



**UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM**

**A LINGUISTIC ETHNOGRAPHIC PERSPECTIVE ON
KAZAKHSTAN'S TRINITY OF LANGUAGES: LANGUAGE
IDEOLOGIES AND IDENTITIES IN A MULTILINGUAL
UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY**

by

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of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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ABSTRACT

A Linguistic Ethnographic Perspective on Kazakhstan's Trinity of Languages:

Language ideologies and identities in a multilingual university community

This thesis presents a linguistic ethnographic study of language ideologies and identities in a multilingual, university community in Kazakhstan: a university aspiring to put Kazakhstan's 'Trinity of Languages' project, aimed at developing societal tri-lingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English, into practice. Data was collected at a Kazakhstani university from 2012 to 2013, combining participant-observation and fieldnotes, audio recordings and interviews. Drawing on the concept of heteroglossia (Bakhtin 1981), the research investigates how young people draw on ideologies of separate and flexible multilingualism (Blackledge and Creese 2010) and on the often contested indexicalities of Kazakh, Russian and English linguistic resources to negotiate identities as multilingual people in Kazakhstan, particularly in contexts of performance, and stance-taking. Consideration of these ideological and linguistic resources also sheds light on Kazakhstan's wider 'processes of ideological transformation' (Smagulova 2008:195) and their real-life implications for multilingual people. Furthermore, the analysis highlights how participants construct stances towards translanguaging (Garcia 2009) and suggests that acts of contextualisation, which frame interactions as being more or less 'on-stage' or 'off-stage', shape the way that speakers draw on linguistic resources and their indexical meanings, and how these contexts can afford or constrain speaker agency in the negotiation of identities.

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TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

Features of Interaction:

1:	Turn number (from beginning of excerpt).
....	Pause.
?	Questioning intonation
!	Exclamatory statement
(text)	Extra-linguistic features or additional details about the context of interaction
[text]	Simultaneous utterances
xxx	Unclear. Unable to transcribe
< text >	English translation of utterance
< <i>italics</i> >	English translation of Russian language indexing linguistic resources
< bold >	English translation of Kazakh language indexing linguistic resources

In text, translations of Russian and Kazakh words have been transliterated using Latin script, in order to make the discussion more accessible to English language readers. These transliterations are given *in italics*. However, the Kazakh and Russian Cyrillic forms of words are also given in instances that refer to utterances in data, or where distinctions related orthography are meaningful to the discussion.

1 INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

A recent ‘trilingual’ tourism app, launched by Kazakhstan’s Ministry of Foreign Affairs to mark the country’s hosting of World EXPO 2017 (Dyussebekova 2016) names Kazakhstan ‘The Land of The Great Steppe’, conjuring up images of a vast territory of fertile, rolling grassland, that has been the persisting foundation of the Kazakh people and culture, from proud nomads to modern, multilingual nation state. Geographically, however, this vast Central Asian Nation is characterised as much by change and transformation, as by continuity: from the ever-shifting desert sands in the West, to the geologically complex and youthful Alatau mountain range, to the active, neo-tectonic fault lines that frequently shake the earthquake prone South (Lewis 1992). Even its capital city has been relocated in relatively recent years, moving from Almaty, to Astana in the North in 1998 (Dave 2007).

In terms of its linguistic landscape, Kazakhstan is also in the midst of a process of dramatic ideological transformation (Smagulova 2008. See also Pavlenko 2008, Dave 2007, 2004, Fierman 2006, Everett-Heath 2003, Shatz 2000). Officially, the Republic of Kazakhstan is a multi-ethnic and, multilingual state. Around 63% of its population is constituted by ethnic Kazakhs, 24% by ethnic Russian and the remainder by 119 other ethnic groups (Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2009). Although many ethnic groups have their own languages, the two official languages of Kazakh and Russian are by far the most commonly used. However, in 2007, President Nazarbayev introduced the ‘The Trinity of Languages Project’, the goal of which was to promote societal tri-lingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English for all Kazakhstani citizens (Nazarbayev 2007:52).

Previous scholarship has sought to identify aspects of Kazakhstan's linguistic and ideological patterns and shifts on a macro-social and political scale (Dave 2007, 2004, Smagulova 2008, Fierman 2006, Tastanbekova 2010). However, in my linguistic ethnography of one, multilingual Kazakhstani university community I respond to the call for further research into the interplay between wider social changes and the lived experiences of individual Kazakhstanis, in a way that acknowledges the agency and perspectives of local participants (Smagulova 2008, Wolczuk and Yemelianova 2008 and Shatz 2000).

In this introduction, I will provide a brief background to Kazakhstan and the relevance of multilingualism to this context, as well outlining the main aims and nature of the study. I will also discuss my own motivations and positionality, and highlight the relevance and significance of the research project. Finally, I will provide an outline of the thesis' structure.

1.2 Aims and nature of the study

Working within the methodological framework of linguistic ethnography and adopting a heteroglossic conceptual lens, this study aims to contribute to understandings of the meanings young Kazakhstani people attribute to, create and express through their multilingual, communicative repertoires. Furthermore, I seek to contribute to the body of scholarship regarding Kazakhstan, its languages, its people and its education. It is my intention that the findings and perspectives presented in this study may prove of value to researchers, educators and policy makers, both local and international, seeking a more nuanced understanding of how everyday life, ideas and identities are lived through the communicative repertoires of multilingual people.

My research was framed by the following questions:

- 1) How are language ideologies performed across contexts at a multilingual university in Kazakhstan?
- 2) How do multilingual individuals in this university use linguistic and ideological resources to negotiate identities?
- 3) How is agency afforded and constrained in performances of multilingual language ideologies and identities?

1.3 Researcher Background and Motivations: Why Kazakhstan? Why Multilingualism? Why me?

My interest in multilingualism and Kazakhstan has been significantly shaped by my own linguistic, personal, professional and academic trajectory – my own ‘history-in-person’ (Holland et al 1998). Coming from a post-industrial town in the West of Scotland, my upbringing was not one typically associated with multilingualism and diversity, and indeed, it was not until later in my life, that I came to appreciate how significant heteroglossic, linguistic resources were in my home community, where style-shifting (Shuck 2004), rather than translanguaging, across the blurred boundaries of Scots, standard English and accents, could have a profound role in shaping who you were seen to be, which ethnic, religious, geographical, political or class identities you could lay claim to, and the educational, economic and employment opportunities available to you. This awareness of language as a tangled and flexible resource galvanised my love for language and my interest in understanding its power both to liberate and constrain. This interest only deepened in later life when I became a teacher

of English as a foreign language, working in multilingual contexts such as Sri Lanka, Western China and even the UK, where the everyday practices and politics of language, learning and identity were interlaced in every aspect of my personal and professional life. The desire for a deeper understanding of these issues brought me to study for an MA in Teaching English as a Foreign Language at the University of Birmingham, where I was able to marry my personal and professional experiences of living and working across languages, with the tools and perspectives of a researcher.

My choice of Kazakhstan as the site for my research into multilingualism, ideology and identity comprises a number of dimensions. Firstly, there is a personal-historical dimension. While studying for my Masters, I became involved in a British Council cultural project, which aimed to connect universities in Kazakhstan with those in the UK. Through this project, I was given the opportunity to study the Kazakh language, participate in cultural events and to spend a month at Kazakh Scientific University (KSU - pseudonym), in Almaty improving my language skills and teaching some English language classes. This experience not only furthered my interest in the country, its languages and cultures, but also provided me with a valuable local network of teachers and friends, who ultimately were instrumental in helping me negotiate access to KSU for my research and for offering guidance and practical assistance throughout the research.

Proponents of linguistic ethnography often emphasise the importance of researching your own community, rather than travelling to far-flung places to discover the cultures of others (Rampton et al 2004). It might seem counter-intuitive therefore, for an English teacher from Scotland to choose Kazakhstan as the context for her research, but I see this rather differently. As I hope my description of my personal background shows, I consider myself more part of a trans-national community of language learning, rather than as rooted in any one place. This is a

globalised community, of economic, political and cultural flows of which KSU, its students and teachers are also part. Added to this, the three years I continued to live and work at KSU following my data collection, has made me feel it is a community of which I am a legitimate member, as one legitimate voice among many. In this way, linguistic ethnography has offered me a uniquely constructive means of trying to balance my own perspective with that of the research participants.

1.4 Researching Multilingualism in Kazakhstan

My time learning Kazakh and my visit to Almaty also highlighted the potential of Kazakhstani society as a fascinating context in which to study issues of language and identity. It is a relatively new nation, which only gained its independence in 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, and which, since the 1700s, had been under increasing ‘colonial-esque’ administration of the Tsarist Russian empire (Akiner 1995, Brill Olcott 1987). Yet the territory that now constitutes the Republic of Kazakhstan has existed at the crossroads of empires, cultures, trade-routes, languages and histories for thousands of years. It seemed to me that this ideological, cultural and linguistic complexity was as relevant today as it had even been, as Kazakhstan’s people rapidly negotiate and re-negotiate their relationships with their near Central-Asian neighbours, with global powers and flows and even with each other. Issues of language and identity seemed especially salient, not just at a political level, but in everyday life – from conversations overhead on the bus, to advertising billboards, to the educational practices of teachers and students. Looking to the research I found that others had noted that Central Asian contexts were a relatively under-researched and under-theorised context in Western academia (Pavlenko 2008) and that whilst a number of excellent studies existed on language

and identity in Kazakhstan (Smagulova 2008, Dave 2007 etc), the majority of these were of a historical, political-science or ‘macro’ scale sociolinguistic orientation, with less attention given to the ways that ideologies and identities of language were negotiated on a day-to-day basis by real Kazakhstani people. Indeed, researchers such as Smagulova (2008) and Schatz (2000) had particularly identified this as an area in need of further research.

While Kazakhstan does, of course, represent a unique cultural and historical context in which to research multilingualism in education and society, its contribution to this area of study does not only rest on it being relatively under-researched by Western academics. Beyond this, contemporary Kazakhstan also seemed to me, to be one that challenged many underlying assumptions that characterise language ideology and identity research in other contexts. For example, whilst sharing much in common with many post-colonial contexts, Kazakhstan’s orientation toward its historical relationship with Russian and Soviet Union still remains ambiguous and the extent to which this relationship is seen to be a colonial one is still widely contested (Dave 2007, Kissane 2005). In addition, while the aims and methods of language planning and educational programmes to promote Kazakh language are similar in many ways to instances of minority language revitalisation projects elsewhere, the extent to which ethnic Kazakhs and the Kazakh language can be perceived as ‘minority’ has changed dramatically throughout recent history, with the nation’s demographic make-up and shifting balance of power, first away from the titular Kazakh ethnicity under Soviet rule and then back again following independence (Yemelionova and Wolczuk 2008). Yemelionova and Wolczuk (2008) also point out that researching in post-Soviet contexts like Kazakhstan can present a number of conceptual challenges to the researcher, as taken for granted terms such as nationality, mother tongue and even ethnography itself can have very different meanings and connotations for those in linguistic contexts that have been shaped by Soviet ideology. All of these aspects highlight

the potential for research in an educational context in Kazakhstan, such as KSU to offer new perspectives on the processes and implications of language ideology and identity in multilingual societies, by bringing together traditionally disparate academic, linguistic and cultural worlds.

1.5 Structure of the Thesis

In this introduction, I have sought to provide some background to the context of Kazakhstan and its multilingual ideological landscape (this discussion will be extended in Chapter Two). I have also described my own relationship to the context and the study of multilingualism and argued for how my research contributes to existing scholarship on Kazakhstan, language ideology and identity.

In Chapter Two, I present my Literature Review, which is divided into three main sections. The first section establishes how the epistemological and heteroglossic (Bakhtin 1981) conceptual framework of the study underpins my understanding of language, languaging, multilingualism and agency, as well as detailing the theoretical concepts of language ideologies, linguistic identities and indexicality that were central to the inquiry. Then, in the second part of the chapter, I review existing research related to language ideology and identity in Kazakhstan. In the third section, I discuss the relevance of theories of performance (Bauman and Briggs 1990, Hymes 1974, 1996b, Goffman 1974, 1981), meta-discursive commentary (Rymes 2014, Silverstein 1993) and stance-taking (Jaffe 2009, 2015), in analysing the data from the KSU.

Chapter Three, Methodology, also covers three main areas. Firstly, I discuss linguistic ethnography as an approach and reflect on my experience of practicing it in a Kazakhstani, educational context. Secondly, I detail my research design, method and procedures. Thirdly, I describe my analysis and how the analytical lenses of performance and stance contributed to

this process. In the Methodology chapter, issues of ethics, transcription and translation are also discussed.

Data and analysis and discussion falls into two parts, spanning Chapter Four and Chapter Five of the thesis. Chapter Four considers how ideologies of multilingualism and linguistic identities are performed across three different ‘performance contexts’ at KSU. In particular, it explores how acts of contextualisation that frame interactions as being more or less ‘on-stage’ or ‘off-stage’ shaped the way that participants drew on linguistic resources and their indexical meanings, and how these contexts could afford or constrain speaker agency in the negotiation of identities. Chapter Five, considers the ways that individual speakers negotiate multilingual identities in more ‘off-stage’ performances: namely in meta-discursive commentary, during key participant interviews. It focusses on my in-depth discussions with four KSU students, in which, through their acts of stance-taking towards multilingualism and translanguaging, they negotiate positive multilingual identities for themselves and position others in relation to these ideologies. I examine in detail, the interactional ‘work’ these speakers engage in to ‘key’ (Goffman 1974) specific interpretations of the potentially ambiguous or contradictory indexicalities of the discursive resources they draw on in the construction of stances and identities.

In Chapter Six, I draw out significant themes from my analysis of data in performance and stance-taking contexts, into an overarching meta-discussion of four powerful ideologies of language that shaped the social and discursive context of KSU. I refer to these as ‘Separate Multilingualism and the Trinity of Languages’, ‘Kazakh as *Ana Tili*’, ‘Everyone speaks Russian’ and ‘English as a discursive space’. These emerged as undeniably significant to the way that participants negotiated their identities as multilingual people in Kazakhstan and as resources for stance-taking in respect to their own and others’ language practices. I argue that consideration of these dominant ideologies may also shed light on the wider processes of

Kazakhstan's 'ideological transformation' (Smagulova 2008) and their real-life implications for multilingual people.

Finally, in Chapter Seven, the Conclusion, I summarise and discuss the significance of the main findings of the study in relation to the research questions and its contribution to knowledge. I also highlight the implications of the research for education and future research, as well as for the Trinity of Languages Project in Kazakhstan.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This research explores issues of ideology and identity in relation to multilingualism in Kazakhstan and considers how these shape the lived experiences of members of the KSU community. However, Irvine and Gal (2000) point out that researchers too inevitably bring with them their own identities and ideologies – perspectives that contribute as much to the research as those of the researched community. In the Introduction Chapter, I described how my own identities and experiences influenced my research and so in this literature review I go on to detail the ideological, theoretical and conceptual tools on which I drew. Ortega (2005) emphasises the need for researchers to be explicit and conscious of the ways that their ideological perspectives and choices of interpretative frameworks shape their accounts.

In this chapter, I discuss how Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia underpinned the theoretical framework of my research, allowing the study to acknowledge the language practices, ideologies and identities of multilingual Kazakhstani speakers as heterogeneous, multiple, complex and dynamic. I believe that a heteroglossic lens offers a new perspective on Kazakhstani language practices. It aims to be sensitive to the in-flux, transformative nature of the language ideological landscape, by making the identity and agency of speakers as much a part of the analysis as wider social forces of culture, politics and power that have dominated in previous research. As the following chapters will demonstrate, this ideological perspective on language and identity conflicted at times with that of KSU community members, but nevertheless I would argue that it provided a productive basis from which to investigate the meanings and consequences of these differences.

Therefore, in the first part of the Literature Review, I outline the significance of this heteroglossic approach to the key concepts of language, multilingualism, agency, language ideologies and identities which guided the research. I will also discuss how the concept of indexicality offered a valuable means of gaining insight into the processes by which linguistic ideologies become associated with particular social identities and positions, and how these indexical links are constructed, reproduced, and challenged. In the second part of the chapter I consider the existing literature concerning language ideology and identity in Kazakhstan, how it helped contribute to my developing understandings of the community at KSU and the questions it raised. Finally, in the last part of the chapter I discuss how theories of performance and stance-taking contributed to understandings of the interactional contexts that formed the study's analytical focus.

2.2 A Heteroglossic Conceptual Framework

2.2.1 Language and Multilingualism as Heteroglossia

Contemporary Kazakhstan has been described as being “*in the midst of a language ideology transformation process*” (Smagulova 2008:195) and as such requires a perspective on language that takes the heterogeneity, mobility and flux of the social environment into account (Blommaert and Rampton 2011). Rather than taking a more traditional view of ‘Languages’ as discrete, bounded entities, each with an intrinsic underlying structure, this study focuses on how multilingual people use ‘linguistic resources’ to make meaning in specific social contexts (Jorgensen et al 2011:69). To this end, the concept of language as ‘heteroglossia’, developed from the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), provides a useful lens through which to understand

the socio-historical meanings and implications of language in use (Blackledge and Creese 2014). In contrast to focusing on countable 'Languages', like Kazakh, Russian and English, a heteroglossic approach to multilingualism views language as a social resource, from which speakers can draw on linguistic signs, from across 'official' Language boundaries in order to make meanings, both semantic and social (Rymes 2010, Blackledge and Creese 2014). This study therefore, is concerned primarily with 'linguaging' as a socially and ideologically suffused practice that both shapes and is shaped by its context, rather than with 'Languages' in the traditional, countable sense (Garcia and Leiva 2014).

Underpinning the concept of heteroglossia, is Bakhtin's understanding of 'language as dialogue': that language exists as a web of interconnectedness "that manifests itself in the constant and ceaseless creation and exchange of meaning" (Holquist 2002:40). As such, every utterance carries echoes of the social, historical and political forces that have shaped it (Bailey 2007), but also carries the power to shape the wider social context of the present and future, through its creative use and recontextualisation by individuals in novel ways (Bakhtin 1986). Whether in staged performances or personal interactions, it was in relation to existing, recognisable discourses and indexicalities of languages that members of the KSU community were able to make meanings and craft identities in relation to Kazakh, Russian, English and multilingualism. By creative combination and performance of these ideological resources they could contribute equally to reproducing or reshaping them. As Georgakopoulou (2005) discusses, Bakhtin's idea of heteroglossia helps researchers investigate how individuals can actively participate in reshaping ideologies of language. Furthermore, a heteroglossic view of language practices avoids equating certain sets of linguistic or cultural resources unproblematically with particular communities and underscores the importance of seeing

communities of language users as heterogeneous, fluid and fragmentary (Georgakopoulou 2005, Blommaert et al 2012).

Blackledge and Creese (2014) point out that while it can be useful to explore the contextually embedded meanings of 'Languages' as a social construct, to adopt them uncritically as an analytical lens with which to try and understand the fluid, complex language practices of multilingual people can be limiting and misleading. For that reason, the research explored individual's uses of 'linguistic resources', bearing in mind the way in which these resources are both socially and culturally embedded, and socially and culturally consequential (Blommaert 2006) and considered the 'language practices' of the KSU community, acknowledging that the shared meanings and values that make linguistic communication possible are not pre-existing, abstract 'truths', but 'norms' that are constructed through the process of interpretation between different social actors in particular situations (Pennycook 2010a:114).

Seen through this heteroglossic lens, communicative acts draw on linguistic resources with particular histories, which reference specific view points and lived experiences of the world (Bakhtin 1981). It is through combining resources in complementary, contradictory or interrelated ways that people are able to make meaning (Urban 2006). Inevitably, use of these heteroglossic resources by a range of actors, from across vastly different contexts means that linguistic encounters become filled with tensions and ambiguities, that allow a multiplicity of meanings, frames and voices to meet, co-exist and, sometimes rub uncomfortably against each other in interactions (Bakhtin 1981, Jaffe et al 2015). For example, Heller (2011), drawing on multiple ethnographic inquiries from 1978 until 2005, explores how discourses of Francophonisation in Canada are shaped by their historical, political and economic context, with consequences for how the values of French and English linguistic resources change over

time. She details for example, the everyday ‘language work’ that students at a Francophone school engage in to position themselves in relation to discourses of ‘national belonging’, ‘cultural and linguistic authenticity’ and ‘what counts as good French’. In the KSU community, these tensions were visible in the competing indexicalities related to being a speaker of Kazakh and/or Russian, shaped by cultural and social contexts of the Soviet past and the years since independence. For participants, these competing indexicalities both represented obstacles to be navigated around and resources between which they could negotiate alternative multilingual identities for themselves and others. A heteroglossic perspective on language-in-use allows the researcher to explore how these tensions contribute to meaning-making and the construction of social identities, rather than seeing them as a problem to be overcome or excluded in analysis (Bailey 2012:508, Ivanov 2001).

2.2.2 Translanguaging

Taking the perspective of language as heteroglossia, has particular implications for how communication is understood in multilingual settings like KSU. Acknowledgement that official, ‘Languages’ are ideologically constructed, rather than apriori, objective truths (Pennycook and Makoni 2007, Jorgensen and Moller 2014), allows the study to consider ways of heteroglossic languaging, in which conventional, linguistic boundaries are destabilized and traversed by multilingual speakers (Lin 2014, Low and Sarkar 2014). This flexible use of linguistic resources by multilingual speakers has been conceptualized by a number of authors as ‘translanguaging’ (Blackledge and Creese 2010, 2014, Garcia 2009, 2008, 2012, Garcia and Leiva 2014, García and Wei 2014, Wei 2011).

Translanguaging refers to bilingualism without diglossic functional separation (Garcia 2007: xiii) - acts of languaging both between and beyond linguistic systems that are normally ideologically constructed and described as separate (Garcia and Wei 2014). The term has been used to describe the myriad, multiple, discursive practices in which multilingual people engage in order to make sense of their multilingual worlds, in order to maximize communicative potential (Garcia 2009) to convey meaning, values, identities and relationships (Wei 2008). As Jorgensen and Moller (2014:73) observe, in multilingual contexts it is common for speakers to draw on features usually associated with a range of different languages in the same production, often inter-twining them in ways in which it is impossible to distinguish one 'Language' from the other. The concept of translanguaging takes this kind of flexible multilingualism as the norm, rather than relying on the assumption that mono-lingual practices represent some kind of unmarked, ideal form of communication (García, 2012: 1). Therefore, by adopting a translanguaging lens, this study seeks to understand the ways in which multilingual people at a Kazakhstani university draw on socially constructed linguistic resources spanning the bounded linguistic systems typically conceived of as Kazakh, Russian and English, not in the sense of some kind of synthesized practice, but from across their fluid yet cohesive, heteroglossic communicative repertoires (Garcia and Wei 2014).

However, translanguaging practices cannot simply be seen in purely linguistic terms, but must be understood in relation to the ways that multilingual people use their complex, semiotic repertoires 'to act, to know, and to be'. (Garcia and Wei 2014:137, also Baker 2011). As Li Wei (2011:1225) reminds us, multilingual people are social agents, and as such the flexible translingual practices they engage in, are not only produced by the social context in which they are embedded, but respond to the wider social world and can potentially transform it. It is this potential for transformation of hierarchies that position some language practices and identities

as more valuable than others, which distinguishes the concept of translanguaging from other theoretical perspectives on flexible multilingual practice (Garcia 2009, Garcia and Leiva 2014).

