремятся «быть в контакте» с актуальными тенденциями в использовании языка—создавая или копируя и распространяя нововведения, или отвергая их «во имя традиции» и нормы. Поэтому их тексты могут быть плодотворным источником для изучения того «будущего русского языка», которое формируется в настоящее время.

В центре внимания моего сообщения блоги 13–18-летних юзеров, размещенные на ресурсах *www.livejournal.com*, *www.diary.ru* и *www.liveinternet.ru*. Их авторы не образуют единого сообщества, принадлежат к разным социокультурным группам. Попавшие в выборку дневники различаются по содержанию, стилю, речевому поведению, по отношению к языковой норме. Тем не менее, представляется возможным выделить некоторые черты, характеризующие способы использования русского языка нынешними подростками.

2. Как подростки пишут о себе в виртуальных дневниках?

Виртуальная личность—автор со своим узнаваемым или почти неотличимым от других стилем письма и манерой комментирования—создается в вербальных и визуальных текстах блоггеров. Язык служит основным средством самоидентификации пишущего. Автор он-лайнowego дневника использует язык не только для передачи смыслов, но для представления себя другим, распознавания «своих» и «чужих». Тезаурус, стиль, грамотность функционируют в качестве маркеров принадлежности к той или иной социокультурной группе. С их помощью блоггер соотносит свою виртуальную личность с определенными социальными образами, типажам и ролями, и, в то же время, указывает на свою нетождественность «всем остальным».

Языки самоописания тинейджеров в блогах разнообразны: это отвечает множественности социального состава пользователей, их интересов, установок, стилей жизни.

Одна из общих черт, определяющих облик дневника,—самоопределение пишущего по отношению к «правильности» речи, грамотности. Писать на правильном русском в блоге, или использовать ту или иную версию сленга, ненормативного, «модифицированного» языка—это выбор пользователя, сообщение о его идентичности. Такой выбор может быть осознанным, но часто совершается нерелексивно, в соответствии с тем, как его сделали «значимые другие»—друзья, представители того сообщества, с которым хотел бы себя соотносить тинейджер-блоггер.

Использование автором «обычного», творчески или подражательно измененного языка позволяет «френдам»-собеседникам приписать блоггеру ценностные установки, разделяемые группой. Поэтому в дневниках юзеров близких по виртуальному образу отмечается совпадение словарного состава, литературных формул, способов искажения лингвистической нормы.

В ряде дневников прослеживается забота о правильности языка. Чаще всего их авторы-старшие школьники, демонстрирующие «экспертное» знание русского, представляют себя в контексте

учебы, будущего поступления в вуз, карьеры. В текстах расставляются знаки, указывающие на умение автора грамотно писать, включаются результаты тестов с высокими оценками по русскому. Обыденные ситуации, характерные любовные драмы, lamentации об одиночестве описываются в таких дневниках при помощи сложных литературных конструкций, и т.п.

«Оборотная сторона» этого — акцент других юзеров на языке, который должен восприниматься взрослыми как социально неприемлемый. Пользователи-тинейджеры намеренно используют мат и сниженную лексику как стратегию представления собственного «эпатирующего» образа, противопоставленного ожиданиям социума.

В настоящее время можно говорить о постепенном уходе представлений об обязательности грамотности, о сосуществовании различных вариантов легитимного письма, не связанного диктатом правил, и о меняющихся «местах грамотности».

В дневниках части пользователей встречающаяся в избытке обсценная лексика и/или грамматические ошибки мыслятся как нечто абсолютно несущественное. Множество неисправляемых опечаток в записях указывает на приоритет подлинности переживания и скорости письма перед стилем: нужно писать так, как удобнее, и стараться минимизировать дистанцию между чувством и текстом. В такого рода блогах грамотность не рассматривается как понятие, необходимое для оценки языка. Значимый корпус лексики таких юзеров составляют слова, прошедшие «подгонку» под запросы Интернет-коммуникации.

Характерная черта блогов тинейджеров — эклектика языков самоописания, активное взаимодействие элементов разных дискурсов (языка анимэ, советского кино, классической поэзии, чувствительных девичьих рассказов, поп-музыки и прочее).

В изучаемых дневниках следует отметить большую роль экстралингвистических элементов. В представлении авторов, они не являются чем-то иным по отношению к словам: в блогах (особенно размещенных на ресурсах, поощряющих передачу визуальной ин-

формации) высока слитность графического оформления, шрифта, картинок и фотографий и текста. Язык пользователей перенимает правила визуальных компонентов текста и становится элементом дизайна.

Во многих дневниках подростков язык рассматривается как средство для творчества, открытое к модификациям. Его можно использовать как пластичную гибкую форму, из которой можно «вылепить» любой образ, передать более тонкие оттенки собственных состояний. Слова не ограничены «единственно-верными» приставками, корнями, суффиксами и окончаниями.

«Язык падонкаф», практически отсутствующий в блогах сегодняшних тинейджеров, легализовал возможность самовыражения через свободное изменение написания слова. Одновременно, как это происходило с «олбанским», в группах, где лексика и орфография активно трансформируются, большую роль начинают играть формулы, воспроизводимые из блога в блог.

В докладе эти сюжеты разбираются на примере девичьих дневников, где используются утрированно «милые» конструкции, сочетающие подчеркнутую приветливость, легкость и детскость.