Li Wei (2008, 2011) describes how in interactionally created ‘translanguaging spaces’ - spaces for translanguaging and created through translanguaging – multilingual people are able to bring together disparate aspects of their identities, experiences and social context, thus allowing ‘fluid discourses to flow and to give possible voice to new social realities’ (Blackledge and Creese 2014:9, also Garcia 2009). The transformative potential of translanguaging means that, in translanguaging spaces, ideological and semiotic resources may meet and be combined in ways that can challenge the power of other hegemonic discourses, especially those of monolingualism, fixed language identities and the nation state, and allow alternative, complex forms of knowledge and experience to be created and articulated. (Garcia and Leiva 2014, Mignolo 2000, Garcia and Wei 2014). In KSU, translanguaging was not only common-place, but also vital to the everyday educational and social practices of the university’s community. Although widespread, ideologies that valued separate multilingualism over more flexible practices meant that translanguaging was often pushed to peripheral, liminal spaces, rather than given a legitimate position in central stage. However, investigation of instances of performance and stance-taking toward translanguaging in such peripheral, off-stage contexts highlighted the ways that multilingual young people used them to negotiate positive translingual identities that challenged dominant language ideologies relating to multilingualism across Kazakh, Russian and English.

2.2.3 Agency

Both the concept of heteroglossia and a (trans)-linguaging approach to multilingualism stress the need to view language from the perspective of the speaker and to focus on the importance of agency in terms of both use and interpretation (Bakhtin 1981, Holquist 2002, Blackledge and Creese 2014, Ahearn 2001). Wortham (2011) cautions against placing too much emphasis on agency, arguing that it is misleading to see it originating solely in the individual, in micro level interactions, or in stark contrast to the structural constraints of macro level social forces. He argues rather for focus on ‘emergence’, in order to avoid such misleading micro-agency/macro-structure dichotomies and to acknowledge the way agency is dependent on collaborative interaction over time. However, in my own research I have chosen to avoid the term ‘emergence’, on the grounds laid out by Erickson (2004) that it can obscure the important role of the researcher in co-constructing understanding in ethnographic research.

For the purposes of this study, I have chosen to adopt Ahearn’s (2001) definition of agency as as ‘*the socio-culturally mediated capacity to act*’. This definition stresses the importance of the dynamic tension between the initiative or self-regulation of the individual and possibilities, affordances and constraints offered by the social context and the consciousness of acting within these tensions (Daniels 2008, Wertsh 1991, Van Lier 2008). Like Wortham, I also acknowledge that neither agency nor structure should be assumed to be contained in the realm of the micro-interactive or the macro-social, but that such issues of scale can best be understood by attending to the lived practices of social actors themselves (Latour 2005). It is in this respect that the lenses of heteroglossia and linguaging, that put the speaker at the heart of the interaction and of the analysis, can perhaps be especially useful in avoiding these less than productive dichotomies (Blackledge and Creese 2014). Moreover, although we author ourselves from the

perspective of 'I', the heteroglossic resources for doing so come from collective experience (Holland et al 1998:172). Similarly, Ophir (2016) emphasises that agency is a complex, ideological synthesis of action, that is not possible without 'embodiment', the process whereby collective behaviours and beliefs, acquired through enculturation, are rendered individual and are 'lived', often persisting in a state of uneasy tension (Noland 2010:9).

A number of authors have investigated how agency is constructed and constrained in particular contexts of action. Baynham (2006), identifies agency in student-initiated moves to 'bring the outside in' to classroom discourse, arguing that agency is evoked in challenge to the determining social structuring of English language pedagogies. This study helps exemplify the warning of Miller (2010:485), that agency and empowerment are not necessarily synonymous, as Baynham's work with refugees shows how learners can sometimes be 'pushed into agency' as a result of powerful influences from without. Other research has focussed on narratives, to explore how agency is constructed or constrained. Baynham (2005) explores the migration stories of Moroccan women, to show how they construct agency in 'non-hegemonic narratives' that challenge popular and powerful notions of 'the heroic male provider' in relation to the experiences of immigrants. Simpson (2011) also, describes how English learners use personal narratives to claim discursive spaces in the classroom to construct alternative empowered identities and resist the positions offered to them by institutional policies framing language learning in purely practical and economic terms.

Miller's (2010) work with immigrant business owners in the US, explores agency as the 'discursively mobilised capacity to act', in which speakers position themselves and are simultaneously positioned as certain kinds of agents within ideologically defined discursive 'spaces'. Both she and Al Zidjaly (2009) are keen to stress that, when considering such instances of agency in interaction, it is essential to acknowledge that it is inherently unstable,

co-constructed and continually negotiated, moment by moment in interaction. Moreover, Ahearn (2001) reminds us that agency should not be conflated only with resistance, and that opposition is but one of many forms that agency can take. For example, in relation to ethnographic work in the ‘figured world’ of Alcoholics Anonymous, Holland et al (1998) show how members develop the ability to use the established discursive resources of the AA narrative to agentively negotiate new identities as non-drinking alcoholics in a ‘space for authoring’ in which stories can be re-figured and re-valued, thus affording new possibilities for positioning their identities.

Therefore, situated within a social, historic and cultural framework, agency exercised by the individual can renovate, undermine or oppose norms of meaning and order (Ophir 2016). In the same way, the concept of History-in-person (Holland and Lave 2001, Holland et al 1998) attempts to capture the way in which widely circulating patterns are contextualized in specific lives and events, seeing both social struggles and individual action as mutually constitutive. The concept of agency as a socially mediated capacity to act (Ahearn 2001) therefore, is interwoven with many of the other key concerns of this research. It helps us better grasp how translanguaging spaces or ‘spaces for authoring’ become sites in which agency takes shape and in which ideologies and artificial dichotomies between the macro and the micro, the societal and the individual can be transformed (Wei 2011:1234), as individuals author themselves and their social worlds as they make meanings from the heteroglossic resources at their disposal (Holland et al 1998:210). In understanding the relationship between language practices and identity, this dialogic notion of agency, posits linguistic identity not as creation of a self which is uniquely one’s own, but one in people draw on linguistic resources in ways that are meaningful under particular kinds social circumstances (Heller 2007:1) and sees social

categories not only as determining structure and constraint, but as potential resources for individual positioning or transformation (Jaffe 2009).

Once again, the work of Bakhtin proves useful in highlighting the significance of taking a dialogic view (Holquist 2002, Holland et al 1998), helping to understand agency as existing in the dynamic tension between the individual and the social world, in reminding us that while authorship is never a choice, the voices, stances and identities we author are never pre-determined. And it is here, in this ‘space for authoring’ that the potential for agency exists (Holland et al 1998:272). The research at KSU considered how the contextualisation of different interactions, for example performances or meta-linguistic commentary, may afford or constrain the agency of the individual, as well as the meanings, identities and stances speakers author in relation to multilingualism in these contexts.

2.2.4 Language ideologies

It has been noted that contemporary, multilingual settings can often be ideologically charged, as old and new ideologies of language and identity mix, and globalization brings languages, speakers, societies and world views into contact with growing complexity and intensity (Pennycook 2010b, Franziskus 2016, Heller and Duchene 2007, Mariou et al 2016). KSU represented such a multilingual setting, in which young people negotiated their lives, identities and learning in the heteroglossic tensions within and between ideologies of language infused with the global and the local, the historical and the immediate, and the personal and the political. It was the aim of this research to critically examine the meanings and significance of these ideologies, but in order to do so, it is first necessary to define how language ideologies were conceived in this study.

Language ideologies have been conceptualised in a variety of ways, but Woolard (1998:56) highlights an important common thread: that language ideologies represent a mediating link between linguistic interactions and the ways in which social relations are organized and understood. Language ideologies are not just about language (Blackledge 2008), but can be conceptualized as webs of beliefs (Silverstein 1979, Blackledge 2008) embodied in daily communicative practices, co-produced across specific places and times (Smagulova 2008), that imbue the relationship between people and language with meaning. This study adopts a definition of language ideology that encompasses the interconnectedness of situated, agentive languaging acts and broader social discourses. For this reason, Blackledge's (2008:29) framing of language ideology is particularly useful, in which language ideologies are conceptualized as including,

“the values, practices and beliefs associated with and enacted through languages by their speakers and their links with wider discourses at institutional, nation and global levels”.

To dismiss language as mere ‘folk beliefs’, is to overlook the key role they play, not only in shaping patterns of linguistic practices, but in underpinning the mechanisms through which power and social meaning are conferred to groups of speakers and linguistic forms of language (Park 2009). They can become crucial interactional resources through which identities, institutions, nations and education are constructed (Woolard 1998), just as they can also be drawn upon to further and legitimise the interests of dominant social groups (Kroskrity 2004).

In multilingual contexts like Kazakhstan, where issues of language and identity are high in the consciousness of the population, language ideologies often shape norms of what is seen as an appropriate language for a specific context or tolerance of specific language practices.

(Franziskus 2016, Laitin 1998). A great deal of research has focussed on language ideologies that construct ‘monolingualism’ as the assumed norm, and the basis of powerful identity categories such as ‘native speaker’ (Shuck 2004) and essentialist notions of the relationship between language, nation and national/cultural belonging and authenticity (Blommaert et al 2012, Blommaert and Rampton 2011, Jaffe 2015, Jaffe 1999, Franziskus 2016). Similarly, other work has explored the widespread hegemony of ideologies of linguistic ‘standardisation’, in which divergence from one standard language variety, or practices, is seen as marked and less desirable (Bailey 2007, also Silverstein 1996). For example, Doran (2004), in her work on youth slang in suburban Paris, highlights that while language ideologies of ‘the standard’ are often justified by nations, for their critical role in fostering national unity, they can also work against the recognition of societal heterogeneity, in ways that can marginalize, exclude or even erase less powerful groups, or issues that are seen as peripheral (also Gal and Irvine 1995). In the reproduction of such dominant ideologies of language, educational settings, such as the community at KSU, are often sites of key significance (Rydell 2015, Seargeant 2009).

However, other authors have also written about ideological discourses that run counter to that of the standard monolingualism, and which can become resources in resisting or eluding the power of such dominant discourses. For example, Heller’s description of the commodification of multilingualism in Canada, in which language is not seen as linked to identity, but is seen as acquirable like any other skill (Heller 2003, also Duchene 2009), similar to De Bres’ (2014) discussion of the ideology of ‘individual multilingualism as opportunity’ in Luxembourg. Moreover, the term language ideology need not only be limited to the ways in which language shapes an individual’s understanding of the social world, but can also be extended to the different ways in which language itself is conceptualized (Errington 2001). For example, ideologies that view languages purely as formal, bounded codes, are extremely influential in

framing ideas of what constitutes socially consequential identities such as ‘legitimate speaker’, ‘full linguistic competence’ and ‘pure’ or ‘traditional’ language varieties (Jaffe 2015). Jaffe’s (2015, 2009) work on Corsican language revival investigates such processes, where these official and traditional linguistic ideologies consequently devalue translanguaging practices across French and Corsican.

Nevertheless, it is vital to bear in mind that language ideologies are not fixed and monolithic, whether it be at the level of societies or the individual (Gal 2006, Kroskrity 2004). Bakhtin (1981:288) argued, in relation to national languages, that “within a single national language exists a multitude of bounded, verbal-ideological and social belief systems; within these various systems (identical in the abstract) are elements of language filled with various and axiological content and each with its own different sound”. The same can be said for a given society, community or even a given individual, whereby actors might be associated with particular ideologies or align themselves with different ideologies under different conditions, or even at the same time in ways that may seem contradictory (Blackledge and Creese 2010, Woolard 1998, Blackledge 2008, Mariou 2017), but which can be understood in reference to the speaker’s identity, context and interactional goals at a given time (Heller 2011, Franziskus 2016). Similarly, new language ideologies do not supplant old, but more often co-exist, overlapping, cross-pollinating, merging or persisting in a state of uneasy tension (Park and Wee 2012, Bucholtz 2009, Keisling 2009).

This is not to depict these processes as purely one-way and top-down, where pre-existing, circulating, ‘macro’ ideologies shape the nature of individual, ‘micro’ interactions, but rather that ideological resources emerge as much from interactions, as those interactions are suffused with these ideological resources (Blackledge and Creese 2010:59). As such, they can be seen to represent a nexus of structure and agency in social action. Warriner (2012) stresses that

researchers should attend to the ways that language ideologies are enacted, resisted or transformed through situated interactions, between real-people. In this way, language ideologies are a means by which individuals can construe specific instances of discourse, that have the power to shape wider systems of belief, as regards language, identity and power, (Wortham 2001:257) For example, Blackledge and Creese (2010) found, in their ethnography of complementary schools, that an ideology of separate bilingualism (often in contrast to the heteroglossic practices of participants) was a way for some individuals to counter ‘mainstream’ discourses of language, nationality and belonging in the wider social context of the UK.

2.2.5 Language and Identity

Like ideology, the concept of identity continues to be widely debated. In line with this research’s perspective on language and social life as mutually shaping and constructed in interaction, the study sees identity, not as fixed and immutable, but as fluid, contextually realised and constantly shifting (Norton 2000, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Identities are understood to be multiple and potentially conflicting in a given individual (Kroskrity 2001, Miller 2003), as he or she is actively engaged in taking up, constructing or resisting different subject positions in interactions across spaces, times and discourses (Holland et al 1998, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, Kroskrity 2001, Kanno and Stuart 2011). Although language and identity have been shown to be intimately related (Miller 2003, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Lippi-Green 1997), Kroskrity (2001) reminds us that whilst such links are often significant, they are not always or necessarily exclusive, singular or uncontested.

This process of continual ‘becoming’ (Miller 2003) or ‘self-making’ (Holland et al 1998) is contingent on the agency of the individual, but the identities he or she is able to claim are also

inevitably shaped by the relations of power at play in particular contexts (Norton 2000). Research has shown how some linguistic identities are valued more than others and can have favourable consequences in terms of access to symbolic and material resources and opportunities (Norton 2000, Heller 2011, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). For example, Norton (2000), in her research with five recent immigrants to Canada, shows how ethnic and gender identities can influence immigrant learners' access to opportunities for improving their English skills beyond the classroom and their capacity to resist, reframe or claim new identities. Her research also highlights the extent to which the identities an individual or group wants or is able to claim is mediated by their own past experiences and the history of particular discursive spaces (also Holland et al 1998).

The majority of the authors cited here, conceptualise identity in similar ways, but for the purposes of this study, the definition offered by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004:19) may be particularly useful. They conceptualise identities as,

“social, discursive and narrative options offered by a particular society in a specific time and place to which individuals and groups of individuals appeal in an attempt to self-name, to self-characterise and to claim social spaces and prerogatives”.

This particular definition, gives emphasis to both the power of broader ideologies and social processes in shaping the identities of social actors *and* agency of the individual to draw on, resist or potentially refigure these resources. Like agency, identities, are not solely located in the individual, but are negotiated, often by linguistic means, in social interactions (Holland et al 1998). Such ‘negotiations of identity’ can occur in interaction, as speakers reflexively position themselves in relation to their interpretations of each other and wider discourses

(Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). For example, Lytra (2010) discusses how complementary school learners negotiate British, Turkish and teenage identity positions as they transform the teaching of language and culture through traditional songs, by bringing the resources of multilingualism, popular culture and wider media discourses into pedagogic interactions.

However, it is important to remember that identity is the *expressible* relationship to others (Holland et al 1998:172) and that not all social interactions represent contexts in which identities are equally negotiable or in which the resources of identity negotiation are equally available to all social actors (Blommaert 2005). Spaces of authoring are often contested spaces, in which individuals may struggle to negotiate particular identities in the face of dominant or threatening discourses (Heller 2011). Giampapa (2004) touches on similar issues, as she explores how Italian-Canadian young people negotiate their identities in the discursive space of 'italianita'. She describes how, in some situations, her participants play with the linguistic resources of Italian and English to negotiate their legitimacy as members at the centre or periphery of this dominant discourse, whilst simultaneously positioning themselves in relation to other discourses of nationality, sexuality and professionalism in ways they are powerless to avoid.

In this respect, the tripartite framework developed by Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) may be helpful in analysing the processes of languaging and identity at KSU, and how contexts of interaction can either create or inhibit the possibilities for authoring, agency and social change (see Table 1).

Table 1: Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) Framework of Identities

Imposed Identities	Assumed Identities	Negotiated Identities
<p>Not negotiable at a specific place and time</p> <p>Impossible for individuals to resist at a specific place and time</p> <p>Even if contested, the individual is powerless to resist or alter positioning</p> <p>Are often imposed by the state or 'common-sense' discourses in the media</p>	<p>Accepted and not negotiated</p> <p>Not seen as problematic or even interesting to many people</p> <p>Are often high value identities or those legitimised by dominant discourses</p>	<p>Contested by groups or individuals</p> <p>Result from the interplay between self, reflective positioning and the attempts of others to (re)position the subject.</p> <p>Negotiation can occur between individuals, groups or even within the self</p> <p>Can arise in on-going, everyday construction of identities or in situations of struggle or conflict</p>

Much of the previous research into language and identity in Kazakhstan, has focussed on the concept of 'national identity', as constructed by the state and, as such, has tended to cast these as categories which are 'imposed' on individuals or imply that they are 'assumed' unproblematically by speakers. My work at KSU was concerned therefore, more with exploring the third part of this framework: of how linguistic identities could be negotiated by multilingual young people, viewing discourses of 'national identity' as one of a range of potential ideological resources at their disposal. As Holland et al point out, even imposed identities have the potential to become a resource for agency (1998:46). Insights from the community at KSU shed light on the extent to which some discourses are more malleable than others and therefore more available as resources for the negotiation of agency and identity at the level of the individual, whilst others are more difficult to resist or re-imagine.

2.2.6 Indexicality

Language practices and ways that linguistic resources are used in context can be extremely powerful in shaping the ways a speaker is perceived. Different ways of using language are associated with different linguistic identities (Blackledge and Creese 2010), and with specific stances or ideologies (Blackledge and Cresse 2014, Lahteenmaki 2010, Jaffe 2009, Ochs 1993). This ability of language to connect specific instances of linguistic signs-in-use with social knowledge of value systems, social categories, frames and identities in a specific context has been described by Michael Silverstein (1976, 1977) as ‘indexicality’. This concept of indexicality has been extremely productive and valuable in helping to explore how the social meanings of language practices are contextually (re)produced, interpreted and transformed (Hanks 2001).

The concept of indexicality is underpinned by the work of the philosopher of Charles Sanders Peirce, who posited that the human capacity for language, as a means of interacting meaningfully with an external reality, could be conceived of as a layered sign process (Peirce 1955). Furthermore, he argued that the meaning of these signs was not intrinsic, but arose through interpretation (Peirce 1955, 1991). Peirce theorised that meaning-making was dependent on the relationship between three categories of ‘signs’: 1) the icon, being that which was closest to real-life experience of similarity and contiguity, 2) the symbol, which was closest to abstract knowledge of a signs meaning (for example the linguistic meaning associated with a word) and 3) the connection between these two, the index, on which the meaning, as association of experience and knowledge depends (Urban 2006). Building on this framework and on the notion of the index as integral to the processes of semiosis, Silverstein’s concept of indexicality sees that the meanings of linguistic signs are not purely referential, but are balanced

between the social meanings they carry and the effects of such meanings in contexts of use (Silverstein 2003, Peirce 1955).

Like Bakhtin's concept of heteroglossia, indexicality also relies on the intertextuality of language, that is, the way that meanings of linguistic signs and practices depend on their past uses and associations (Bailey 2012:500). With time, certain speech repertoires come to index specific social practices and to be associated with certain social identities (Silverstein 1996, Blackledge and Creese 2014). Agha (2007, 2004) refers to this process as enregisterment, whereby, through employment of linguistic resources in recurrent interactions, ways of speaking become associated with differently valued semiotic registers and linked to notions about speakers. (Agha 2007:81). Thus, in subsequent interactions, use of these different recognisable linguistic forms recreates and strengthens the indexical relationship between form and the value or identity of the individual. Often, this indexical relationship between form and meaning, through historical association can come to be taken as a social fact. (Agha 2007:80). Therefore, the concepts of indexicality and enregisterment are useful tools in attempting to understand the meanings of linguistic signs and practices within the ethno-metapragmatic frameworks of a specific speech community, (Silverstein 2003) such as that at KSU.

Johnstone et al. (2006:82) have built on this framework to expand three orders of indexicality. They refer to first order indexicality as recognition of identifiable correlations of patterns of language use or linguistic features with particular social categories. Second order indexicality refers to how such linguistic features become available for social work in interaction, the construction of identity positions and the taking up ideological stances on the basis of these recognisable patterns. Lastly, third order indexicality is described as the metapragmatic practices in which second order indexes are noticed and become the topic of overt and conscious commentary. This model, is useful in unpicking the processes through which indexical

relationships are constructed, maintained and developed, both through users' overtly explicit, third order evaluations, and their use of its characteristic features (first- or second-order) (Madsen 2013:120).

However, indexical relationships are not static (Stuart- Smith et al 2007). Just as indexical relationships can be strengthened and 'enregistered' over time interactions, so they can also be changed, renewed and transformed (Agha 2004:25), in "perpetual, dialogic co-evolution" with their contexts (Morita 2009:175). Silverstein (2003:195) points out that indexical meanings are constructed between forces of pre-supposed, established contextual parameters and how these parameters are brought into being. Therefore, interactional use of recognisable linguistic resources not only allows individuals to draw on their indexical values for situational purposes, but also permits creative use of these indexical effects, and thus potential for negotiation of new relational identities (Madsen 2013). In tension between the presupposed, already constituted framework of semiotic value (Silverstein 2003:194) and contextually realised agency in interaction, the meanings of indexical relationships have the capacity to be transformed, not simply recreated (Shankar 2009, Gal 2009). In a similar way, in specific reference to third order indexicalities, Urban (2001, 2006) points out that, these meta-semiotic level associations are not merely a reflection of the social realities of the other orders, but can become an active force to evaluate or reshape them.

Furthermore, it is important to bear in mind that indexical relationships are rarely simple, one to one relationships between linguistic form and social identity (Gal 2006: 325). For example, Blackledge and Creese (2010) show how, in UK complementary schools, heteroglossic use of linguistic resources drawn from heritage languages can be used to index identity positions of linguistic and cultural belonging and authenticity, whilst at other times participants used these linguistic resources to index hybrid cultural lives and identities beyond the classroom. Shankar

(2009) Chun (2009) and Labrador (2009) also highlight how, across diverse Asian Pacific American populations, specific linguistic indexicalities can be at times mobilised to emphasise belonging, whilst at others they are drawn upon to enact difference. Similarly, Lo (2009) uses the concept of indexicality to illustrate how teachers simultaneously use the Korean linguistic resource of ‘evidentially’ to indexically construct some students as different kinds of moral beings and maintain social power and authority relations within the classroom. Other researchers have also found that, especially among young, multilingual people, sociolinguistic indexicality often involves complex intersections of multiple, overlapping social categories: for example, linguistic resources associated with ethnicity might also draw on associations related to gender, age or social class (e.g. Madsen 2013, Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2011, Rampton 2011). Therefore, although indexicality is fundamental to researching how identities are related to language use, relationships between social categories and forms of speech are rarely simple and should never be taken for granted by the researcher, even if, at times, participants may do so (Irvine and Gal 2000).

In this study, therefore, indexicality is a valuable tool in investigating how multilingual individuals both construct and interpret fluid and dynamic identity positions within the context of this Kazakhstani university and how social identities come to be presupposed and potentially transformed in interactions (Silverstein 2003). Attending to these processes can also shed light on the role of indexical relationships in the construction of contexts of interaction (Shuck 2004), of social and linguistic boundaries (Agha 2007: 157), and on how some linguistic signs and languaging practices are valued, whilst others are delegitimised or disqualified (Blommaert (2010:41).

2.3 Multilingualism, Language Ideologies and Identities in Kazakhstan

In the first part of this literature review, I described the conceptual framework in which my research is positioned. In the second part of this chapter, I will explore issues of language ideologies, identities and multilingualism in the context of Kazakhstan, in order to situate the data and findings from the researched community at KSU in its wider social, historical, cultural and political context.

2.3.1 Kazakhstan's Multilingualism and the Trinity of Languages

Kazakhstan is referred to as a multilingual state, both by external commentators and its own government alike, with multilingualism described by Almaty based scholar, Smagulova (2008:195) as “the dominant public ideology on language”. However, the reality of what is entailed, linguistically and ideologically, by the term ‘multilingualism’ may vary greatly from context to context (Blommaert et al 2012:19), often revealing significant differences between separate and flexible practices (Blackledge and Creese 2010). The former term refers to linguistic ideological frameworks that foreground the importance of discrete, bounded ‘Languages’, whereas the latter represents the kind of multilingual practice that encompasses flexible, heteroglossic use of linguistic resources in order to make meaning (Bailey 2012).

In a pre-election speech, in July 2007, President Nazarbayev himself gave a name to a specifically Kazakhstani concept of multilingualism, calling it in Russian, ‘*Triedinstvo iazykov*’, (Pavlenko 2008), commonly translated into English as ‘the Tri-unity’ or ‘Trinity of Languages’ Project. This ‘cultural project’ (Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013) aimed to promote ‘societal tri-lingualism’, in the form of fluency in Kazakh, Russian and English for the

majority of the population. The project clearly pushed Kazakh, the state language, to the fore (Smagulova 2008, Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013), but also aspired to the maintenance and support of Russian as the ‘language of interethnic communication’ (Pavlenko 2008, Smagulova 2008) and the increasing learning and penetration of English, as the language of successful integration into the global economy (Pavlenko 2008, Burmistrova 2011). Unlike in English, the term ‘*Triedinstvo*’, tri-unity or trinity, in Russian seems to hold no connotations of religious mysticism, of something that is simultaneously one thing and three. Rather, for the majority of Kazakhstani’s and Russian speakers I have spoken to, the word ‘*Triedinstvo*’ has a far more neutral, some say mathematical sense, of one, complete whole, made up equally of three parts. It is this emic understanding of the concept that best reflects the idealized notion of multilingualism in Kazakhstan, and that the Trinity of Languages project seems to promote.

The Trinity of Languages ideology constructs the image of an ideal Kazakhstani citizen as one who will acquire, have knowledge of and fluency in, the three official languages, with fluency being defined as the ability to read and write accurately and to express ideas and speak publicly effortlessly without any difficulties (Nazarbayev 2007, Smagulova 2008). Interestingly, this aspiration of creating perfectly competent, perfectly balanced, trilingual citizens is closely linked in state, academic and media discourse, both to social cohesion within Kazakhstan and as a necessary condition for international competitiveness (Smagulova 2008, Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013, Pavlenko 2008, Burmistrova 2011). The suggestion is that, only by demonstrating that Kazakhstani people can speak their ‘own language’ can they hope to convince the international community of the legitimacy of the country as a modern nation state, while proving their mastery of the two ‘world languages’, Russian and English (Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013) is key to Kazakhstan’s aspiration to become one of the top 50 global economies.

2.3.2 Language ideology transformation Kazakhstan

Although Kazakh is the state language, only around 60% of the population are of Kazakh ethnicity, with the rest being made up of other ethnic groups, each with their own ethnic/national languages (Smagulova 2008, Olcott 2002). Furthermore, as part of the former Soviet Union, the multi-ethnic population of Kazakhstan became predominantly Russophone, whilst use and proficiency in Kazakh and other ethnic languages fell dramatically (Smagulova 2008). Russian not only came to be the lingua franca, but to be seen as the language of power, opportunity, education, Soviet internationality and modernity (Dave 2007). In contrast, Kazakh increasingly came to be regarded as the language of the rural, backward poor, although it continued to be held as an important emblem of ethnic identity among Kazakhs (Yessenova 2005). However, since independence in 1991, Kazakhstan has experienced considerable language shift, with reported increase in the status and sphere of Kazakh language (Dave 2004). In education, promotion of the Kazakh language has been linked to attempts to cultivate a sense of national identity rooted in Kazakh language and culture (Fierman 2006, Kissane 2005) and ethnographic work carried out by Bhavna Dave (2007:97) suggests that, in contemporary Kazakhstani society, language issues represent important sites in which emerging notions of identity, belonging and entitlement are contested. (Dave 2007:115). Indeed, Smagulova (2008:195) characterises Kazakhstan as being “in the midst of a language ideology transformation process”.

2.3.3 Kazakh and Kazakhstani: Language Ideologies and Identities

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and gaining independence in 1991, Kazakhstan's government have exhibited an urgent need to create a distinctly Kazakhstani national identity, promoting feelings of patriotism in order to give meaning, legitimacy and authority to the newly independent nation (Everett-Heath 2003 Akiner 1995) and in some ways to compensate for the loss of the overarching identity category of 'Soviet citizen' (Davenel 2012). Whilst the Trinity of Languages project emphasises the significance of multilingualism to being a good Kazakhstani citizen, it also strongly posits Kazakh, as Kazakhstan's 'state language' (Dave 2007), as central to this identity and to the achievement of the project's aims, in terms of national stability, cohesion, development and competitiveness. This assumption is reproduced across a wide range of contexts, but particularly in education (Fierman 2006), the media and by linguists and academics (Dave 2004). For example, Burmistrova, a PhD scholar from the city of Karaganda writes, in her article on the 'Main Features of the Trinity of Languages' (2011:4), that

“We must understand a simple truth: the study of any foreign language, that is second or third language, begins with perfect knowledge of the main language. Such is the world experience. In other words, the basis, the foundation and also the highest point in the triangle is the state language of Kazakhstan”.

This vision of Kazakh, as both the base and apex of the Trinity of Languages triangle, very clearly encapsulates the dominant ideology that Kazakh, as the state language, in the ancestral territory of the Kazakh ethnic group, is rightly afforded a special 'first among equals' status in

the language ecology, helping to put it at the heart of the Kazakhstan's civic identity project (Davenel 2012).

Like the Trinity of Languages and many other 'nation building through national language planning' projects, this belief in the primacy of the Kazakh language is about far more than neutral linguistic competence, but is intrinsically ideological (Park 2009, Heller and Duchene 2007), with profound implications for the construction of identities and the performance of multilingualism, both nationally and individually (Heller 2007, Blommaert and Rampton 2011, Jorgensen and Moller 2014). For example, the 'Concept of Forming State Identity of the Republic of Kazakhstan' (Nazarbayev 1996) highlights that the territory of modern Kazakhstan is founded on the historic territory of the Kazakh ethnic group, and that this is the only nation dedicated to the protection and development of Kazakh language and culture. Hence, although on one hand the idea of national, Kazakhstani identity is constructed as a civic, multilingual one, in other aspects of official discourse territorial entitlement is clearly tied to the ethnic 'Kazakh' identity of the titular group. Moreover, an essential, primordial link is presumed between this ethnic Kazakh identity and having Kazakh as a 'mother tongue' – *ana tili* in Kazakh (Dave 2007). This ideology does not only exist at the level of state discourse and policy, but is also widely embedded in Kazakhstani society and reproduced by individuals. As Dave (2004) describes, in contemporary Kazakhstan, mother tongue is still understood more as a marker of ethnic identity, rather than of linguistic practice and subsequently, ethnic identity can be deduced on the basis of '*ana tili*' rather than inquired about in relation to the communicative repertoires of speakers in fluid, multilingual contexts.

2.3.4 The Legacy of Soviet Era Ideologies on Language and Identity

This essentialist ideological link between ethnicity and mother tongue, has its roots in Soviet discourses of identity, as an objective, rigid, scientifically verifiable category (Wolczuk and Yemelianova 2008, Yessenova 2005, Schatz 2000, Dave 2004, 2007). According to the Soviet Nationalities Project, (the Russian term ‘nationality’ (*nationalnost*) is still widely used to refer to ethnicity in post-Soviet Space) one ‘people’ (*narod*) must share one language, ethnicity, mentality and have a population of over 100,000 (Wolczuk and Yemelianova 2008) and it was these criteria, within the Stalinist principle of ‘one nation, one people’ (Bessinger 2002), that were used to delimit the Soviet Republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan etc., as the territories of the titular ethnic groups, that eventually became the independent states we know today. Therefore, in the Soviet Socialist Republic of Kazakhstan the ‘national language’ and titular ethnic identity were upheld as the key symbols of nationhood (Dave 2007), superseded only by loyalty to the supra-ethnic identity category of Soviet Citizen (Wolczuk and Yemelianova 2008). This may help to explain the current, widespread apathy for the notion of Kazakhstani civic identity and why, to the majority of people in Kazakhstan, ethnicity (*nationalnost*) persists as a more meaningful social identity (Dave 2004, 2007). Indeed, Kazakhstan’s government currently seem to have little interest in expanding this non-ethnic, civic notion of Kazakhstani identity, building on the apparent acceptance that the titular ethnicity would obviously assert linguistic dominance post-independence (Fierman 2006). However, as Smagulova (2008:195) observes, although the ideology of Kazakh language and ethnic identity as integral to the existence of the Kazakhstani state are quite internalized within its population, its hegemony is by no means uncontested – a subject she identifies in need of further research.

2.3.5 Ideologies and Identities of Kazakhstan's 'Languages'

Heller (2011:11) conceptualizes 'discursive spaces' as assemblages of interconnected spaces and times traversed by people and symbolic resources, that help to account for how linguistic and cultural resources become constructed as valuable and meaningful. Understanding the socio-historical forces that have shaped the discursive space of ideologies of language and identity in Kazakhstan, sheds light on the way in which the Trinity of Languages Project now privileges Kazakh above the other official languages of the idealised multilingual state, on the basis that a linguistic shift towards Kazakh is fundamental to stability and future development. This is also seen to require strengthening of the direct correlation between Kazakh ethnicity, linguistic identity and civil identity (Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013). Official state, educational and media discourses that circulate and reproduce these ideologies of Kazakh language therefore, can help to construct links between speaking Kazakh and being not only a proud patriotic citizen, but also being a moral, authentically Kazakh person, indexicalities which can become valuable resources to individuals in the social positioning of themselves and others.

However, alongside the construction of entitlement and belonging through Kazakh language ideologies, there also exists a strong implication of linguistic obligation. This is enshrined in Kazakhstan's Law on Languages (Parliament of the Republic of Kazakhstan 1997) which states that 'it is the duty of every citizen to learn the state language (Kazakh), as it is the most important factor in the consolidation of the people (*Narod*) of Kazakhstan'. However, the post-independence language shift to Kazakh did not progress as swiftly as planned. Moreover, many non-Kazakhs did not know the language, with reports suggesting this was because they felt that they did not need it, especially since so many ethnic Kazakhs were still predominantly

Russophone (Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013). This led to powerful and widespread media and educational campaigns such as the call “Kazakhs! Speak Kazakh to Kazakhs”, on the basis that other nationalities could not be expected to learn the language if Kazakh people themselves were not prepared to master their ‘own mother tongue’ (Smagulova 2008). In this way, Kazakh language became not only a resource for the claiming of patriotic and moral identities in ethnic grounds, but also a potential resource for positioning those who did not use Kazakh, whether by choice or necessity, as lacking in attributes such as morality, pride, patriotism or authenticity.

However, Blackledge and Creese (2014) remind us that the indexicalities of ideological and linguistic resources, are rarely simple one-to-one relationships, but rather shifting and in tension. In Kazakhstan, these new post-independence ideologies of Kazakh language exist alongside other indexicalities with their roots in the country’s Soviet past: those that associate use of Kazakh and its speakers with notions of backwardness, lack of education and rural poverty (Yessenova 2005). As mentioned previously, the Soviet period saw the rapid linguistic and cultural Russification of the country, particularly in urban areas (Dave 2004). These sociolinguistic patterns and negative indexes persist to some extent today, with recent data suggesting that those who claim fluency in Kazakh tend to have lower incomes and spend less than those who identify as dominant Russophones (Smagulova 2008:191) and there are still a higher number of Kazakh medium schools in rural areas than in the cities – schools that are often perceived to be less well funded, equipped or staffed (Fierman 2006).

The ubiquity of the Russian language and its prominent place in modern Kazakhstani society has well-documented roots in Kazakhstan’s Soviet past. The introduction of the Russian language is associated with Soviet social projects to develop standards of literacy, an educational system of schools and universities and to modernise the previously pastoral economy through new technologies, infrastructure and industrialisation (Olcott 2002). In the

USSR, the Russian language was promoted as the key to uniting the multi-ethnic Soviet people. Thus, it was more than just a lingua franca (Fierman 2006:98), but was imbued with deep ideological meaning, as having a fundamental role in the construction of supra-national, supra-ethnic Soviet identity (*Sovietskii narod*) (Wolczuk and Yemeljanov 2008). In the Kazakh Socialist Soviet Republic, education and literacy projects focussed not only on the promotion and spread of standardised Russian (Pavlenko 2008, Olcott 2002), but it also became the prerequisite language for access to the political sphere, public life and, tertiary education, of science and academia and of ‘international communication’ and mobility within the Soviet Union (Dave 2007, Pavlenko 2008, Fierman 2006). Therefore, in contrast, Kazakh, through which few of these opportunities were available, was constructed as without prospects or potential (*bezperspektivnii* in Russian), whereas Russian became associated with professional advancement, education, with power and with elite groups and urban areas in which access to these opportunities was possible (Yessenova 2005, Fierman 2006, Smagulova 2008).

Upon gaining independence therefore, cultural and linguistic ‘de-Russification’ became a primary concern of Kazakhstan’s government (Kissane 2005:50), as central to national revival and its stability (Shatz 2000). Although immediately post-independence Kazakhstan tried pursuing a mono-lingual Kazakh language policy, seen by many as a reaction to Soviet linguistic oppression, the potential alienation of powerful Russophone elites and threat of secession from Northern Kazakhstani areas dominated by ethnic Russian and Slavic populations (Fierman 2006, Everett-Heath 2003, Dave 2004), contributed to a shift in government stance toward Russian and the elevating of Russian to an official language in the 1997 Law on Languages, committed to the maintenance of Russian, as the language of interethnic communication (Parliament of Kazakhstan 1997, Smagulova 2008).

Nowadays, the legacy of Soviet language policies and practices are still powerful influences in shaping Kazakhstan's language ecology and the indexical meanings of Russian language resources. Russian is arguably still the most dominant language of affluent, urban elites (Smagulova 2008, Schatz 2000), Russian language media, films and pop music is widely thought to be 'cooler' and better quality than Kazakh equivalents (Eagle 2010), Russian medium schools predominate in urban areas and are popularly believed to be better quality in terms of teaching, resources and funding and the Russian language skills is still tacitly considered more important than Kazakh for employment opportunities outwith the state sector (Fierman 2006) - although this is now changing. Thus, for many, good knowledge and use of Russian is understood to index the speaker as a member of the urban, affluent elite, someone who may often be described in Russian as 'cultured' (*kulturnii*) - well educated and well-brought-up. Poor grammar, non-standard pronunciation or lack of fluency in Russian is stigmatised and often involved in imposing an identity of lack of education, cultural savviness or of belonging to the backward, rural poor or recent migrants from rural areas (Yessenova 2005).

2.3.6 Threat, Endangerment and Purity

As in many, in Kazakhstan there is also strong sentiment, reproduced in state discourse, media, education and among academics that the Kazakh language is in need of both protection and development (Heller and Duchene 2007, Blommaert et al 2012). "Obviously, Kazakh needs to be raised to the level of the other two world languages" (Russian and English), writes local scholar Burmistrova (2011:1). Poet Temirkhan, Medetbekov (1990) expresses a similar view, painting a vivid picture of the Kazakh linguistic landscape as one that has been ravaged and

decimated in the same ways as parts of Kazakhstan's territory was after decades of Russian/Soviet rule.

“The Kazakh language space has receded more than the Aral Sea and its atmosphere has been destroyed and polluted more than a uranium production site after a bomb blast. Expanding the domain is just as difficult as purifying the atmosphere.”

He goes on to argue that Kazakh people themselves are to blame for this travesty, due to their laziness and indifference, once again emphasising that it is the moral duty of ethnic Kazakhs to ensure ‘their own language’ flourishes.

“This is because there are various social barriers and moral and psychological barriers poisoned by haughtiness and power. They are like the twisted, electrified barbed wire and metal rails that block tanks. Our own indifference and lack of concern make it difficult to expand the domain or purify the atmosphere”.

In such discourse, the pervasive and persisting nature of Russian in Kazakhstan's language ecology is seen as the primary obstacle to linguistic (re-)Kazakhification and, constructed as a impure, foreign influence (Lahteenmaki and Vanhala-Aniszewski 2012) is seen as a threat to Kazakh linguistic and cultural purity (Pavlenko 2008). Awareness of this threatening discourse has led to a slew of language and educational policies and initiatives that aim to create conditions in which people will opt for Kazakh over Russian, or which seek to erode the status of Russian as part of Kazakhstan's linguistic and ideological landscape (Pavlenko 2008). Moreover, great attention has been paid to coining a raft of neologisms to replace vocabulary seen as having originated in Russian and replacing mixed language schools with those teaching

in Kazakh medium only (Fierman 2005). However, with the growing promotion of and demand for English (Lee and Norton 2009, Smagulova 2009), and the spread of global English language culture through pop-music, film and the internet (Pennycook 2010a), this sense of linguistic threat and endangerment is, for some, not only felt in relation to Russian, but increasingly in relation to English as well.

2.3.7 English in Kazakhstan: New Opportunities, New Threats

At policy level, the Trinity of Languages project links the increasing role of English in Kazakhstan's national linguistic repertoire with developing the competitiveness of the country internationally, while development of English in the linguistic repertoire of individuals is linked to their potential for upward social mobility and economic success (Smagulova 2008:183). It is unsurprising then, that the demand for English has seen a rapid and marked increase since independence and particularly over the past ten years. However, although according to the National curriculum set out by the Ministry of Education, all Kazakhstani students are required to have 3-7 hours of English per week in school and to complete 6 credits of English at university, the reality is that only a very small proportion of the population claim any kind of communicative proficiency in the language (Smagulova 2008). Outside of educational contexts or those workplaces involving direct contact with foreigners, it is unusual for English to be used for everyday communication. This is popularly attributed to the lack of availability of materials and of good teachers, using 'modern' language teaching methods (Pavlenko 2008, Smagulova 2008), although in actual fact, access to these kinds of educational resources are available in a small number of elite schools and universities, mostly concentrated in urban centres like Almaty and Astana. Language attitude survey data (Smagulova 2008:191) indicated for example, that

only around 1% reported using English at work, a proportion that also correlated with the richest respondents surveyed. The same survey also suggested that it was extremely rare for people to report either a combination of Kazakh and English language competence or use. Both of these socio-economic patterns support the widespread view that at present, in Kazakhstan, the use or knowledge of English is closely associated with wealth, international opportunities and the urban, Russophone elites.

In this respect, the spread of English language in Kazakhstan has not been dissimilar to other nations traditionally thought of as 'outer circle' English contexts, in that the distribution of this linguistic capital seems to be proceeding along class and socio-economic lines, affording further opportunities to the elite and potentially deepening and widening social inequalities (Vaish 2012). In cultural terms, the presence of English language is perhaps more evenly felt throughout the population. English language pop music, Hollywood films, product branding, celebrity culture and the internet are all ways in which young Kazakhstani people in particular interact with the globalised linguistic and cultural flows of English (Eagle 2010), the importance of which should not be overlooked in relations to questions of language, ideology and identity (Appadurai 1996, Vaish 2012, Pennycook 2010a). These cultural flows, together with the spread and influence of English language education have been particularly contested in debates around globalisation (Pennycook 2011,) with some seeing it in the role of 'attacker' and 'seducer' (Blommaert et al 2012:15, Leppanen and Pahta 2012) and as a threat to local cultural identities and less powerful languages, such as Kazakh.

Albeit that this study is situated in a particular social and cultural context of Kazakhstan, it is also important to recognise the global embeddedness and implications of local language and identity practices (Pennycook 2010a). Authors such as Lee and Norton (2009) emphasise the need to acknowledge both the power of dominant ideological discourses, such as those that link

English with modernity, development and opportunity *and* the force of human agency to reshape or resist these ideologies through locally situated practices. Empirical studies in varied contexts have provided evidence of such creative local responses to the perceived dominance of English (Canagarajah 1999, Lee and Norton 2009, and Heller 2011), underlining the importance of making hybridity, mobility and agency a vital part of understanding the relationship between global and local language practices, and avoiding *a priori* dichotomies of structure/agency or global/ local (Perera and Canagarajah 2012).

2.4 Performance and Stance as Analytical Lenses

The first two parts of this literature review have dealt with the study's conceptual framework and the local linguistic and ideological context in which this research is situated. This final part of the chapter will focus on two concepts that proved particularly valuable to analysing the data from the KSU community: those of Performance and Stance. Throughout the research at KSU, performance and acts of stance-taking in metalinguistic interactions became central to my analysis, as the significance of these interactional spaces as sites of linguistic ideological and identity negotiation was not only foregrounded by participants themselves, but also proved valuable to me as a researcher in investigating the contextualized meanings of indexical relationships between language and social identities. In the Methodology Chapter, the rationale for selecting these analytical lenses will be discussed in more detail, as will the process of analysis itself. In the third part of my literature however, I will describe how the concepts of performance and stance-taking offered mutually compatible and mutually enriching insights into how indexical resources of language, ideology and identity were constructed, reproduced, contested and performed within the KSU community.

2.4.1 Performance

Bauman and Briggs (1990:60) point out that, in studies of language, culture and social life, taking a 'performance approach' can obscure a potentially disparate array of theoretical concepts that shape analysis. Therefore, it is important to consider exactly how 'performance' is conceptualised in this particular linguistic ethnography. Although some earlier researchers took a view that centred on the life of the stage and drew heavily on analogies from the theatrical world, others took a much broader view of what constitutes performance. In one respect, all of the interactional data in this study can be viewed as instances of performance, in the sense that Del Hymes (1974, 1975) articulated - as acts of communicative competence or a speaker's ability to intentionally act with and through language in context - in opposition to Chomsky's (1965) characterisation of performance as 'imperfect' realisation of language in use. Like Hymes, Goffman also took a view of performance in which the speaker and agency were central, in his assertion that all real-life instances of talk were 'performed' (1981).

However, beyond this view of all language-in-use as performance, further theoretical distinctions have been made: for example, between instances of 'everyday' and 'staged' performance (Bell and Gibson 2011). Again, the work of Hymes is significant in characterising the concept of everyday performance, or what he described as 'breakthrough into performance' - when speakers, in everyday contexts of interaction, breakthrough into a performative frame in ways that are often unanticipated, informal, and ephemeral (Hymes 1975). For example, in his analysis of narrative data from ESOL learners in the UK, Baynham (2011:64) draws on Hyme's (1996) in his description of "fleeting moments of narrative orientation" in everyday performance, observing that immigrant participants used such 'momentary shifts into performance' as a discursive resource in the construction of professional identities and stances.

Shuck (2004) has also dealt with performances of this kind, referring to speakers' attempts to draw attention to aesthetic aspects of talk in everyday communicative contexts - what Schilling-Estes (1998) calls instances of 'language display'. Similarly, Coupland (2007) discusses 'mundane performances', in which performers and audiences emerge spontaneously in the midst of everyday interactions. In this sense, Goffman (1974:124), underlining the fundamental importance of agency, audience and reflexivity, offered the definition of everyday performance as "all communicative behaviour for which an individual assumes responsibility to others and is subject to their evaluation".

Staged performances, on the other hand, are typically conceived of as being of an overt, scheduled nature, involving temporal and spatial boundaries around the performance and between performers and audience members, culturally recognised frames, social expectations, a limited set of accepted audience behaviours and are often supported by other, non-linguistic modalities such as music, imagery and movement (Bell and Gibson 2011, Coupland 2007). Bauman and Briggs (1990:73) put forward a useful definition, referring to staged performance as

"a specially marked, highly artful way of speaking that sets up an interpretive frame, within which the act of speaking is understood... [Performance] puts speaking on display and lifts the interactional setting to the scrutiny of the audience"

Both concepts of everyday and staged performance take into account that performances are contextually sensitive, reflexive communicative events, the nature of which cannot be assumed *a priori*, but which should be discovered ethnographically (Bauman 2011, Bauman and Briggs 1990). Furthermore, they espouse an 'agent-centred' approach (Bauman and Briggs 1990:69),

that sees performances and their interpretation arising through the tension between the structure of the social, cultural and historical context and the agentic use of ideological, cultural and linguistic resources (Bauman 2011). However, rather than taking them as two distinct categories, it may be more helpful to see the notions of 'everyday' and 'staged' as different 'shades' of performance, as part of the full, wider spectrum of communicative contexts. As the analysis of performances at KSU will illustrate, throughout a given performance, participants and interactions shift between staged and everyday performance frames, to a greater or lesser extent, and that such liminal, boundary-blurring moments can often become sites of linguistic and ideological creativity, resistance and transformation. By attending to this, the study aims to gain insight into the ways that performances can stretch the boundaries of everyday language (Georakopoulou 2008).

Performance has tended to be somewhat overlooked in analyses of language in society (Bauman 2011, Bell and Gibson 2011), for the reason that it was often seen as an 'inauthentic' use of language, in contrast to 'vernacular', more 'naturalistic' or 'unconscious' instances of language use (Bell and Gibson 2011). However, Hymes (1975:13) argued that 'performance as practice' could lend the researcher valuable insights into a kind of communicative event with an inherent potential for creativity and perhaps even transcendence from ordinary life. Analyses of performance, can be extremely valuable in a number of ways. They are capable of giving insight into interactional spaces that consciously open up to critical evaluation, participants' use of heteroglossic resources and context-specific indexical meanings (Bauman and Briggs 1990). In doing so, performances constitute reflexive communicative events that can shed light on the processes of identity construction and negotiation (Divita 2014). Moreover, the artful and self-conscious nature of performed language makes the ideologies and indexicalities presented more liable to uptake in the community and more likely to contribute to processes of enregisterment

(Agha 2003) or to reshaping social relationships and higher order indexicalities (Coupland 2007, Holland et al 1998).

Divita (2014) argues that performances become meaningful in their relationships to discourses and cultural values in the wider community. These form the ideological and discursive resources from which performances are constructed and in which they are understood. In performances, agency and identity are formed dialogically, as participants draw on discourses, ideologies and 'voices' from beyond the here-and-now context (Blackledge and Creese 2010:125) and offer them up to the audience as 'performance'. This combining, re-combining and re-forming of ideological resources from other contexts have been identified by Bauman and Briggs (1990) as key elements of performance, which they characterise as 'detextualisation' (the power to separate a text from its original context) 'extextualisation' (the removing of 'text' from its original context) and recontextualisation (the power to reuse text in new contexts to create new meanings). All of these processes constitute potential acts of agency and allow the researcher to examine the processes involved in the construction of social and linguistic identities.

2.4.2 The Role of Audiences

Goffman (1959) highlights that, in performance, the role of the audience is fundamental and that it is the awareness of and orientation to the audience that sets performance apart from other communicative contexts (Hymes 1975). As Coupland (2007) argues, performance is, simultaneously *to* and *for* the audience. In performance, the performer makes her/himself accountable to an audience, not just for its referential content, but for the way in which the communication is carried out (Bauman 1975:293). The performer relies on the audience sharing

interpretive frameworks and awareness of established indexicalities, in order to make meaning, therefore it is understandable that the performer will adapt his/her language and behaviour to the assumed audience (Bell 2001). In awareness of this, performers may actively seek out acculturated audiences who will interpret the performance in the way it is intended (Bell and Gibson 2011). Coupland (2007: 149) characterises this orientation toward the audience as occurring along two vectors. The first is the conscious orientation of the performer to the audience and the second is the awareness of the relationship between the performer/audience and the broader socio-cultural worlds invoked in the performance. In analysing performance, it is also important to think beyond “the didactic of speaker-hearer” (Hymes 1974: 516). Not all audiences will be physically present: for example, the presence of a tape-recorder may introduce the possibility of future, imagined audiences (Bauman and Briggs 1990:71) or in 'mediated performances' such as through TV or the internet.

However, it is also important to recognise that audiences and participants in performance are not homogeneous. The heteroglossic nature of performances means that there may be different interpretations and articulations of the same interaction, or the same indexicalities may be taken up and used by participants in different ways (Divita 2014, Lytra 2010). By, taking performance as a focal point for the analysis of language ideologies and identities, consideration of *how* speakers orientate toward their perceived audiences can give insights into the meanings of indexical resources in specific contexts of interaction.

2.4.3 Identities in Performances and Interpretation

In performance, as in other contexts, the process of identity formation relies on the interplay of structure and agency: the established, recognisable discourses and indexicalities circulating in

a particular society or community, and the creative de/ex/re-contextualisation of these resources in the context of performance. In order to communicate meaning, performers rely on the linguistic, ideological and cultural resources used being interpreted by the audience in particular ways, so as to index particular frames of interpretation or social identities (Holland et al 1998, Bell and Gibson 2011). Bakhtin's concept of 'hybridisation', is useful in characterising these processes, by which he described the ability for multiple 'voices' to be mixed together in a single utterance (performance), thus drawing together different genres or social worlds to create potentially novel and creative meanings (Bakhtin 1981). Furthermore, Agha's notion of 'enregisterment', (2003) is also of value, describing the process whereby the language forms performed are engraved in the public consciousness as indexing specific social identities, and therefore are taken to embody specific values and subject positions by the audience. Attention to the interplay between these two concepts of hybridisation and enregisterment in performance, can help the analysis remain sensitive to the dual shaping influences of agency and structure in context.

Often research into performance characterises these contexts as sites of agency, creativity, the negotiation of new identities and potential for reshaping wider social relations. However, not all performances offer such opportunities, as will be shown by the data presented. The very fact that performances rely on established indexicalities to communicate meaning, may, in some cases down-play the extent to which individuals need to “*struggle* with the discourses of others” in the attempt to author their identities (Bakhtin 1973:52. *Italics added*). Holland et al (1998:279) remind us that each context rings with it its own 'set of conditions for authoring selves' and, as such, some performances offer greater affordances for agency than others. For example, Bauman and Briggs (1990:77) comment that performances can play a central role in the construction or assumption of authority and refer to 'authoritative texts' as those that are

maximally protected from transformation by individuals or groups of performers (See also Han 2009).

2.4.4 Performance Contexts and Contextualising Contexts as Performance

As Bauman and Briggs (1990) stress, to constitute a communicative situation as a 'performance' cannot be assumed *a priori* by researchers. Rather, the act of constructing a given communicative event as 'performance' is one that involves the use and interpretation of cultural, social, linguistic and ideological resources by the participants themselves, both performers and audience. For that reason, Bauman and Briggs (1990) advocate that researchers take an ethnographic approach, attending to the emic processes of 'contextualisation' of communication as performance, in specific situations. They argue that focus on 'contextualisation' helps avoid reifying the notion of context in analysis. Goffman (1974), uses the concept of 'keying' to explore how communicative events become 'framed' as contexts of performance. Essentially these 'keys' are metalinguistic signs that signal to the audience(s) that, a communicative event should be interpreted as a performance (Urban 2006). Similarly, Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982) have written about 'contextualisation cues': meta-pragmatic signals that orientate the audience towards which features of the setting and the communicative event should be used in interpreting it. Once again, it is important to remember that such 'keys' or 'cues' cannot be externally assumed by the researcher, but must be uncovered ethnographically (Bauman 2011). However, across a wide range of studies into performance, identity and language, researchers do seem to have identified three common features which tend to characterise or 'frame' contexts as performance: namely audience, reflexivity, and artfulness. These three elements are not completely distinct from each other, rather, they are intertwined and mutually shaping.

In order to take into account both the processes of contextualisation and actual content of the performances at KSU, I focussed my analysis on 'performance contexts', rather than only on the performance itself. Researchers such as Jaffe (2015) Divita (2014), Han (2009) and Holland et al (1998) have demonstrated how looking beyond the immediate context of performances, to the times and spaces that precede, follow and constitute them, can offer valuable insights into the indexical meanings of linguistic resources in context and the ways these are deployed by multilingual speakers to negotiate identity both on- and off-stage. In the KSU context, flexible and separate multilingual practices, and the use of Kazakh, Russian and English resources played an important role in the contextualisation of performance contexts and in framing the degree to which contexts of interaction were, metaphorically, on- and off-stage.

The concepts of 'stage' or 'region' were first used by Goffman (1959) to describe the physical and temporal setting in which performances happen, and how they are invoked by contextual keys, by discursive and cultural resources employed and how they are understood by participants to frame acts of performance. In her study of inclusion and language learning in a bilingual Mandarin/English, Christian church, Han (2009) finds it also productive to distinguish between 'back' or 'front' regions of the church, shedding light on how back-region performances became spaces for power sharing and the acquisition of ideological and linguistic resources that were later validated in on-stage performances in front regions and were shown to be critical to new members negotiating identities as 'good Christians' and legitimate members of the community. In a different study, Divita (2014), in his ethnography of cultural performances by Spanish senior citizens, near Paris, also deals with the concept of 'on-stage' and 'off-stage', by considering, not only the dramatic performance of a Spanish immigration story, but also by incorporating data from rehearsals and post-performance audience evaluation into his analysis. For Divita, this distinction also proved productive in highlighting important

differences in interpretation of cultural narratives at communal and individual scales, contributing toward a more nuanced understanding of the processes of identification for both individuals and collectives. However, Han (2009) highlights that on/off-stage distinctions are often fluid, sometimes changing momentarily depending on the actions of participants or focus of analysis. And indeed, I too found that, across the different contexts of the KSU community, the evocations of on- and off-stage frames, while always salient, could often seem fleeting or shifting. Therefore, my analysis of performance contexts at KSU do not simply reproduce dichotomies of ‘off-‘ and ‘on-‘ stage, but also explore how these distinctions are achieved, as well as considering instances of liminality (Turner 1969), where the distinction between off/on-stage is more fluid and undefined.

Overall then, by putting acts of language on display (Bauman and Briggs 1990:73) and creating ties with other performances and lived experiences across spaces and times (Bell and Gibson 2011) performance offers a potentially powerful lens to investigate the processes whereby language ideologies and identities are reproduced, negotiated and transformed across the KSU community. Language in performance is one way that social groups ‘package up stylistic and semiotic processes’ (Coupland 2007:155) in a semiotic horizon that both embodies and pushes the limits of sociolinguistic meanings and associations (Bell and Gibson 2011:555).

2.4.5 Stance-taking, Ideology and Identity in Metacommentary

As mentioned previously, contexts of staged performance emerged as particularly significant spaces for the negotiation of language ideologies and identities at KSU, but the study also focussed its analysis on contexts of metalinguistic commentary, particularly those created in interviews with key participants throughout the research (described further in the methodology

section). Analysis of metacommentary in interviews allowed the study to examine in more detail how the history-in-person and personal investments of individuals shaped the ways that ideologies of multilingualism were constructed and the possibilities these offered to speakers as resources for negotiation of multilingual identities. As Rymes (2014) writes, analysis of metacommentary can enable close examination of the communicative repertoires speakers accumulate through lived experience and how elements of these repertoires are drawn on ‘in the moment’ to make meaning. Metacommentary is defined by Rymes (2014: 304) as commentary about language, in which people point to the situated communicative value and meanings of the signs they use. As such, Rymes’ term ‘metacommentary encompasses Silverstein’s (1993) distinctions of meta-pragmatic discourse and meta-pragmatic functions of language. Both constitute examples of language referring reflexively to language (Lucy 1993) and have indexicality as their object, concerned with the meanings conveyed by indexical signs in contexts of use. However, whilst meta-pragmatic discourse denotes instances of conscious, explicit metacommentary, in which speakers draw attention to how linguistic signs function in particular contexts (Lucy 1993, Urban 2006, Rymes 2014), metapragmatic function, whilst also enabling the manipulation of signs, is more implicit and potentially beyond the speakers ‘limits of awareness’ (Silverstein 1981). Such meta-semiotic processes not only play an active part in the circulation of signs and their meanings, but have the potential to contribute to ideological discourse of culture and language in new and agentic ways (Urban 2001).

Whilst aspects of narrative interview data have been viewed productively by some researchers as an example of performance (e.g. Baynham 2011), the issue of metapragmatic function falling outwith the awareness of the speaker raises some potential issues in terms of viewing metacommentary in a performance frame, for the purposes of analysis. Rampton (2009) points out that performance approaches are not always appropriate in the analysis of more ‘everyday’,

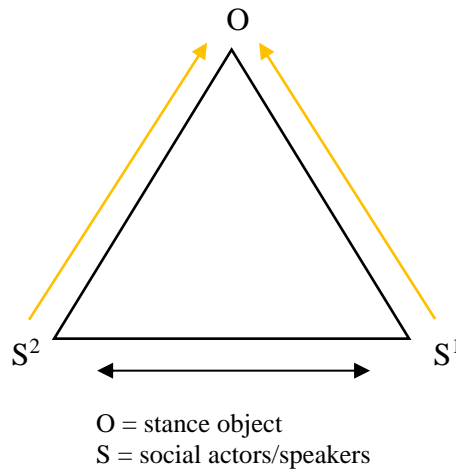
less ‘staged’ interactions. He argues that, as conscious reflexivity and control are central to concepts of performance (e.g. Bauman and Briggs 1990), they were difficult to reconcile with many of the fleeting, half-articulated instances of heteroglossic language use and social positioning he observed in his young, urban multilingual participants. Rampton cites numerous examples in which speakers drew on indexicalities, where even contextualised meanings were indeterminate or vague, and where invocations of identity were blurred. He also highlights that for many of his participants, in many contexts of interaction, performance was not a frame to which they aspired to or cared about, or that may even have been avoided, due to the inherent risks to the identity of the speaker in terms of perceived authenticity or in-group belonging. He goes on to suggest that in many such instances, the construction of stance was far more important and relevant to his participants than the explicit performance of social identities.

As I began my analysis of the metapragmatic data from interviews with the young, people at KSU, I too felt that stance-taking, rather than performance, was a more suitable conceptual lens for understanding how participants used indexical resources and framed their meanings across interactions, to construct multilingual identities - especially given the inherent tensions and contradictions that characterised the wider, language ideological landscape in Kazakhstan. Furthermore, I also felt that stance-taking more closely reflected the interactional aims of the speakers, in these interview interactions. However, taking stance as the primary analytical lens in my approach to the metacommentary of my participants did not constitute an absolute break with the performance orientated approach described above. In section 2.4.1 I depicted the continuum linking staged performances with everyday performances as ‘shades’ of communication, within a broader linguistic spectrum. Although not as concerned with ‘staged’ contexts as Bauman and Briggs’ (1990), stance can still be conceived of as a fundamentally performative notion, in the Hymesian sense of language-in-use-in context. Jaffe (2015, 2009)

offers stance as a productive lens in the analysis of heteroglossic performances and their sociolinguistic significance and in conceptualising processes of indexicalisation, that link performances with meaning. Johnson (2009) also points out that stances are meta-discursive means by which people can construct orientations toward assumed connections between language and identity itself.

Jaffe (2009:3) defines stance taking as “taking up a position in respect to the form or content of one’s utterance”, stressing its importance in understanding the socially situated and socially consequential acts of positionality in and across interactions. Using a ‘stance triangle’ adapted from Dubois (2007:163) (Figure 1) she describes how speakers construct relationships to their audience and to ‘stance objects’ (an identity, a cultural artefact, an ideology, a linguistic practice etc.), whilst, simultaneously the audience or interlocutor takes up a position vis-à-vis the speaker and the object (Jaffe 2015). These two processes of positioning are seen as dialogic and mutually shaping. Jaffe uses stance as an umbrella term to encompass the multiple and overlapping dimensions that characterise a person’s expression of their relationship to their talk and a person’s expression of their relationship to their interlocutor (Kiesling 2009). In this way, Jaffe’s (2009) notion of stance is similar to Dubois’ (2007:163) definition of stance as “stance is a public act by a social actor, achieved dialogically through overt communicative means, of simultaneously evaluating objects, positioning subjects (self and others), and aligning with other subjects, with respect to any salient dimension of the sociocultural field”. However, for the purposes of my study, I found that Jaffe’s concept, which dwells less on stance-taking as a necessarily ‘overt’ and ‘public’ act was more productive in exploring the metacommentary of KSU participants, that could at times be of a more intimate and less self-conscious nature.

Figure 1: Jaffe's (2015) Stance Triangle (adapted from Dubois 2007)



As an analytical tool, stance has much in common with many of the other underpinning concepts of this study and potentially has much to contribute to exploring issues of identity and ideology. Like the concepts previously discussed, stance is inherently heteroglossic, in that, in order to explore how linguistic, cultural and ideological texts become resources for stance-taking it is necessary to understand the historical trajectories and repertoires of the individuals, communities, contexts and discourses involved (Jaffe 2007). Furthermore, as previously discussed in relation to linguistic identities and ideologies, a stance-taking perspective sees stances as being negotiated interactionally, in collaboration with an interlocutor or audience (Clift 2006, Kiesling 2009, Franziskus 2016). As such, some stances may be fleeting, while others may only emerge as significant through repeated interpersonal encounters across spaces and time. Furthermore, although agency is central to acts of stance-taking, it is important to bear in mind that the extent to which stances can be interactionally negotiated is also highly contingent on the extent to which these ideological resources are enregistered (Agha 2007, Johnson and Kiesling 2008), with Irvine (2009) emphasising that, like imposed identities,

stances can also be unintentional or unwanted (also Coupland and Coupland 2009). Socially and culturally embedded practices, roles and expectations are the backdrop against which stance taking occurs and, as such, it is essential that stances are understood in respect to the way that specific contexts may shape or constrain personal expression (Jaffe 2009:12).

Consideration of acts of stance-taking can also provide a productive lens on the processes involved in indexicality, enregisterment and on how ideologies are reproduced and changed. As Franziskus (2016:219) shows in her research into the stances taken by multilingual speakers, toward Luxembourgish as a legitimate code. Her focus on stance taking “helps to show the moment-to-moment way that language ideologies are expressed, negotiated and contested in everyday interactions and the cumulative effects of those stances over time”. Jaworoski and Thurlow (2009) have also demonstrated how stance-taking has a critical role in the articulation of ideologies of elitism in the travel writing genre, and argue that it is through the widespread adoption and acceptance of such stances, that genre specific indexicalities in text become embedded as ideologies at a community or societal scale.

However, it is essential to bear in mind that stances, like identities are dynamic. As sociolinguistic resources, they can also allow individuals to creatively refigure one set of indexicalities to do different indexical work in different contexts. For example, Bucholtz (2009) observes that different linguistic forms are often associated with different interactional stances, exploring the multivalence of the slang term ‘guey’, as commonly used by Mexican American young people both as a marker of interactional alignment and of particular gender identities. Keisling, (2009) goes so far as to suggest that stance-taking may in fact be where indexicality in linguistic variation begins, and only later do linguistic forms become ideologically associated with social identities. On the other hand, stances may also be acts in which speakers perform their alignment or disalignment with established indexicalities (Jaffe 2009:8). Much of the

literature on stance and indexicality, highlights the importance of attending not only to momentary and fleeting instances of stance taking in interaction, but also to patterns of stance taking over time and space (e.g. Jaffe 2015, Johnson 2009, Jaworoski and Thurlow 2009, Keane 2011). Johnson (2009), for example, argues that recognisable linguistic styles emerge out of stance-taking strategies that prove repeatedly relevant and useful to particular kinds of speakers in certain kinds of interactions. Thus, patterns of stance taking have the power to shape what is indexed by linguistic forms or practices and even, in some cases, to reshape the language ideologies which underpin them, potentially becoming new resources for expression and interpretation. (Jaffe 2009:13).

2.4.6 Stance and Identity

The concept of stance also has potentially valuable insights to offer on the construction of linguistic identities. As with indexical relationships, stance-taking over time can also contribute significantly both to the fluid and dynamic negotiation of identities in interaction, and to more enduring interpretations of a speaker or group's social identity based on linguistic styles (Johnson 2009, Jaffe 2009). Once again, acknowledgment both of agency and constraint are necessary, in exploring the ways that stance and identity symbiotically emerge in interactions, but are intrinsically shaped by the wider cultural and ideological context in which they are embedded (Bucholtz and Hall 2005).

Stances are seen by Jaffe (2009:10) as key 'sociolinguistic resources' with which speakers position themselves and others, and also, by which they are positioned. For example, through shifts in stance, speakers can align with different perceived audiences (Coupland and Coupland 2009), can inculcate acceptance as insiders or distance as outsiders (Franziskus 2016), can claim high value, institutionally legitimised social identities such as 'good student' or 'well

assimilated immigrant' (Rydell 2015) or can simultaneously construct positions of moral authority, whilst simultaneously evaluating others in terms of moral personhood (Shoaps 2009). Moreover, Jaffe (2009:18) reminds us that stance relationships, like indexicalities, are seldom transparent and singular, and that particular stances may index multiple social identities, or that the stance taken by the speaker may be intentionally ambiguous, as the speaker attempts to carve out 'spaces for authoring' in relation to other powerful, dominating discourses. Under different circumstances, seemingly unresolved or unclarified stances may become vehicles for groups and individuals to articulate and make sense of social realities and lived experiences, such as in McIntosh's (2009) study of white community residents in Kenya.

Cumulative acts of stance-taking may have the power to shape how language practices are interpreted and potentially the ideologies with which they are discursively linked. These aspects of a stance oriented analysis not only embrace Bakhtin's concept of the heteroglossic, dialogic utterance (Bakhtin 1981), but allow the study to explore the 'process of linguistic and ideological transformation' that has been identified by Smagulova (2008:195) and other local scholars in characterising contemporary Kazakhstani society.

2.4.7 Stance and Staged Performance and Performances in Stance-Taking Interactions

I have emphasised that I see stance and performance as compatible and mutually informing analytical lenses to help understand the linguistic ideological processes of indexicalisation and negotiation of linguistic identities in multilingual, Kazakhstani speakers in the KSU community. On one hand, the concept of stance can enhance analysis of performance contexts. The inherently reflexive nature of stance and the central role of audience and context of interpretation, makes it particularly compatible with Bauman and Briggs (1990)

conceptualisation of performances (Jaffe 2009). As a form of contextualisation, stance can also play a crucial part in 'keying' performance frames, as well as indicating how the positions of performers should be interpreted. On the other hand, attentiveness to participant shifts into performance frames can also enhance understandings of the processes of positioning and alignment that are central to stance-taking (Baynham 2011). Acts of ex- and re-textualisation that constitute performances are never stance neutral, but position the agent of reproduction in certain ways, intended or otherwise (Irvine 2009 and Jaffe 2015). Moreover, stances in staged performances can co-implicate and position audiences, potentially contributing to the reproduction of certain indexicalities and social hierarchies (Bauman 2011:712, Jaffe 2015), or, by the same token, uptake of stances can creatively transform, recast or undermine speaker's original stance claims, depending on interpretation and reaction (Goodwin 2006). Thus, the heightened reflexivity and creativity of performance contexts can also create indexical links between the stances taken toward language practices and ideologies 'on-stage' and the everyday practices and values of the society in which it is embedded (Jaffe 2015:171).

Although an explicit performance approach proved more productive in contexts of staged performance, while stance was more relevant to contexts of metacommentary, the two analytical lenses were by no means mutually exclusive. Within the performance contexts analysed, participants frequently engaged in acts of stance-taking, whether it be in relation to the ideologies of national identity and mother tongue constructed through the state's Trinity of Languages project or in opposition to imposed, negative identities of linguistic inadequacy reproduced through discourses of English language learning. As Rymes (2014:303) points out "the more you look, the more it seems all utterances are meta-pragmatically saturated". And similarly, in metapragmatic contexts of stance-taking speakers would occasionally 'breakthrough' into more self-conscious performance frames, a notable example being key

participant Dariga's agentive and conscious construction of a meta-discursive 'stage' on which, though her deliberate, reflexive use of translingual orthography she performs her evaluative, moral stance towards ideologies of Kazakh ethnic and linguistic identity.

2.5 Chapter Summary

In this review of literature, I have advocated that viewing language and (trans)languaging through the lens of heteroglossia can offer new perspectives on the processes of language ideological transformation in Kazakhstan, and how this agent-centred approach helped the research to understand the meanings and implications of linguistic and ideological resources for multilingual people. In Kazakhstan, language is widely constructed as a nexus between cultural and material activities (Dave 2007, Heller and Duchene 2007) and between the past 'roots' of individuals and their 'routes' in the future (Yessenova 2005). In this Chapter, I reviewed the existing scholarship on the Trinity of Languages, language ideology and identities in Kazakhstan and discussed how historical, political, cultural and social forces have shaped a linguistic landscape characterised by flux and tension, as old and new, local and global indexicalities of language practices and linguistic resources meet, combine, compete and hybridise.

In the Methodology chapter which follows, I will explain how the study's linguistic ethnographic research design and methods of data collection, explored the key concepts of ideology, identity and indexicality as emergent in interaction and in relation to multilingual young people in a university community in Kazakhstan. I will also highlight the relevance of the concepts of performance and stance-taking to understanding the language practices at KSU and how these lenses informed analysis of my data. Later in the thesis, throughout Chapters

Four and Five, I use the concepts of indexicality, translanguaging, performance and stance to explore performance contexts and contexts of meta-discursive commentary by members of the KSU community, before drawing together my findings in an overarching discussion of language ideological processes and negotiation of identities in this Kazakhstani context.

3 METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The Literature Review described the study's theoretical framework, underpinned by Bakhtin's heteroglossic concept of language as dialogue (1981). In the first part of this Methodology Chapter, I explain how the context-sensitive, speaker oriented concerns of this heteroglossic approach, alongside acknowledgement of heterogeneity, fluidity and tension, were reflected in the choice of linguistic ethnography as my research methodology. I discuss how linguistic ethnography's fundamental tenets guided the study, its advantages in studying issues of language ideology and identity in multilingual contexts, its potential tensions and I reflect on my experience of practicing this methodology in a Kazakhstani educational context. Then in section 3.4. I describe my multi-sited, two-phase research design, as well as situating the study in relation to the researched context and community at Kazakh Scientific University (KSU) in Almaty. In Section 3.5. I detail my rationale for and methods of data collection. 3.6 describes data collection in Phase One of the study, including participant observation and fieldnotes, interviews and the collection of material artefacts, as well as the role of my researcher journal, while in 3.6 I focus in particular on the key participant study conducted with four KSU students in Phase Two. Section 3.8. is devoted to explaining my approach to data analysis, both during and after field work, and deals particularly with how the analytical lenses of indexicality, performance and stance discussed in the Literature Review, shaped my interpretations. In the final section of this Methodology Chapter, I address a number of important ethical considerations in relation to my linguistic ethnography at KSU.

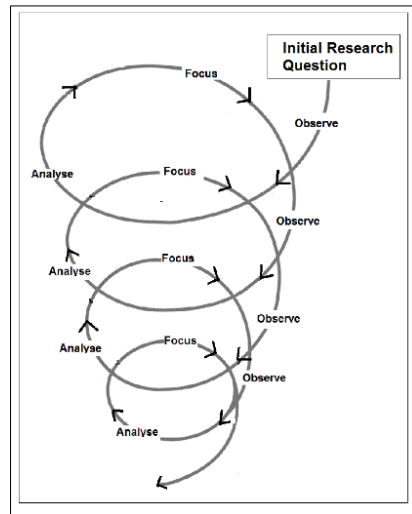
3.2 Research Questions

As has already been outlined in the introduction, my study of multilingualism at KSU seeks to respond to three main questions. These are:

- 1) How are language ideologies performed across contexts at a multilingual university in Kazakhstan?
- 2) How do multilingual individuals in this university use linguistic and ideological resources to negotiate identities?
- 3) How is agency afforded and constrained in performances of multilingual language ideologies and identities?

However, to depict these research questions as being stable and fixed from the outset of my study would be misleading and at odds with my chosen ethnographic approach that emphasises the importance of ‘working by the light of local knowledge’ (Geertz 1983:167). In her description of conducting her ethnography of English language learning in Australian schools, Miller (2003:15) argues that in interpretive studies, all aspects of research design should allow for ongoing flexibility: a position in agreement with authors such as Rampton et al (2015) and Latour (2005) who emphasise that research focus should be based on empirical investigation of the context, rather than on *a priori* assumptions. Erickson (2004:487) discusses how, in qualitative, interpretative research of this kind, data and research questions are constructed in iterative dialogue with each other throughout the research, in what he calls a “process of progressive problem solving”. My own response to this, in the KSU study is represented in Figure Two. Erickson stresses the necessity of describing how data are ‘found’ and accounting for them analytically. I see explaining how and why my study’s research questions were developed as an integral part of this process.

Figure 2: Iterative Research Design



My interest in language ideologies and identities was present from the very first stage of planning the research. However, my initial plan was to investigate these processes specifically in contexts of English language learning. For that reason, the early stages of data collection primarily focused on English language environments, although I did also collect a great deal of data from other contexts in the university and in relation to the other linguistic resources that made up the multilingual repertoire of the KSU community. At first, I viewed this data from non-English language learning contexts as supplementary in nature, but as I continued to review, reflect on and tentatively analyse the corpus, it became clear that language ideologies and identities of English could not be understood without reference to KSU's multilingual language ecology, or as separate from ideologies related to Kazakh, Russian, multilingualism and the Trinity of Languages project. Moreover, I felt that it was in relation to multilingualism, its practices and ideologies, that my participants took up their most powerful stances and which represented one of their most significant resources for the negotiation of identity.

The more deeply I looked, the fewer truly 'English language contexts' I saw at KSU and the less significant their linguistic 'Englishness' became. It was for this reason, that in the second half of my data collection, my view shifted away from English language and toward

multilingualism. I reflected on this change of focus in an entry in my researcher journal in January 2013, just before commencing my second stage of data collection.

As the study has progressed over the last year, it has changed in some ways. Insights emerging from the data and my own experiences have pushed the study away from a focus on 'English' per se, towards a more overt consideration of 'multilingualism'. Originally, I felt that I had inadequate skills and knowledge, both linguistically and culturally, to deal with issues related more explicitly to language ecology in Kazakhstan. However, while I still hold that my language skills and cultural knowledge are, in some ways, marginal in comparison with many of my co-participants in the study, perhaps I have begun to see them as no less valid. My perspective as a 'foreign/international' visitor to this multilingual Kazakh(stani) university is one that appears to be intimately connected to themes emerging as significant within the study: of the ideological links between language identity and questions of language obligations, privileges, ownership and authenticity. Many writers on ethnography talk about the researcher 'becoming fluent in the local language' (E.g. Ahearn 2001), but here at KSU it has been more that I have developed my fluency in locally embedded 'language practices' and my ability to negotiate these across Kazakh, Russian and English, than that I became expert in any one language. I think it is in the combination, juxtaposition and separation of these language practices that the really interesting things are to be said regarding 'discursive spaces' may lie. At first, I felt guilty that this was a failing on my part, but I now see it as process that can be of analytical value to the research.

In the second phase of fieldwork, I modified my research questions slightly, meaning that my data collection became more informed by an intention to explore how language ideologies were constructed, developed and contested in this multilingual university and how individuals used language ideologies as resources to negotiate identities. This proved to be a productive strategy

which contributed to the development of themes such as flexible and separate multilingualism, translanguaging, stance-taking toward multilingualism and multilingual identities and a focus on performance and metacommentary in later analysis. Martin-Jones (2016:192) advocates that, in interpretive research of this kind, researcher reflexivity should be incorporated into every stage and aspect of the research process. It is through such iterative, reflection on my data, my participants, as well my own role in its analysis that my current research questions have taken shape.

3.3 A Linguistic Ethnographic Approach to Research Questions

In order to explore these research questions the study adopted a linguistic ethnographic approach, in which ethnographic and linguistic methodologies were combined to investigate language use in a particular social setting, (Maybin and Tusting 2011), in this case within the community of KSU University, in Almaty, Kazakhstan. Rampton (2007:585) characterises linguistic ethnography as “a site of encounter where a number of established lines of research interact”, emphasising the interdisciplinarity of this methodology, with linguistic ethnographers identifying influences and elements from a range of different ethnographic and linguistic traditions. In its support, Blommaert (2007a:144) remarks, the ‘site’ in which linguistic ethnography is developing is an open and experimental one and “such experiments are rare and valuable”.

Rampton (2007) outlines two basic tenets that are fundamental to linguistic ethnography. The first of these is that meanings are shaped by specific contexts, characterized by particular social relations, histories and institutional practices and that these meanings are produced and interpreted by agentive human actors. He stresses that the real-life contexts in which meanings

are shaped need to be investigated rather than assumed and advocates ethnography as the means by which to do this. As ethnography posits that language and social life are mutually constitutive, it aims to gain an understanding of how language shapes how humans act as social beings and how they use language to construct their social world (Blommaert 2005). It is an interpretive approach concerned with how people make meanings and how these meanings can be interpreted to construct difference (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, Heller 2011, Erickson 1990). In this study, it has been employed to investigate how language is involved in the construction of language ideologies and identities in the context of a multilingual Kazakhstani university. Erickson (1990: 79) points out two ways in which such an approach can benefit research in educational contexts. Firstly, by recognizing that educational spaces are ‘socially and culturally organized environments for learning’ and secondly, that it is important to see the meaning-making perspectives of teachers and students as intrinsic to the learning process.

Exploring these connections between situated practices and wider social and cultural patterns requires an ethnographic base to potentially open up new ways of seeing how linguistic resources organize and are organized in the world of education and language learning (Hymes 1995:45). Therefore, if ethnography might be said to represent a ‘thinking tool’ (Bourdieu 1977) in this linguistic ethnographic inquiry, what properties of this ‘tool’ might best afford an exploration of language ideology and identity in this Kazakhstani, educational context? The sections below discuss how aspects of ethnographic practice allowed the processes of language ideologies and identity to be considered within a matrix that acknowledged the social and cultural significance of language use (Miller 2003:15).

3.3.1 Principles and Practice of Ethnographic Research

An ethnographic approach entails more than just a set of methods for collecting data. It implies that the research process and knowledge produced are underpinned by a set of ontological and epistemological assumptions about language, communication and social life (Blommaert 2005:233). Linguistic ethnography acknowledges that language practices and the social world are mutually shaping and that detailed examination of situated language use can provide insights into social contexts (Rampton et al 2004). By considering the small phenomena of interaction alongside the larger phenomena of the wider social context we can begin to understand both levels in terms of the other (Blommaert 2005:16). Linguistic ethnography also assumes that social groups are heterogeneous and fluid, prompting the researcher to critically investigate how identities and ideologies emerge in a reciprocal relationship with social practices. The sections which follow discuss how these foundations shaped the research, in its aim to open up spaces and new perspectives on identity, ideology and language.

3.3.2 Complexity

Ethnography takes the stance that social groups and identities are not static, but result from ‘identity work’ in interaction – context specific negotiations that involve the agency of the individual (Bucholtz and Hall 2004). Indeed, Heller (2011:7) insists that it is necessary to foreground complexity and mobility in order to grasp how and why social relations and differences are constructed through language as they are. This has a number of implications for the ways in which ethnography itself is practiced. Firstly, such an approach emphasises the significance of a specific real-world setting and investigation of phenomena in a holistic way

(Goetz and LeCompte 1984). Furthermore, meanings themselves are subject to change and re-interpretation (Hymes 1995:9). Therefore, ethnography typically involves the extended presence of the researcher in the field over time - in this case, ten months of field-work in a Kazakhstani university - in order to capture how language practices shift, change and develop (Delamont 2002, Emerson et al 1995).

3.3.3 Language and identity are historically located.

If language practices and communities are inherently complex and diverse, it is important to consider what shaped this complexity and diversity. Without understanding the processes through which ideologies of language are constructed, Heller (2011) argues that very little of what people do with language will make sense. This ethnography aimed to situate its findings in relation to the historical development of wider social discourses around language and identity in Kazakhstan, as well as the personal-historical aspects of individual identities and language practices. In an attempt to strike a balance between history and complexity, analysis viewed instances of language-in-use as '*precipitates of continuous cultural processes*' (Silverstein and Urban 1996:1) as processes and patterns that index ideologies, identities and positions, rather than encapsulate them (Irvine and Gal 2000). Furthermore, just as ideological discourses are formed through processes of intertextuality, with their meanings and forms dependent on past uses and present associations (Bailey 2012), so ensuring that data was always viewed, as far as possible, in relation to the 'history in person' of the individual was intended to combine sensitivity to the shaping role of 'the sediment from past experience' (Holland et al 1998:18) and to the forces of agency and the emic perspectives of participants.

3.3.4 An Emic Perspective

A distinguishing feature of ethnography is its interest in how individuals make sense of their own experience (Watson and Gegeo 1988). If we take the view that actors experience the social world as real according to the meanings they attribute to it and that this “interpretative sense making is central to social life” (Erickson 1990: 100), then it becomes apparent that an ethnographic approach is needed to investigate how the meanings people make can influence the possibilities and limitations created by languages, societies and education (Hymes 1995:9). Therefore, this ethnography aimed to develop an account not only of what teachers and students of KSU did with linguistic resources, but how they understood these processes and the consequences they had. However, this is not to suggest that such emic perspectives were wholly privileged in the research process or the final account (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004), as both my and the participants’ ways of understanding the context proved valuable when interpreting practices in the field (Lofland 1976).

3.3.5 Researcher Reflexivity

Ethnography aims to capture the complexity of language and identity practices in real-life, social settings, but to claim that an ethnography could ever be entirely comprehensive would be misleading. Every account is in some way partial and will represent a view of social life from a particular vantage point (Hymes 1995: 33). In ethnography, the researcher herself is the primary research instrument (Han 2009) and understanding *how* she learns new, culturally shared meanings is a critical part of the ethnographic process (Heller 2011:42, Hammersley and Atkinson 2007:9). Bakhtin believed that all human beings existed in a state of unavoidable

‘addressivity’ (1990), of simultaneously addressing - be it interlocutors, audiences, discourses - and of being addressed - of being noticed, understood, interpreted and positioned by these same forces (1981:282). This view highlights how salient and constitutive this relationship is in all social interactions, from which research is by no means exempt. Attempting to describe and critique how this relationship of addressivity is constructed between the researcher, data and participants is crucial to understanding how presumptions of power, stance, identity and meaning might shape the ethnography’s findings. Moreover, Heller suggests that research into language-in-social-life should be considered a social practice in itself in which “we can account for what we see...why we see what we do...and what it means to tell the story” (Heller 2011:7). Therefore, it was vital that I recorded and reflected on how my presence and participation shaped the context and practices I was investigating, as well as how my own history, values and identity shaped the questions I asked and the interpretations I constructed (Barwell 2003).

3.3.6 Relations of Power

To claim that language practices and communities are dynamic and heterogeneous is not to suggest that all linguistic resources are equally available to all speakers or that the meanings made by differently positioned social actors will be equally valued (Norton 2000, Hymes 1995). ‘Who you are’ can be equated with ‘what you are allowed to do’ (Norton 2000:8) and therefore the extent to which individuals are able to negotiate how their language practices are interpreted are inevitably constrained by wider social discourses and relations of power (Blackledge and Creese 2010:58, Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004, Miller 2003). An ethnographic approach offers possibilities both for investigating and responding to the way in which relations of power can construct social difference and inequity. Rather than attempting to understand the world through

predetermined, *a priori* categories, ethnography takes an empirical, ‘bottom-up’ approach to discover how processes work in specific places and times (Heller 2011:39). Moreover, as discussed above, ethnography foregrounds the importance of developing an emic understanding of practices and the actors themselves, and thus has the potential to overcome social divisions between knowers and known (Hymes 1995:14).

3.3.7 Linguistics and Ethnography

The discussion above has attempted to show how the linguistic ethnographic methodology used in this study shares a great deal with what might be referred to as more ‘traditional’ ethnographic approaches, both in terms of principles and practice, and how these enabled the study to explore issues of language ideology and identity. Thus, having established in what ways the research will be ethnographic, it is equally important to consider its linguistic dimensions.

I see the research as ‘linguistic’ in two, related, ways. Firstly, the object of inquiry is identified as the language practices and ideologies of a multilingual, university community in Kazakhstan, with the aim of shedding light on the relationships between these practices and the way in which identities are negotiated in this context. Therefore, the study required a methodology that allowed the role of linguistic resources to be foregrounded in analysis. This leads on to the second ‘linguistic’ facet of this particular ethnography: that it takes interactional phenomena of language, communication and discourse as the ‘point of entry’ into analysis of social and cultural relationships (Rampton et al 2004:6). In my study, this entailed fine-grained analysis of data from contextualized interactions, from performance and meta-discursive contexts, in the form of detailed field-notes, transcription of audio recordings and written and video ‘texts’

produced by participants. Rampton (2007) holds that analysis of the internal organization of such semiotic data is essential to understanding its significance and its ‘meanings’ in the social world. In this respect, the methodological capacity of ethnography can be enhanced by linguistic analyses in linguistic ethnographic research (Maybin and Tusting 2011).

3.3.8 Possibilities and tensions in linguistic ethnography

The rationale for creating dialogue between linguistic and ethnographic approaches is effectively two-fold (Rampton et al 2004, Rampton 2007). Firstly, ethnography can ‘open linguistics up’, by making reflexivity a central part of the research process, pushing analysis towards a non-deterministic understanding of interactional data, where meaning is simultaneously situated in the complexities of the local context and embedded in the wider social world (Rampton et al 2004, Rampton 2007, Blackledge and Creese 2010). Secondly, the analytical frameworks of linguistics have the potential to ‘tie ethnography down’, by taking contextualised instances of language use as the basis on which to develop cultural understandings (Rampton et al 2004, Rampton 2007). In this way, clearly detailed procedures for identifying and isolating particular aspects of language not only allow for the production of more detailed and nuanced ethnographic accounts (Blackledge and Creese 2010), they may also increase perception of rigour in ethnographic research, by making a greater amount of reported data accessible (Rampton 2007). However, integrating the analytic distance afforded by linguistics with the local, insider perspective of ethnography is potentially a challenge to the researcher, when describing and explaining the practices she has observed (Maybin and Tusting 2011). Therefore, throughout the research, it was vital that I continually reflected on and accounted for how these different voices and perspectives were represented (Eisenhart 2001).

Another feature of linguistic ethnography is that research in this area tends to be interdisciplinary in nature, enabling studies to engage with literatures and methodologies concerned with the role of language across the social sciences (Rampton 2007). This potentially makes a range of theoretical, methodological and conceptual tools available to linguistic ethnographers, enabling studies to consider a diverse array of issues in their work (Maybin and Tusting 2011:11). In this study, this ‘disciplinary eclecticism’ enabled exploration of links between the local meanings of language practices and broader relations of power and ideology within and beyond Kazakhstan (Blackledge and Creese 2010), by working dialogically – back and forth between here-and-now details and structural relations of social difference that sediment over time (Heller 2010:192). However, selection of analytical tools needed careful consideration to ensure they were epistemologically and practically compatible with the linguistic ethnographic approach. In addition, having different ‘lenses’ with which to examine the same interaction has helped provide new, deeper insights from a range of perspectives, driving the resultant account of linguistic ideologies and identities in the KSU community to be more comprehensive and nuanced (Hymes 1995, Blommaert 2005).

3.3.9 Challenges and Opportunities of Linguistic Ethnography in Kazakhstan

Although it draws on a range of well-established research traditions, linguistic ethnography is still considered by some as an ‘emergent’ methodology and is therefore the focus of on-going debate (Maybin and Tusting 2011, Blackledge and Creese 2010). Hymes (1995:3) proposed that engaging with such debates on the social practice of ethnography and how it interacts with the object of its inquiry was “the true opportunity of ethnography” in educational research. And,

indeed, engaging with debates around the aims, objects and legitimacy of linguistic ethnography turned out to be a particular challenge to me in the social context of Kazakhstan.

Firstly, there was the legacy of the Soviet era ‘Institute of Ethnography’, a government body which played a major role in legitimizing the Nationalities policies charged with establishing primordialist links between specific ethnic groups and specific geographical areas, language systems and cultural artefacts and practices (Wolczuk and Yemelianova 2008:186). This state scientific institution had the task of determining the ‘official’ defining characteristics of the many groups that comprised the Soviet Union’s population, including language, cultural symbols (costumes, instruments, festivals, foods etc.) and aspects of ‘ethnic character’ such as disposition and personal qualities. Post-Independence as well, the government has dedicated considerable funds and support to ‘ethnographic projects’ devoted to proving the primordial link between the Kazakh ethnic population and the territory of modern Kazakhstan. This notion of ethnography (*etnografiya* in Russian) is still the dominant perception of the discipline in the country today and due to this, many of my participants seemed to have difficulty reconciling my approach of ‘linguistic ethnography’ with this concept.

This was evident from the questions my colleagues asked at the beginning of the study, with most assuming that was I looking for particular characteristics of how ethnically Kazakh people learned English. I also noticed evidence of this view in group interviews with student participants, who would often lead discussions in the direction of describing what made Kazakh people different from other ethnic groups or on national differences in ‘mentality’ (*mentalitet* in Russian). A number of key participants also used this assumption to guide their early audio recordings, for example one student who chose to interview migrant Uzbek bakers about cooking their national foods. It was not until my participants had got to know me better, until they had been actively involved in the study and until I had opportunities to share my

developing data and findings with them, that I began to feel more confident that they understood what it was that I was trying to achieve and the kind of knowledge I wanted to construct in my research.

However, misunderstandings about the nature of ethnography were not the only challenges I encountered. I also discovered the interpretive, post-structuralist research paradigm in which I was working, was not only unfamiliar to the majority of my Kazakhstani colleagues, it was often at odds with what they viewed to constitute legitimate, valuable research. Almost every time I described my research design, I would be asked, incredulously ‘*but what is your hypothesis?*’, ‘*but where is your questionnaire?*’ (from research journal entry). Once again, I think the roots of this disconnect lie in the way that Soviet ideology has shaped the academic environment in Kazakhstan, especially for many of my local colleagues who were trained and built their research careers in very Russified institutions. Dave (2004) cites Tishkov (1997) in describing the ‘positivist legacy of Soviet social science’ in which numbers and documents acquired an objective existence and material salience in society. This epistemological standpoint thereby also constructs the findings of social research as legitimate in the extent to which they are ‘scientific’, immutable and fixed, similar to the way in which Soviet ideology judged the value of research by its ability to produce a picture of social life that was as detailed as it was homogeneous (Wolczuk and Yemelianova 2008:184). For many of the local scholars I spoke to about my research, the idea that my study would not produce objective truths about patterns of language preference or about the characteristics of one group of learners in contrast to another seemed difficult to comprehend. The idea that my study set out to explore the fluidity and heterogeneity of linguistic ideologies and identities in their community, seemed an unsatisfactory aim in the eyes of many.

Irvine and Gal (2000:36) observe that it is not just participants of sociolinguistic research who are shaped by ideologies of language, but that researchers themselves bring certain ideological stances to bear in how they interpret social worlds and linguistic practices. It is in the same vein, that, in their paper on the challenges of conducting interdisciplinary research in post-soviet contexts, Wolczuk and Yemelianova (2008:172) emphasise a need for collaborations between Western researchers and local scholars, in order that research findings take local research paradigms, ideologies and epistemological frameworks into account. While I did strive to ensure that the voices and perspectives of KSU staff and students were represented in the research, I often found this relationship a difficult one to negotiate and one that I needed to work, at times, to make productive. However, I do think that the tensions created between my linguistic ethnographic approach and the emic perspective of many in the researched community, overall had a positive influence on the study and its findings. Firstly, I benefited greatly from academic colleagues who were open and willing to engage with debate and critique of the different research paradigms in which our work was embedded. This not only helped me deepen my understanding of the context of my research, but also highlighted the significance of locally and historically embedded webs of ideologies. Moreover, constant awareness of this tension drove me to continually question and critically reflect on every aspect of my research design, data collection and analysis. Miller (2014:21) points out that ideologies are never to be found 'floating in a macro world of abstract beliefs, but are generated and constituted in interaction'. And it was through interaction with local scholars that I feel we both ultimately came to appreciation and better understanding, if not agreement, on the value of research moulded by vastly different historical and social forces.

3.4 Research and Data Design

To engage with linguistic ethnography's critical potential to illuminate social relationships that may otherwise be invisible or taken-for-granted in everyday life, through a bottom-up, empirical approach (Blackledge and Creese 2010), the research design, like the research questions, needed to be flexible to unanticipated contingencies as they unfolded in the field (Heller 2011:42). The following sections outline the design of the study, how it evolved throughout the research process and the different data collection strategies which were employed.

3.4.1 Research context and community.

The primary research site was Kazakh Scientific University (KSU - pseudonym) in Almaty. Educational contexts have been identified as important sites through which circulating discourses of language ideology and identity are mediated (Miller 2003, Blackledge and Creese 2010, Seargeant 2009) and in which individuals are brought into contact with models of social identification, which become the discursive resources through which they position themselves in and beyond this institutional world (Silverstein and Urban 1996). Furthermore, as has already been mentioned, my previous links with KSU, and my study of Kazakh language and culture, suggested it as a potentially good site for my research into language ideology and identity in Kazakhstan. During my exchange visit, I was fortunate to be able to speak to the Head of the English Department personally about my plans for my project and, not only to receive her permission, but her support of my appointment to part-time English lecturer in the university – a position that would allow me to procure a long-term visa and access to the university.

KSU is among Kazakhstan's top-tier universities, specialising in technical subjects and (at the time of research) offering courses in all three of Kazakhstan's official languages, Kazakh, Russian and English. KSU cultivated a very international image, not only teaching in English, but well known for having higher numbers of 'foreign' English speaking staff, for having active links with universities abroad and for holding accreditation from a number of international bodies. For these reasons, KSU had a reputation not only for providing high quality education, but also for being an elite institution. One student in an interview articulated the view I had heard numerous times, both within and beyond the university "*There are two types of KSU student. Either they are very smart or they are very rich*", no doubt in reference to the fact that around 60% student body had been awarded grants for academic excellence and the other 40% had gained entrance on the basis that their families could afford the high tuition fees. It was situated in a historic building in the centre of Almaty - Kazakhstan's largest city, with a population of around 2 million, and former capital. Compared to most other cities in Kazakhstan (with the exception of Astana and possibly the oil city of Atyrau in the West) Almaty is widely considered to be more modern, metropolitan and more affluent. However, due to its reputation and highly sought-after grants programme, KSU drew its student body of around 2000 from cities all over Kazakhstan, with fairly equal representation from both sexes.

The vast majority of students were ethnically Kazakh (far above the national demographic of 63%), but Russian was definitely the main language of communication, in informal interactions between students and staff, in the everyday administrative life of the university, as well as in classes, where even in subjects nominally taught in English or Kazakh, Russian was often used to facilitate understanding, teaching and learning. As has been mentioned previously, this dominance of Russian was not unusual in elite contexts in Kazakhstan, where it was often assumed to be the unmarked lingua-franca and was also more likely to be the dominant

language of the more urban, affluent background of many students and staff. However, I also noticed, from an early stage, that many of the local, Kazakh KSU students were bilingual in Kazakh and Russian, with it being a common feature of informal talk between ethnically Kazakh, speakers of Kazakh, although in these situations translanguaging between the two languages was also prevalent. Of course, Kazakh was also a significant linguistic feature of Kazakh medium disciplines or Kazakh language classes. Kazakh was almost never spoken outside of these classes by students and staff of other ethnicities or other nationalities. English, on the other hand, with very few notable exceptions, was only ever used in English medium disciplines, activities or English language classes or in encounters with the universities ‘foreign’, English speaking teachers, (even though many of them were actively studying Russian and possessed varying levels of fluency in the language).

Despite the apparent disbalance in language use, a great many of the university’s practices and procedures seemed intended to promote the kind of balanced multilingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English espoused by the Trinity of Languages project. Depending on the medium of instruction of high school education, all first-year students were required to study the ‘other’ local language (either Kazakh or Russian) throughout their first year, in addition to English. All official signs and posters around the university were displayed in three languages, with Kazakh foremost, (as was the law in Kazakhstan). The university website and promotional literature provided material in three languages and all official paperwork required a Kazakh and Russian translation, with informal English translations being provided for foreign staff by local colleagues. Even though the university could probably have functioned perfectly well in Russian only (in fact perhaps even more smoothly), a great deal of time and effort was devoted to projecting and promoting an environment of multilingualism.

In many ways, KSU could be seen as a kind of ‘figured world’ – “socially produced, culturally constructed entities, where people come to conceptually, materially and procedurally create and perform new understandings of self” (Holland et al 1998: 41) – selves as students, as members of an elite academic institution, as future professionals, as multilinguals, as language learners etc. However, Urrieta (2007) stresses that such worlds should be seen, neither as divorced from nor identical to the wider political, economic and cultural contexts and communities in which they are embedded. Especially in my first semester at KSU, I was curious to observe the parallels and differences between the university community and the wider context of the city of Almaty. It turned out that being a foreigner was rather useful in this respect. I found that my ‘outsider’ status meant that, regardless of where I went in the city or who I interacted with, I was always in an equal state of ‘un-belonging’. I was always ‘the foreigner’. In a way, I found this to be rather liberating, as I felt able to go places, do things, and talk to people that I would have been more inhibited about in contexts I was perceived to be part of, or from which tell-tale aspects of my insider identity would have precluded me. As such, in my free time, I attended corporate functions, I rode the bus, I visited art galleries and opera theatres, shopped at bazaars and wandered around the less salubrious micro-regions, I was invited to upmarket restaurants and to family, home cooked meals, and I got to know academics, students, house-wives and immigrant workers. All of these experiences gave me valuable insights into the relationship between the university and the city as a whole.

This highlighted that Almaty was home to a far more diverse community than was represented in KSU: economically, educationally and ethnically. It also sparked my critique of the way Kazakhstan and Almaty’s language ecology had been portrayed in much of the literature, as one in which Russification, both linguistically and culturally, was effectively hegemonic. However, my experience as a Kazakh learning/speaking foreigner, with poor Russian language

skills, suggested a rather different picture. I found that, in contrast to what many foreigners and locals told me, I was quite able to navigate my life in Almaty through Kazakh, as opposed to Russian. I noticed that translanguaging across the two languages was a common practice and that bilingual people would alter their language practices in accordance with how they perceived their addressee, or depending on the situation. For example, if an interlocuter looked ‘Russian’ or foreign, Russian tended to be used. Or I would notice groups of friends who had been translanguaging, switch to Russian only to talk to assistants in an expensive shopping mall or an official at a government office. Even on the bus I took to the university each morning, that cut a route from the city’s less affluent micro-regions to the more privileged city centre, the driver would change the language in which he addressed his customers depending on the stop, just as the language ecology of the bus would fluctuate along the route (examples from research journal). These developing insights not only helped me to better understand the perspectives, experiences and practices of my KSU participants, but also orientated my gaze towards an exploration of multilingualism as a means for understanding processes of language ideology and identity in Kazakhstan.

3.4.2 Multisitedness and Boundaries

Eisenhart highlights the need for ethnography to respond to the challenges of tracking the trajectories of people, symbolic resources and cultural meanings in ‘*translocal*’ ways (2001: 22). For this reason, although the research was based at KSU, the study adopted a fundamentally multi-sited approach, in an attempt to follow cultural symbols and practices across times and contexts with the aim of illuminating connections, parallels and contrasts through which the individuals understand their social world and their place in it (Marcus 1995). For a long time,

the issue of how to define the context of my research and where its boundaries lay, was one that I struggled to resolve. In fact, it was not until after the field-work period of the study was completed and I was fully engaged in the analysis of the data that I felt I had reached a satisfactory solution of how to define the context of my research.

As will be described in more detail below, my study began by gathering data from contexts within the university (classrooms, extra-curricular clubs, teachers' meetings, events etc.) and from students and teachers of KSU. However, even in the early stages of research, my data collection was not only limited to the physical boundaries of the KSU campus. As suggested previously, reflections on my experiences off-campus helped inform the construction of the data and developing findings. Moreover, in interviews, my participants seemed as eager to talk about their experiences beyond the university as they were to discuss their academic lives, pushing me toward the realisation that, in order to make sense of the meanings they attributed to their language practices and linguistic identities, I would have to extend my scope to other, non-institutional contexts. It was for this reason, that in the second stage of my data collection, as well as talking to key participants about their lives beyond the university, I also gave them the freedom to make their own audio recordings in any situations they felt were meaningful to their multilingual repertoires and linguistic identities. As Collins (2013:205) notes, it is necessary that researchers seek to understand 'voice' across layered socio-temporal and sociolinguistic sites and scales.

Therefore, although I had always intended to adopt a multi-sited data design, I had not anticipated the extent to which the 'spaces' I would need to explore would be as personal, cultural and socio-historical as they were physical (Bhabha 1994, Wei 2008, Blommaert 2007b). In this respect, I again found the lens of heteroglossia to be of great help, in its emphasis on interpreting language practices from the perspective of the speaker (Bakhtin 1981,

Blackledge and Creese 2014) or what, Bauman and Briggs (1990:69) refer to as an agent-centred approach. The framework of heteroglossia, together with my growing realisation that interpretation was impossible without reference to the individual speaker, presented me with a different way of conceptualising my research ‘context’. Rather than focussing on KSU as a ‘context’ I would focus on it as a ‘community’ – albeit an inherently dynamic and heterogenous one. This notion appeared to be emically meaningful, as the idea and identity of belonging to KSU emerged repeatedly as one that was significant to participants and which also allowed them a degree of agency in co-constructing the data, through the active process of ‘contextualisation’. As Cook-Gumpertz and Goffman (1976) argue contexts emerge in negotiation between the participants and broader social and cultural relations. In response to this, the study takes as its boundaries, those that were deemed meaningful by particular members of the KSU for contextualising and interpreting their language practices – myself, as a member of that community, included.

3.5 Data Collection

Data collection took place over the ten-month period of KSU’s Autumn and Spring semester, 2012-2013 and was conducted in two phases. As Delamont (2002:141). states, it is important for the ethnographer to stay long enough to appreciate the depth of data, the historical rhythms and shared meanings that may exist in a field. Phase One took place in the Autumn semester spanning August to December 2012. During this phase, data collection was broad in scope, incorporating a wide range of contexts and participants, with the intention of developing an understanding of the practices and patterns which were ‘typical’ of KSU (Jaffe 2006, Heller 2011), as well as developing an awareness of the kind of heterogeneity that existed within its

community, in terms of communicative repertoires, values, discourses experiences. This picture was built up by weaving together data from a range of ethnographic research methods (described below).

Although, traditionally, ethnography has tended to focus on patterns in its attempt to understand the practices and beliefs of researched communities, work such as that of Jaffe (2015), Wei (2011) and Hornberger (1995) has highlighted the value of attending to improvised, spontaneous practices, as well as established ones. Jaffe (2015) and Holland et al (1998) stress that exempting improvisation from ethnographic analysis risks unfairly diminishing the role that individual agency plays in everyday actions. Hornberger (1995) argues that it is through moment-to-moment negotiations and interactions that individuals contribute to the ‘flow’ of wider discourses, as well as to their own identities, and it is important that educational ethnographies attend to both of these aspects. Therefore, as Jaffe (2006:1) points out, “while both the unusual and the habitual can be telling examples in different ways...it is crucial to be able to make appropriate distinctions’ through systematic data collection and rigorous research design”. From December 2012 to mid-January 2013, the university held its examinations and New Year holiday, therefore I used this period to review the corpus of data and to conduct some preliminary analysis that would allow me to focus my data collection in the Spring semester based on tentative analytic themes that were emerging – for example the shift toward investigation of multilingualism that has been described previously.

While Phase One had been broad in scope and concerned with grasping language ecology and the kind of heterogeneity that characterized the KSU community, Phase Two was more focused on detailed investigation of language ideologies and identities in individuals. From February to May 2013, as well as continuing with participant observations within the university, I also

carried out a key participant study, in which four students were recruited to make audio recordings in situations they felt were significant to their multilingual identities, to be interviewed about these recordings and other aspects of their daily lives and language practices and to keep a ‘language diary’. The purpose of the key participant study in Phase Two, was to better allow me to investigate how individual, multilingual young people, in specific contexts, each with different histories and trajectories, performed and negotiated language ideologies and identities, in the socio-culturally situated tensions between agency and structure that shaped their particular lives. Furthermore, I also continued with the collection of documents and photos and with the keeping of my researcher diary during this time. The two phases of data collection are summarised in Table 2.

Table 2: Data Collection

Phase	Time Period	Data Collection	Analytical/ReflectiveActivities
Phase One	August 2012- December 2012 (Autumn Semester)	Participant Observation and Field Notes in KSU contexts Group interviews (students) Individual Interviews (students, teachers, administration) Document, photograph and video collection	Writing up field notes Writing up interview summaries Monthly review and write up of reflection on data Researcher journal
Interim Phase	Mid-December - January 2013 (Exam and holiday period)	None	In depth review across all data sets Writing of analytical notes and summaries Development of preliminary themes Revision of research questions and focus Planning of Phase 2 data collection design Researcher journal

Phase Two	February – May 2013 (Spring Semester)	Participant Observation, Field Notes and recording in KSU contexts Key participant interviews Key participant audio recordings Key participant language diaries Document, photograph and video collection	Writing up field notes Writing up interview summaries and key participant reflections Monthly review and write up of reflection on data Researcher journal
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Overall, this ten-month period of data collection in the field resulted in (approximately) 73 hours of participant observation with field-notes, 10 hours of group interviews with students, 5 hours of individual interviews with teachers, students and administration, 24 hours of recorded key participant audio recordings, 9 hours of key participant interviews, 9 notebooks of handwritten researcher diaries, as well as miscellaneous documents, photographs and video material. The data corpus is summarised in Table 3. (see Appendix 1 for detailed data inventory).

Table 3: Summary of Data Corpus

Phase One: Autumn Semester		
Type of Data		Total Duration
Participant observation and field notes		48 hours
Interviews	Group	10 hours
	Individual	5 hours
Documents, artefacts and photos		4 months (Ad hoc August to December)
Researcher Journal		5 months (August to December)
Phase Two: Spring Semester		
Participant observation and field notes		25 hours
Key Participant Audio recordings (Selected 'key recordings')		24 hours approx. (9 hours)
Key Participant Interviews (recorded)		9 hours
Documents, artefacts and photos		4 months (Ad hoc February to May)
Researcher Journal		5 months (January to May)

3.6 Methods

3.6.1 Participant Observation and Field-Notes

This study sought to understand the meanings that members of the KSU community attributed to and developed through their multilingual repertoires. To do so, it was necessary to investigate these processes ethnographically, in reference to actual social practices. (Silverstein and Urban 1996). This entailed participant observation as a key research strategy, in order to gain insight into specific details of participants' language practices in context (Erickson 1990). As Heller points out, it is necessary for ethnographers to gather data on observable aspects of how language practices are tied to specific conditions, resources and contexts (2011:42). I feel that it is this attention to what actually happens in everyday contexts of communication, that has been missing from much of the previous research done on language and multilingualism in Kazakhstan. Erickson (1990:81) characterizes the objective of the ethnographic observer as being "unusually thorough and reflective in noticing and describing ...and attempting to understand the emic significance of the events he/she observes" (emphasis added). Therefore, by engaging in social action alongside my participants and reflecting on this process, I strived to develop nuanced understandings of the local meanings language practices and ideologies had across different contexts and to different actors (Blackledge and Creese 2010).

In order to document this experience and to make it available as data, I kept detailed field-notes, with the aim of recording as much as possible of 'the lived stuff of social complexity' (Blommaert 2007a). Geertz (1988) describes field-notes as 'the researcher's account of being there', which can provide valuable insight, not only into what was witnessed in the field, but into the way in which it was witnessed by a particular researcher (Blommaert and Dong

2010:37). Although I tried as much as possible to suspend judgement, I, like any other researcher, could not avoid coming into the field with particular values, assumptions and interpretive frameworks. For example, I initially found it difficult at times to avoid making evaluative judgements on the 'effectiveness' of teaching practice, especially as so many of my local colleagues would press me to tell them what I thought, and saw this as one of the primary sources of value I could offer to the department. Field-notes cannot help but be authored from a specific perspective (Emerson et al 1995:10), but as Hymes (1996b) urges, it is the researcher's responsibility to recognize and deal with this in interpretation of the data. Therefore, as well as responding to the emic sensibilities of my participants, it was important to 'write myself in' to the field-notes and subsequent analysis. Throughout the research therefore, I tried to strike a balance in my fieldnotes between recording complexity and analysing partiality (Copland and Creese 2015:38).

Although the writing of field-notes is widely recognised as a mainstay of ethnographic research, there is a great deal of variation in the ways that different researchers write, develop and use them (Walford 2009). For this reason, it is important that I explain my particular practices and processes. Initially, I tried to observe as wide a range of contexts as possible (different classes, teachers, disciplines, events, meetings etc.) following the advice of Blommaert (2007a) to attempt to describe, rather than narrow, complexity in the early stages of research. Jaffe (2006:1) also suggests that 'breadth' is an important part of ethnographic research, in an attempt to grasp the "wholeness of the lives of the people being studied". Whilst acknowledging that the ethnographer's access and gaze will always be partial, she highlights the importance of observing multiple aspects of institutional settings in order to appreciate which practices and discourses are typical and unremarked and which are considered unusual, new or strange.

In describing the nature of my field-notes, I find a distinction discussed in Copland and Creese (2015:40-41) is useful: between 'observational notes' and 'field-notes' proper. My observational notes can be described as the 'hurried, personal' writings done in the field, often unintelligible to a reader other than myself (Delamont 2002), written with the express purpose of recording as much as possible for later analysis and writing up (Emerson et al 1995:105, Walford 2009). Having sought consent to observe a particular class or event (See Ethics Section and Appendix 2), I would sit toward the back of the room and take down notes on what went on, although at times, if asked, I would also help the class teacher with organising or supporting the students during activities. I was guided by Erickson's (2004) questions for writers of ethnographic fieldnotes – What is going on? What are the big differences and shifts that you notice? What are people doing or trying to do? Why? What do people talk about? What assumptions might be shaping the context and action? I would also try to make notes about how I felt, what I did and how participants reacted to or interacted with me. Later, at home, I would use my rough notes to type up a fuller 'field-note' describing the session, shaped to some degree by my developing research questions.

An example is given in Figure 3, of a participant observation I conducted during an Intercultural Communication class in October 2012, on the topic of stereotyping. It shows part of an original observational note, written in rough short-hand, (which I have transcribed below to convey its meaning to readers). Figure 4 shows the field-note which I created later the same day. The fieldnote contains more detail than the original rough version, which I tended to find acted mostly as an aide memoir to my writing up. In the resultant fieldnote, I tried to distinguish between what I saw and my evaluations, feelings, opinions or research related questions about the event, through use of italics. At the end of each field-note, I would make a note of themes and questions that I felt had been raised. I found this helpful when I came to review across all

of the data at the end of each month in order to identify emerging analytical themes or directions for research (Maharaj 2016). In the example, the teacher is shown as CI and the fieldnote reflects the first part of the example observational note.

Figure 3: Example Observational Note

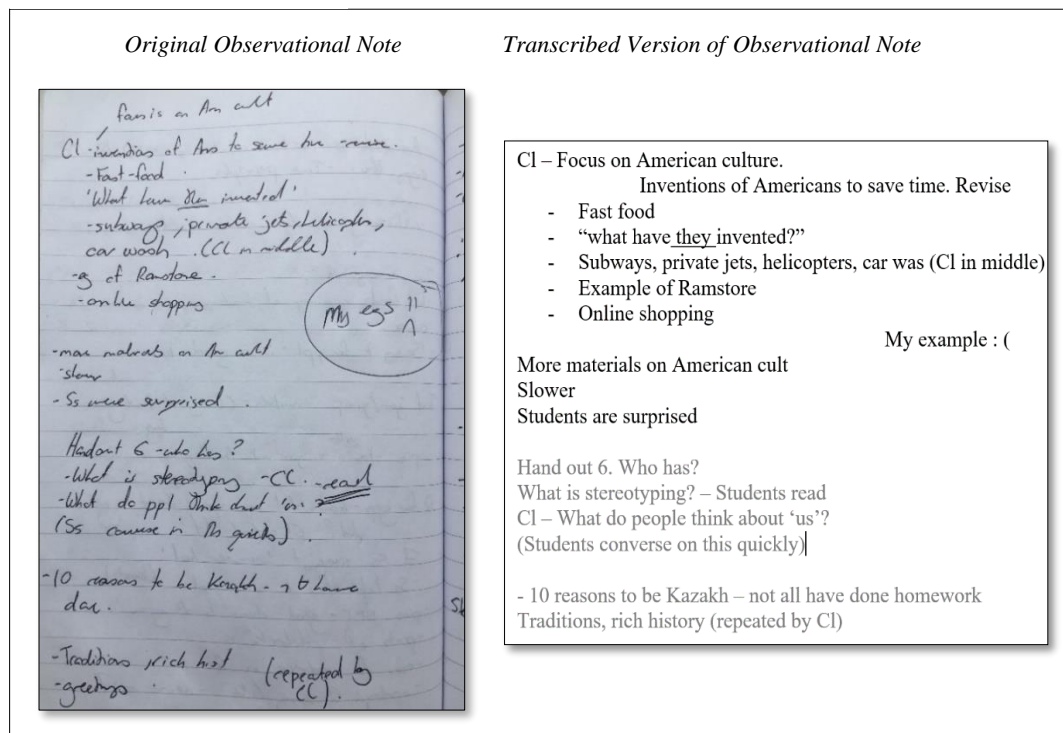


Figure 4: Example Field-note

CI then moved back into the middle of the horseshoe, telling the students that KW's presentation had highlighted a lot of things that Americans had invented to save time. She said that they would now revise this and asked the students "What have they invented?" (*There are many interesting uses of the words they, you, we in this class*). The students called out answers – fast food, subways, private jets, helicopters, car washes. CI also elicits online shopping and gives Ramstore as an example of a shop where you can buy everything in the same place. She also elicits names of American fast food places that are present in KZ. At this point, CI brought me into the conversation by asking the students "what things have British people invented to save time?". The students were looking at me expectantly, so I said that Scottish people had invented a number of famous things, giving the example of Bell and the telephone. CI responded to this with "No, but the British have invented most of the new technologies" giving the example of advances in food production and manufacturing. Trying to add something related, I spoke about how electric break makers were becoming popular with some middle-class people, I thought because doing thing the older, more traditional, slower way was increasingly fashionable, but at the same time, people didn't want to go back completely to the older labour intensive ways of doing things. *My bread making example didn't get much of a response. I couldn't help feeling that this might have been because it didn't fit with the notions they were supposed to be learning or weren't what they were looking for. I was feeling slightly uncomfortable and a little stereotyped myself at this moment in time.*

How the students are positioned by this class and how I am positioned (reflection). Does English language competence and power play a role in this?

3.6.2 Phase One Interviews

Early in Phase One of data collection it became apparent to me that while participant observations were invaluable in offering up detailed ‘slices of experience’ for analysis (Heller 2008:250), time constraints meant that there simply were not enough ‘slices’ to give me an adequate picture of the whole KSU ‘pie’. There were aspects of university life that I was only peripherally aware of and there were participant perspectives I felt I was not able to access from my position of hastily scribbling participant-observer-researcher. Moreover, from the outset of the research I had wanted to find ways of involving members of the KSU community as co-participants in the research process and to create opportunities for them to contribute to and critique my analysis of the data. Hence, I felt that interviews would help address some of these concerns and add a valuable extra dimension to the data set. The more intimate context of face-to-face conversation seemed to encourage many participants to share views and experiences that they would not otherwise have had the chance to contribute, thus creating a means by which the agency and voice of the researched community might shape the study and its findings (Pavlenko 2007). They also provided access to narratives and details of individuals’ past and present lived experiences, thus enabling me to better understand how personal histories came to shape present investments in language and future opportunities (Norton 2000, Hymes 1995, Blommaert and Dong 2010).

However, whilst interview data can be extremely useful, it is also important that they are not used uncritically and unreflectively. Rather than viewing interviews as a window into what participants ‘really’ think, feel or believe, this ethnography saw them as an instance of social interaction like any other (Talmy and Richards 2011, Mishler 1986), in which meaning is actively co-constructed between interviewer and interviewee (Holstein and Gubrium 1995). Moreover, in line with Pavlenko’s (2007:182) observation that “the stories we tell are never

fully our own” Barwell (2003) highlights how relations of power between interlocutors can be crucial to understanding the links between the interview interaction and the wider context of the ethnographic inquiry. For this reason, Pavlenko (2007) urges researchers to attend not only to the content of interviews, but to the forms of responses and context of interaction. My Phase One data set included two types of interview data: individual interviews and group interviews.

3.6.3 Individual interviews

During Phase One, I conducted individual interviews with participants from three different sections of the KSU community: administration, teachers and students. All of the interviewees were known to me in advance and were selected on the basis that I felt some aspect of their role was important to understand how everyday life in the university was organised. For example, I chose to interview one of the university’s Deans, in response to a growing awareness of the extremely hierarchical structure of the university. I also conducted short interviews with the teachers whose classes I had observed, often taking the opportunity to ask further questions about aspects of the event I had not fully understood or to compare their reflections and interpretations of the class with my own. All of the Phase One individual interviews were semi-structured, in an attempt to balance a focus on my research questions with the flexibility and openness of an informal conversation (Johnson and Weller 2002, Richards 2003). However, I was always careful to bear in mind that the focus of the interview should be the person and not the programme, and that I must be prepared to rely on contingency in response to the ‘ideolect’ of the interviewee (Wengraf 2001:64) allowing the interaction to unfold in potentially unexpected ways (Warren 2002, Kvale 1999).

Having mutually agreed a location to meet, I would always prepare an interview guide for myself in advance, in which I would outline key themes to be explored with each particular participant, based on questions emerging from my ongoing data collection and my prior experience with the person in question (Example in Appendix 3). Hoping that it might make my participants feel less inhibited, I opted to make ‘observational notes’ during Phase One interviews, rather than audio recordings. My procedure for doing so was very similar to that of my note-taking in participant observations, in that I would scribble down *aide memoirs* during my discussion with the interviewee and then use these to write up fuller, detailed field-notes later that day. After I had finished writing up the field-note, I would always send a copy to the participant to review, inviting them to comment, correct or withdraw any aspect as they saw fit. I found their corrections or comments extremely valuable on a number of occasions. For example, Figure 5 shows how the Dean responded to my fieldnote of our interview, with clarifications and further details that were important in my analysis of performances within the Go English extra-curricular movement.

Figure 1: Participant’s Contribution to Individual Interview Field-note

<p>I then moved on to ask the Dean about the Go English Movement (GEM – my acronym), explaining that it was something I had been getting quite interested in research-wise. I reminded her that she had said that the inspiration had come from a FENGI colleague of her, during a chance conversation. She said that “it wasn’t exactly the idea from him”, but that when she had been explaining the Rector’s plan to him, he had actually suggested organising some kind of English theatre, as they had both discovered a mutual love of ‘The Big Bang Theory’ – maybe the students could act out a script from this. The Dean had felt that the content was maybe a bit too academic, but this had inspired her to put together the list of Go English activity ideas that she had emailed to us back in September. I asked about the name “Go English Movement”. The Dean laughed and said that it had been her idea. She had a friend who worked in marketing for Proctor and Gamble and that over the summer she had been developing a “Go for Gold” advertising campaign associated with the Olympic team – so from Go for Gold, to Go Olympic to Go English. “Why movement?” I asked her. She laughed again and thought for a bit. Then she replied “I wanted the students to help. I wanted it to be more than something our teachers do” (I feel I should have asked her more about why she felt like this, but didn’t at the time. Now I’m wondering?)</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> A they had been discussing her plans and strategy to develop the ELD A ...suggested doing more to promote English and organising... A The idea was to enable students to take control of the entire initiative with teachers mentoring them along the way. It probably was too idealistic.
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3.6.4 Group Interviews: Discussions with the Student Ethnography Club

In addition to the individual interviews described above, I also held weekly group discussions with KSU students. The primary purpose of these ‘interviews’ was to provide an opportunity for students to contribute to the study, as well as learning more about linguistic ethnographic research. When I first discussed this with my Head of Department, she felt that she would like these interviews to come under the umbrella of the new ‘Go English Movement’ and as such, the activity was dubbed the ‘Student Ethnography Club’ and advertised alongside other English language extra-curricular activities. I was a little anxious at first that the students might presume the weekly meetings would be aimed at English language learning or that they might feel inhibited about contributing, fearing that I would judge them on the basis of their English proficiency, as a teacher in any other class. Therefore, in the first meeting of the ‘club’, attended by around 15 students, I devoted a two-hour session to explaining my research. I explained that I was looking for volunteers throughout the term, who were interested in reviewing aspects of my data with me and offering their insights and opinions on my emerging interpretations, as well as advising me about how aspects of my research design might be improved. I also spent around half of the session answering questions from the students and listening to their ideas about issues and aspects of KSU life that they felt I needed to consider in my study.

The students and I agreed that we would meet every Thursday, in the later afternoon, as this was the time that suited most people. Every week therefore, I would formulate questions relating to my data collection from the previous week to discuss with the students (I did not share ‘raw’ data or any identifying features of other participants in order to maintain confidentiality and anonymity). Sometimes I would ask them to help me better understand a concept, term or theme that was emerging from the data or to speculate about why they felt

certain things were happening in my participant observations. Like the individual interviews, I did not take their contributions at face value, but as different, emic perspectives from across the KSU community. Every Thursday afternoon I would be sitting in the small room designated for the 'club' with tea, biscuits and chairs arranged in a close circle, in order to try and create a less formal atmosphere, in which the students would feel more comfortable expressing their opinions. I had also noticed that informal chats over tea and biscuits were a common practice among my local colleagues and so I also hoped that setting the scene in this culturally familiar way might help suggest that I was treating the students as professional colleagues in research, rather than asserting my authority as a 'teacher', 'adult' or expert'. Attendance was varied, with some students becoming regulars and others dropping in only one or twice, and typically no more than around 6 students at a time.

Although the students were a little shy at first, they tended to quickly lose their inhibitions and the sessions typically resembled fairly free, flexible and open discussions. Although I would start the meeting with a particular question related to the data, the group of students would often take the discussion in an unexpected direction and I usually found it much more useful to follow their line of discussion, rather than stick rigidly to my pre-prepared agenda. This gave me the opportunity to see what aspects of the research or of my questions they found most significant, or for me to become aware of issues I had previously been oblivious to. In fact, during the discussions, I spoke relatively rarely, mostly probing with follow up questions. This meant that the students, although they almost always seemed to orientate to me as their primary 'audience' were mainly reacting and responding to each other's contributions in the discussion. I was also clear at the beginning of each session that I was the only member of the group not fluent in Russian and/or Kazakh, therefore, if they felt they wanted to move their discussion into either or both languages, they should feel free to do so and together we would work out ways of

helping each other understand. Although, for the majority of the time we used English in the meetings (many of the participants wanted an opportunity to practice), this linguistic freedom did prove useful at times, as the students drew on linguistic resources to unpick culturally embedded meanings and language specific concepts, such as nationality and mentality, that otherwise would have remained hidden.

During the sessions, I took observational notes, which I wrote up into field-notes shortly afterwards, paying particular attention to the way in which the interaction unfolded – not just what the students said, but the ways they expressed themselves, the way they positioned themselves in relation to me and to each other, the identities and stances they took up and the roles they adopted in the discussion. After I had written up each meeting, I would circulate the fieldnote to all the participants who had attended, for them to review, revise or comment on as necessary. Many students expressed surprise at the level of detail in these notes, but I also got the impression that they felt pride in their contribution and appreciation that their voice was being genuinely listened to and represented. Excerpt 1 is taken from a six-page field note from a Student Ethnography Club meeting in October 2012. Here, I ask the students to help me understand what other participants mean by ‘mentality’. The discussion which follows not only helped deepen my understanding of the historical, political, social and linguistic significance of this term, but also provided me with a contextualised example of how my participants positioned themselves vis-à-vis each other and the issues under discussion. Once again, this highlighted the need for me to acknowledge the force of agency and the centrality of the individual speaker in order to shed light on the complex processes of language ideologies and identities at KSU: a direction I pursued further in Phase Two of the study.

Looking at my notes from last week, I asked the students about the idea of mentality, explaining that I hadn't really heard this word that much before coming to do my research in KZ, but since then it kept cropping up repeatedly when I asked people about language or when they saw I was interested in language ideology. I said that actually, I was really interested to know what it meant (I fact I'd made a note about this earlier in their discussion). AKN asked if it was the same as belief. G explained that she had stopped herself from explaining the word when she realized that it was very similar to the word *менталитет* which was why she and, she supposed, other people were using it. She and the other students thought that linguists and also people in daily life had probably just seen the similarity between the Russian and English word and decided to translate in this way, without really bothering to consider the meaning of 'mentality' in English. AKN and G then went on to talk about how the word 'mentality' was a useful one for explaining or making differences between people from different places, countryside/city, different ethnicities, countries etc. G then asked the two new boys if they had ever heard about the idea that people from 'Post Soviet space'/Kazakhstan and Westerners had a different mentality, because she often had from her older relatives in particular. This was interpreted by the two boys as a direct question about whether they had this opinion. U said that he thought the difference was related to the fact that all the countries of Europe had developed together since the mid-century, whereas the countries of Post-Soviet space (this term was provided by G. U had to stop and ask how to describe it in Russian) had only been developing since 1991. Am agreed that it was important that these countries had a shared history and that this had contributed to the their society and mentality (she checked this word with G in Russian) This idea of 'development' in relation to society and nation was one that U returned to a number of times throughout the discussion. AKN, however, took a very view from the other students, which he expressed in his usual assertive and committed way. He thought that the idea that there was a difference between Kazakh mentality and that of the West was mostly constructed by the media. He thought that the big difference in mentality was not between nations, but between the city and the countryside. Here he thought people were more traditional, saying "they love their traditions here". Whilst Am agreed with the difference in mentality between the countryside and city, she and also G did think that AKN's view of KZ and the West essentially the same stemmed from the fact that he had actually been abroad, whereas most people had not and therefore based their ideas on the media and movies.

3.6.5 Collection of Documents, Photographs and Video Material

Although this ethnography focuses on the role of language in social life, it is important not to overlook the significance of material 'artefacts' in meaning making (Scollon and Scollon 2004), referring to both the written documents and physical objects with which actors construct knowledge and norms of behavior (Atkinson and Coffey 2004). I found it useful, for example, to gather copies of handouts and textbook pages used in the classes I observed, as well as the

syllabus for each discipline, as written documents are often particularly important in reflecting the way in which classrooms are patterned by literacy practices and written language (Giraldo 2008 and Hamilton 2000). In addition, I found that consulting the university's promotional materials, both external and internal, helped me become aware of the kind of institutional identity that was being projected and the role that languages and language ideologies had in this.

I also included one video in my data – a promotional tool that was created by the Go English volunteers and which was important to the analysis of the negotiation of language ideologies and identities throughout this performance. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007:18) point out, individuals and groups are constantly involved in the creation and circulation of meaning through such material artefacts. By questioning by whom and for whom they are produced and how their use positions people differently in educational settings (Delamont 2002:105) I hoped to gain insight into the identity positions available to different members of the KSU community. I also found that taking photographs of certain public events and spaces in the university helped me in reconstruction of times and places after withdrawal from the field (Blommaert and Dong 2010:32), as well as prompting me to consider ways in which the physical surroundings might shape way that people behaved or the linguistic resources and practices they employed. For example, in analyzing performances, this highlighted the significance locations perceived as 'on-stage' had in creating spaces where translanguaging and positive stances towards flexible multilingualism were constructed as less legitimate forms of communicative practice.

3.6.6 Researcher Journal

In addition to the collection of data through participant observation, interviews and collection of artefacts, I also kept a 'researcher journal', with the aim of documenting my own 'journey into knowledge' (Blommaert 2006:52). The benefits of keeping a researcher journal are highlighted by a number of ethnographers (eg Sanjek 1990, Emerson et al 1995, De Fina and Georgakopoulou 2012, Copland and Creese 2015), but there appears to be some disagreement regarding the purpose of this practice, and status of the text produced in relation to data. Copland and Creese (2015:39) make the practical distinction between field-notes and research journals, pointing out that diaries (journals) tend to be of a more personal style and can be written up anywhere, whereas field-notes *per se*, are more tied to particular contexts of social action. This fit with my own routine of writing in my journal, which in the early days of research I did at the end of each day, but later in the study, when I became busier with tasks related to data analysis and writing, I would do as often as time allowed, or whenever I felt a particular need to do so. Journal entries varied in length, typically from one to eight hand-written pages.

In terms of nature and purpose, my research journal can be summed up with four Rs: Reflecting, recording, relating and ranting. The importance of reflexivity in linguistic ethnography has already been discussed and I found my journal an excellent means of interrogating my role and the way I presented myself in the context of research. By taking a step back, both spatially and temporally from the immediate demands and emotional and intellectual investments of the context of research, I found myself more able to 'become a researcher of myself' and to critically evaluate the way in which 'intersubjectivity' was central to the inquiry. For example, in Excerpt 2, I reflect on the developing overlap and potential tensions between my teacher, student and researcher identities.

This week, when introducing my research officially and asking for consent, I realised that it was the first time since arriving that I had foregrounded my 'researcher' role over my 'teacher' one. Meeting up with people I made friends with last time I was here also made me think about the extent to which my 'working roles' as teacher or (student) researcher may shape my 'off-duty' life. I can't help feeling relieved that I haven't ended up teaching anyone with whom I have a 'friend' relationship. What I hadn't considered, was that my 'part-time' teacher role, might have full-time repercussions, in terms of positioning me within the KSU community. Added to this, is the fact that I'm operating in a culture different from my own and so find it hard at times to know what is typical and expected and what isn't. However, I've found that explicitly emphasising my role as 'student-researcher' and working with the 'Go English' movement student-participants have opened up new spaces in which to negotiate these different roles and identities. Nevertheless, it's something I will need to keep aware of.

However, unlike Emerson et al (1995) , I saw my research journal as more than simply a personal experience story. In my research, it also played a crucial part in constituting an 'archive of research' (Blommaert and Dong 2010:10) – a means of 'recording', tracking and being able to understand retrospectively the genesis of the themes I went on to develop in analysis, the decisions I made about data collection, the way that literature influenced my perspective, and the shifts in direction and focus of my research questions. The third aspect of my research journal was as a means of 'relating' my observations of contexts within KSU with other aspects of life in Almaty, in a way for which I could be analytically accountable. I have described the fourth function of my research journal as 'ranting', by which I mean that, especially at times of stress, frustration or when things were not going well, I found that writing in it could be a cathartic experience, that helped me maintain a researcher's stance in the field, especially given that I was far from home and people I knew. Also, I often found that, through the process of articulating my problems and worries in writing, I was able to see my way to solutions and alternative perspectives I might otherwise have overlooked. Therefore, my researcher diary could be characterised in a similar way to the description offered by Hammersley and Atkinson

(2007:151) as a text that is as deeply personal and emotional on one hand as it is rigorously intellectual on the other. Although it did not constitute what I think of as the ‘core’ corpus in the study, I have nevertheless included it here on the basis of its important supplementary role.

3.7 Phase Two Key Participant Study

As has been discussed previously, in Phase One of data collection my main aim was to develop an understanding of the kind of complexity that characterised the KSU community. However, following the review of my Phase One data set, I needed a way to more deeply investigate how ideologies and ‘repertoires’ of multilingualism might constrain or create opportunities for *individuals* to negotiate identities, how *particular* actors made use of linguistic, ideological and cultural resources to do this and how this tension between structure and agency might shape *individual* trajectories. Therefore, in Phase Two, I needed both fine grained interactional data of situated language practices to explore the ‘ideological in the interactional’ (Blackledge and Creese 2010:59) and a methodology for data collection that allowed me to better account for the agency of the speaker at the heart of the interaction and analysis. I also continued participant observation and field-note practices, although less frequently than in Phase One (see appendix 1).

For this reason, I decided to pursue the approach of a key participant study, throughout Phase Two of data collection, focussing in depth and detail on a small number of key participants, following them over time and across contexts. Li Wei (2011) argues that key participant studies can help to avoid over emphasis on the limiting influence of social structure on multilingual practices and identities, and can help reveal the ways in which multilingual speakers, as agents, construct their own (trans)linguaging spaces for social positioning, with the potential to

contribute to wider social change. He advocates a break from macro/micro dichotomies and a shift away from approaches that are primarily frequency orientated and pattern seeking, and attending more to the spontaneity and impromptu performances of the individual. This required the combination of data from contexts of interaction, in the form of audio recordings made by key participants in everyday situations, with data of a metalinguistic nature, in the form of recorded interviews.

3.7.1 Selection and Recruitment of Key Participants

Based on my first semester experiences at KSU, I decided that I would limit my participants to those studying in the IT faculty. At the time of research, this was the KSU faculty in which English medium education was most prevalent, and in which I felt most certain I could find students for whom English constituted a meaningful part of their everyday communicative repertoire. I felt this should be a criterion for participation, as I was becoming increasingly interested in the Trinity of Languages, in which English had an important role. I had also developed good relationships with a number of senior administrators and with teachers from the IT faculty, who had agreed to allow me to conduct my research with their students and to audio recordings in their classes.

After preparing a project description (see Appendix 4), I pursued a number of strategies to recruit participants, including contacting Student Ethnography Club members, posting a call for participation on the university intranet, as well as asking colleagues from the Languages and IT departments to mention the project to their students. After receiving around 12 expressions of interest, I ended up with four key participants who fit the criteria and who were able to commit to the requirements of the study. I also made an effort to reflect a variety of genders, ages,

classes taken and languages spoken. Basic information about the key participants is shown in Table 4 (more detail is given in Chapter Five). All the participants go by pseudonyms.

Table 4: Key Participant Profiles

	Dariga	Farhat	Meiram	Mark
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Male
Year of Study	2	2	1	2
Hometown	Almaty	Tashkent/ Almaty	Pavlodar/ Almaty	Karaganda
Ethnicity	Kazakh	Kazakh	Kazakh	Unspecified
Faculty	IT	IT	IT	IT
Language of study	English	English	Kazakh	English
Medium high school	Russian and Kazakh	Russian	Kazakh	Russian
English Language Class	Conversational English	IELTS	Academic English	Intercultural Communication

3.7.2 Key Participant Study Design and Data

Responding to Li Wei’s (2011:1224) approach of combining ‘naturally occurring’ interactional data with data of a metalinguistic nature, the key participant study comprised two major sources of data – audio recording and interviews – with one supplementary source – that of language diaries. The timetable for data collection, which ran from early February to late April, in the Spring semester of 2013, is outlined in Table 5 and was the same for each of the four key participants.

Table 5: Key Participant Data Collection

	Research Activity	Conducted by	Time for Activity
Week 0	Meeting with all key participants to discuss data collection plans and address questions.	Researcher and participant	1 hour approx.
	Pilot recording of audio data	Participant	Throughout the week
Week 1	Mid-term examination: No meeting with participants		
	Collection of and review of pilot audio files. (Feedback to participant if required about issues regarding audio recording)	Researcher	Throughout the week
Week 2	Recording of audio data	Participant	1 hour approx. throughout the week
	Keeping of Language diary	Participant	Throughout the week
Week 3	Review of Language diaries and audio data	Researcher	Throughout the week
	Recording of audio data	Participant	1 hour approx. throughout the week
	Interview to discuss data	Researcher and Participant	1 hour approx.
Week 4	Review audio data	Researcher	Throughout the week
	Recording of audio data	Participant	Throughout the week 1 hour approx.
Week 5	Review of audio data	Researcher	Throughout the week
	Recording of audio data	Participant	1 hour approx. throughout the week
	Interview to discuss data	Researcher and Participant	1 hour approx.
Week 6	Review audio data	Researcher	Throughout the week
	Recording of audio data	Participant	1 hour approx. throughout the week
Week 7	Review of audio data	Researcher	Throughout the week
	Recording of audio data	Participant	1 hour approx. throughout the week
Week 8	Review of audio data	Researcher	Throughout the week
	Interview to discuss data	Researcher and Participant	1 hour approx.

In week 0, I met with all four participants separately to talk through my project outline in more detail, discuss consent and ethical issues and give guidance on how to use the handheld, digital recording devices and what kind of recordings I would like them to make. During this and the following week, each participant was also given a digital recording device so that they could practice making recordings during their day-to-day activities. In week 2, participants were asked to keep a language diary, as well as making audio recordings. I then collected and reviewed this data in week 3 and conducted the first interview with each participant. From then on, participants continued to make recordings on a weekly basis, which I reviewed each following week. Interviews to discuss the student’s recordings occurred in weeks 3 ,5 and 8. See summary in Table 6.

Table 6: Summary of Key Participant Study Timetable

Activity	Week							
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Language Diary		P						
Audio Recording		P	P	P	P	P	P	
Review data	R		R	R	R	R	R	R
Interview			PR		PR			PR

P = participant
R = researcher

3.7.3 Language Diary

For the first week, I asked the students to keep a language diary, explaining to students that this was “*basically a diary of what you do each day and which languages you use... to help me build up a picture of what your everyday life is like*” (See Project Information for key participants in Appendix 4). I hoped that this would help me to contextualise the interactional data they collected over the next eight weeks, by allowing me to better understand how it might

be embedded in their typical routines. Secondly, I wanted to have a better awareness of their daily lives and language practices and how they were seen by the participants themselves, in order to guide the questions I would ask in subsequent interviews. Other ethnographers, such as Norton (2000), Jones et al (2000) and Tse (1998) have previously employed diary data to explore people's lived experiences of multilingual contexts, language learning and literacy practices. I have drawn on their work in the design of the language diary template. An example from one key participant's diary is shown in Figure 6.

Figure 5: Example of Language Diary

Time Уақыты Время	Истелінетін жұмыс Activities Выполняемая деятельность	Используемые языки Пайдаланылатын тілдер Languages Used	Comments Комментарии Түсініктеме
06:00 – 10:00	get up breakfast Digital Design keep to students	— English 3L.	Lesson To mark - AP.
10:00 – 14:00	Research article Convers. Eng lunch tennis centre	English, Russian Eng. — Rus, Kaz	
14:00 – 18:00	15min sleep Milk - Eng Homework	Eng, Rus	
18:00 – 22:00	KBM	Kaz, Rus, Kyrgyz team	In theatre Today KBM team has participated
22:00 – 04:00	Sleeping	—	—

As Jones et al (2000) suggest, I did not stipulate that my participants write extensively, as I planned for the participants notes to be a point of departure for discussion in subsequent interviews. I asked the key participants to note down not only the languages they used themselves, but those that were going on around them too.

At first, I was concerned that asking the students to record the ‘languages’ they used, might overshadow the data with assumptions regarding the legitimacy of translanguaging practices, but on the other hand, I did not want to highlight translanguaging overtly, as this was not at all an emic term or a consciously articulated concept. In the end, a different strategy proved useful in this respect. As can be seen in Figure 6, although the diary template was in three languages, I purposely used a different language order for each column heading. I strongly suspected that this textual strategy would be marked by my participants, as deviating from the official norm of Kazakh first, followed by Russian and English. By purposefully not following conventions in my deployment of multilingual resources, I hoped to help construct my key participant study as a ‘translanguaging space’ (Wei 2011) in which my participants might feel freer in exercising and expressing their own multilingual identities and agency.

3.7.4 Key Participant Audio Recording

As Smagulova (2008:195) notes, in relation to attitudes and patterns of language use in Kazakhstan, language ideologies are not limited to explicit reports, but are embodied in mundane daily practices in locally co-produced and naturalised conventions. Therefore, it was critical that the study included interactional data from actual contexts of communication, to investigate how everyday acts of language are situated in wider social patterns (Blommaert 2005) and how linguistic resources are used to construct social difference and negotiate identity

positions. Moreover, I also felt that I required recorded interactional data, to allow for fine-grained, contextualised analysis to explore the moment-to-moment details of this ‘language work’ (Heller 2011). For this reason, I asked the key participants to make audio recordings in their daily lives, both inside and beyond the university, using a small, digital audio recording device that I gave them.

Heller (2011:46) argues that this kind of remote recording strategy can offer both drawbacks and advantages that need to be acknowledged and understood by the ethnographer. For example, a great deal of contextual evidence can be lost through audio recording alone, and introducing a microphone into a context of interaction may cause participants to behave in a different way than is usual (Stubbs 1983). In my initial meeting with key participants I stressed the importance of making sure that they never made any recordings without the knowledge and permission of the interlocutors, therefore, it is reasonable to assume that all of the participants in the recorded interaction were, to some extent, orienting their talk to the presence of the recorder and/or their assumptions about me and my research (Copland and Creese 2015). However, Copland and Creese (2015) remark that this is not necessarily problematic for the researcher, if they view the process of recording, like the construction of any kind of data, as a social interaction that is constituted as much by its context as by its participants, including the researcher. Thus, as Speer and Hutchby (2003) suggest, in my analysis, I made sure to include the presence of the recording device and myself as a potentially ‘imagined audience’ (Bell and Gibson 2011:563) in my interpretation of the recorded events.

At the beginning of the key participant study, I explained that I was interested in understanding multilingualism in Kazakhstan and “in how people use languages in real-life situations” (See Appendix 4). I asked them, if possible to include some recordings from their KSU classes, and university extracurricular activities, as these were contexts I had already been investigating in

Phase One of the study, but also emphasised that they were free to record in any other contexts they felt were relevant and appropriate. I suggested that the participants aim to record 30 minutes to 1 hour in total throughout the week, as this was amount of data I felt was manageable for me to review ahead of our bi-weekly interviews. I also made sure that the key participants understood that they could record interactions in any language or mixture of languages. Although I was concerned at first that my participants might need more guidance, giving them free rein over the decisions of when and what to include proved to be a successful one, that yielded a rich and diverse range of audio data. As I had hoped, the students made recordings from a range of IT and English language classes, both in English and Russian and with both local and foreign teachers, as well as a number of recordings from Kazakh language and maths classes. In addition, they recorded in a wide variety of non-classroom contexts such as at home, at lunch, doing homework, at a comedy show, at church and in a taxi. These recordings ranged in length from under a minute, to a few that were over an hour. The recorded audio data is summarised in tables 7 to 10. This resulted in a total of 23.7 hours of interactional data collected by key participants.

Table 7: Dariga's Audio Data

	Week	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
IT Classes	80 mins (6 tracks)	60 mins (1 track)	198 mins (3 tracks)	93 minutes (3 tracks)	208 minutes (3 tracks)
English Classes	10 mins (1 track)		12 mins (1 track)		
Go English Clubs		12 mins (1 track)		14 mins (2 tracks)	
Other	14 mins	12 minutes	13 mins		23 mins
Details of 'other'	Comedy show and competition (3 tracks)		Shopping with mother (2 tracks)		Part time job (2 tracks)
	Homework with friend (1 track)				
Total: 12.3 hours approx.					

Table 8: Farhat's Audio Data

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
IT Classes	7 mins (2 tracks)	125 mins (6 tracks)		25 mins (3 tracks)	
English Classes	45 mins (1 track)				
Go English Clubs					
Other	12 mins	39 mins	1 min	17 mins	
Details of 'other'	Meeting with Uzbek bakers (3 tracks)	Helping 2 foreign lecturers find a new flat (4 tracks)	Talking about my study to friends (1 track)	Statistics class (1 track)	
	Maths class (2 tracks)	Office hour chat (1 track)		On the bus (1 track)	
Total: 4.5 hours approx					

Table 9: Meiram's Audio Data

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
IT Classes					
English Classes	22 mins (2 tracks)			30 mins (2 tracks)	
Go English Clubs					
Other	40 mins			12 mins	40 mins
'Other' Details	Kazakh History class (1 track)			Kazakh history class (1 track)	Kazakh debate (1 track)
	Kazakh Language class (1 track)			Music Interview for Kazakh newspaper project (1 track)	In the car with friends (1 track)
	At home with family (1 track)				
Total: 2.4 hours approx					

Table 10: Mark's Audio Data

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4 to 5	
IT Classes			98 mins (1 track)		
English Classes			20 mins (1 track)		
Go English Clubs					
Other	23 mins			78 minutes (3 tracks)	
'Other' Details	Interview for Intercultural Communication course (1 track)			Church Youth Meeting activities (2 tracks)	
				In the taxi (1 track)	
Total: 3.7 hours approx					

At the end of each week, the key participants would allow me to copy their recordings from their digital recorder to my computer. I always allowed them to delete any recording that they did not want me to hear or include in my study and to keep a copy of their own audio data if they wished. After collecting the audio files from the students, I would listen to them twice and make notes on my impressions, aspects I wanted more details about, questions the recordings raised and connections with other data and with literature. I then used these notes to structure my discussions with the key participants during our interviews.

3.7.5 Key Participant Interviews

Interviews were conducted with the key participants at roughly two to three week intervals throughout this part of the study. As in Phase One, I viewed these interviews as examples of

social interaction, in which meaning is actively co-constructed between interlocutors (Talmy and Richards 2011:2). Also, as in Phase One, the key participant interviews were semi-structured, in that I prepared a topic guide for myself in advance. This guide was mostly based on questions and themes that had arisen out of my review of each participant's audio data (See example in Appendix Five). For example, I would often ask the students to comment on why they did or said something, or to talk about how they interpreted the actions, words or intentions of others. In this sense, they constituted examples of meta-discursive commentary, characterised by Rymes (2014:301) as an intricate heteroglossic mix shaped by an individual's idiosyncratic accumulation of experiences, in which the speaker uses language reflexively to discuss his or her own language practices and/or the practices of others (Lucy 1993).

However, the decision to focus on instances of meta-discursive talk is again, not to suggest that analysis takes the comments made by participants at face value. For example, Silverstein (2003) and Blommaert (2006:4) remind us that a great deal of social and cultural work is done without reflection, and that only so much can be learned about the meanings of communicative practices and language ideologies by explicitly asking people. However, although some researchers express concern over the reliability of explicit comments made by individuals in regards to their own language practices and identity, Jaffe (1999) is keen to point out that spontaneous utterances are no more real than such specific ideological statements, and as long as they are analysed in relation to the context in which they arose, metapragmatic commentaries can offer valuable insights into the processes of language ideology, identity and communication, as well as helping construct an analysis that is sensitive to the emic perspectives of participants (Rymes 2014).

Both Rymes (2014) and Davis (2012) comment that metacommentary is often the site of individuals' resistance of patterns of enregisterment and I was curious to explore the potential

for agency that these discursive spaces might afford, especially given that the majority of these recorded interactions took place in English, with myself (a foreign, English speaking teacher-researcher) as the primary interlocutor. The choice of English as the main language of communication was partly because I felt my language skills in Kazakh and Russian were not good enough to conduct the interviews in the depth or detail I would like, but also because the opportunity to practice speaking English was one of the main motivations for the students taking part in the research. In her paper on analysis of autobiographic interview data, Pavlenko (2007:173) highlights that, especially in interviews with multilingual participants, it is important to consider the significance of language choice and indeed, my previous conversations with students and observations across contexts in KSU suggested that English, with its relatively short history in the context of Kazakhstan, might function as a less ideologically laden resource for negotiation of stance and identity.

Other lines of questioning in key participant interviews were directed at learning about the participants' backgrounds and experiences of language, language use and education, and on eliciting their current views and opinions and future expectations. Therefore, in another sense, the key participant interviews represented a form of autobiographical narrative - interactional moments where social identities collaboratively emerge (Warriner 2012:186). Such autobiographical narratives do not merely provide evidence of how people understand themselves and their society, but are also powerful examples of creative interplay of voices and discourses (Pavlenko 2007:171), in which speakers may express one, coherent self, or multiple, contradictory positions and experiences (Wortham 2001). Therefore, it was critical that analysis of metapragmatic commentary within contexts of specific interactions, be understood in relation to the lived experiences and identities of particular speakers, as well as to the wider social contexts in which the interaction is embedded. Indeed, Holland et al (1998:18) assert that

this personal accumulation of lived experience, what they call ‘*history-in-person*’, is the sediment upon which subsequent improvisations are built, through agentive use of the cultural resources available and in response to the subject-positions offered.

Unlike those in Phase One, these interviews were audio recorded using a digital recording device, as I intended to analyse the interaction in much the same way as the other audio data collected by the key participants, in order to facilitate the kind of detailed analysis advocated by Pavlenko (2007). In total, this resulted in 8.5 hours of recorded interview data, which is summarised in table 11.

Table 11: Summary of Key Participant Interview Data

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
Dariga	30 minutes	1 hour	1 hour
Farhat	30 minutes	1 hour	Joint 1 hour
Mark	30 minutes	1 hour	
Meiram	30 minutes	1 hour	30 minutes
Total: 8.5 hours			

3.8 Data Analysis

3.8.1 Analysis and Reflection across Data Sets

This ethnography was essentially concerned with the meanings and real-world implications of multilingual resources for members of the KSU community and how these practices are embedded in social structures and discourses that circulate within and beyond the university. Hymes (1995:9) points out that such meanings often lie in connections between events, individuals, groups and practices and so it was important that the processes of data collection and analysis allowed these links to be made visible and investigated (Pavlenko and Blackledge

2004). Collecting multiple sources of data from a range of participants and across a variety of contexts not only allowed for triangulation of findings, in order to pursue credibility and plausibility (Miller 2003), it also facilitated the discovery of both patterns or anomalies across spaces and times (Heller 2011:46). Copland and Creese (2015:52) identify one of the main strengths of a linguistic ethnographic approach to be the way in which it seeks to combine sources of data collection and processes of analysis, in a dialogic, iterative process that can support the development of findings that are simultaneously more nuanced and robust. Mariou (2017) also points out that the iterative aspect of linguistic ethnographic analyses can help enhance the credibility of research findings.

For this reason, it was important that emergent findings from each 'set' of data were continually integrated throughout the study. Rather than treating the different sets of data separately, I saw them as mutually informing, about the different dimensions of what was happening, how these were related and what differences they made for whom (Heller 2011:46). I also considered it important to create opportunities through which I could check my developing ideas with the participants themselves, partly to democratize the research process (Hymes 1995:17), ensuring a range of voices and perspectives were represented in the research and partly to contribute to the validity of the ethnographic account, which is dependent, to a considerable extent, on representing an 'emic' understanding of contextually situated practices, rather than on identifying some universal, objective 'truth' (Erickson 1990:78). I found a linguistic ethnographic methodology, that facilitated the combination of data from a range of perspectives, including my own, was productive in continually seeking to balance the emic views of participants with the etic concerns of a researcher, by considering fine-grained linguistic details in relation to wider networks of discourses, ideologies and indexicalities. Hornberger (1995) also stresses that this kind of dialogue in analysis of naturally occurring

language data is a valuable opportunity for the researcher to measure her interpretations against the knowledge of the researched community.

Emerson et al (1995:10) remind us that all forms of recording and writing, whether it be audio or fieldnotes, constitute in themselves the first step in analysis and interpretation, as the context of observation is filtered through the eyes of the researcher – as was the case in this study. However, in terms of more formal and focussed procedures, my analysis of the KSU data can be divided into two main parts: that is, analysis in the field and analysis that took place post-fieldwork. These procedures are described in more detail below.

3.8.2 Analysis in the Field

As has been mentioned already, the first stage of analysis took place on an ongoing basis, while my data set was still developing throughout Phase One and Two of my data collection at KSU. This involved re-reading fieldnotes from participant observations and entries from my research log, reviewing documents and photos and listening to audio recordings (Copland and Creese 2015:48). I conducted this review of data on a weekly basis in Phase One and on a bi-weekly basis in Phase Two. In my review, I tried to balance being conscious of my research questions, whilst also remaining as open as possible to data. I would make margin notes of various kinds – some highlighting activities or stances, both recurrent and unusual, some to highlight parts of the text in which I felt certain themes were suggested, some raising questions about things I did not understand or wanted to investigate further, some highlighting similarities or contrasts with aspects of other data sets and some making links between the context of the data and literature that I had read. With audio recordings in Phase Two, I took the same approach to making notes, but recorded them in a separate document, making note of the time in the recording for each

annotation. An example of this strategy is given in Figure 7, which shows my margin notes relating to a field-note I made in an English department meeting. I would then review the margin notes I had made across the data collected in that time period, and collate them into a summary 'Reflection and Comments' document, typically between three - five typed pages, in which I would highlight and discuss the emerging themes and developing ideas and would plan out the next steps for my data collection in relation to this (see Appendix 6 for example). In the key participant study during Phase Two, I also used my review of audio data to construct an interview guide ahead of my next meeting with the four students.

Figure 6: Example of Margin Notes

As we wait to start there are various conversations going on in English (including M, E – who sits opposite- and I and those that take place across the table), in Russian (between teachers) and in Kazakh (between N, G and S). K is also there and joins us just as we start. When everyone (except R who is off getting his visa renewed) is present, A opens the meeting by pointing out that “well everyone has the memo in English and Russian right” – nods of agreement. Her first point (all the points are numbered) is about the individual plans. I found out from T before the meeting that this is translation from Russian. There had been a bit of a mad panic the hour before, when T had asked if M and I had prepared our individual plans. We said that, no, we hadn’t, because either T or A had said that they were either going to help us do it in the Russian form or find an English version. As nothing had been said since then, we hadn’t done it. T thought we ought to do it, as the deadline was today, so she came and helped us individually to fill in the table; first me and then M (see Individual plan doc). The table is in Russian, but the data we entered was either number form or in Latin letters for the course codes etc. At her suggestion, we had printed this page and taken it to the meeting. At the meeting A thanked the teachers who had sent this to her, but apparently there were many who hadn’t. She needed all the others that day and even those who had given her a hard copy should email them (she explained that this was necessary because of possible later workload changes). The exception was professors and associate professors. She also said that the foreign teachers had a later deadline, because they were still in the process of producing an English version. Interestingly, E had been saying before the meeting began that she couldn’t understand why not everything was available in English and that, as this was an English department, “everything should be going out in English”. She also felt that only English should be used within the classroom. It seemed that for her, these two things were part of what she called “the importance of providing an English language environment for the students” – at least this is what she told me when I said that I wasn’t sure if I entirely agreed. Working with T earlier I had learned that actually there had used to be an English and Russian version under the old system, but that when the system changed “then there was only the Russian variant”.

- L Louise**
Language ecology – multilingual context, off stage languages, typical
- L Louise**
Local Teachers informal translation work – everyday and necessary to making the department work – how Local Ts help ‘figure’ the department (See Holland et al) *So how does this work in IT for example?*
- L Louise**
Multilingual documents (not unusual)
- L Louise**
Paperwork is ubiquitous
- L Louise**
Different language ideologies among foreign teachers

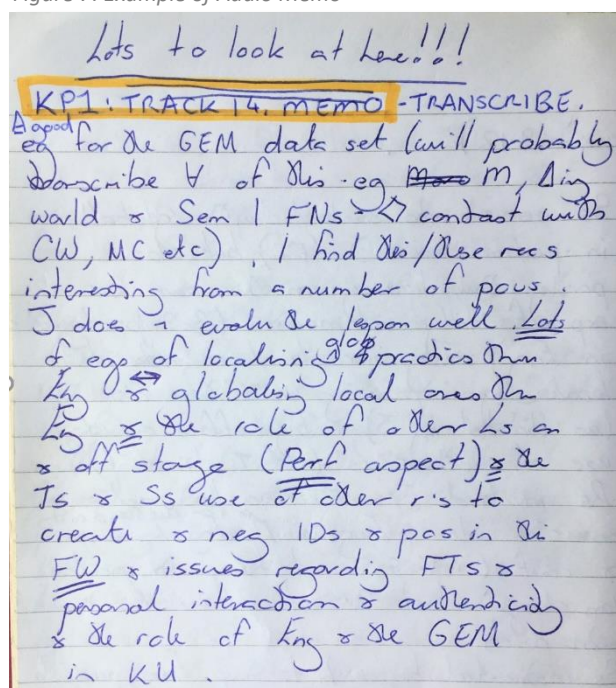
3.8.3 Post-Fieldwork Analysis

Due to the demands and time constraints of data collection, I was not able to begin detailed analysis of data sets until after I had left the field as a researcher (although I continued to work part-time at the university). Following completion of data collection, at the end of May 2013, I began by conducting another period of reviewing the data sets, both textual and audio, and drawing the results of this process together into summary texts to identify significant themes. I felt that these themes were not only important to understanding the multilingual practices I had observed, and their emic significance to my participants, they were also lines of inquiry that I felt I had sufficient evidence to pursue in the data I had collected. The themes identified throughout the process are given below (not in order or significance).

- 1) Construction of links between global and local resources
- 2) The role language ideologies and linguistic resources play in (re)figuring contexts and identities at KSU
- 3) Construction of teacher identities as local/foreign/international/native speaker and their role in the creation/negotiation/figuring of different resources and identities
- 4) The negotiation/contruction of agency discursively and in practice
- 5) The significance of presentation and performance in negotiation of multilingual practices and identities
- 6) 'On-' and 'off-' stage languages
- 7) Language ideologies in relation to being a Kazakh/Russian /English speaker and how are these identities negotiated in practice
- 8) Multilingualism as a resource and how this is itself constructed

At this point, I realised that, in order to explore how these themes were constituted and played out in the fine details of interaction, I needed to probe more deeply into the recorded audio data, both the interactional data and from my interviews with the key participants. Whilst this data set was excitingly rich and diverse, I felt that the quantity of data was too great to deal with in the level of detail I wanted - in order to look at how identities and ideologies are negotiated interactionally. Therefore, I set about selecting a sub-set of 'key recordings' that I considered to be most relevant to pursuing the themes above. I also selected recordings that I felt constituted examples of 'rich points' in the data - sections which stood out as unusual or particularly significant to my research interests (Agar 2008). In order to identify these 'key recordings' I made short memos about each audio file I listened to. Figure 8 shows an example of such a memo that I made in relation to one of Dariga's English Club recordings, that I identified as important for its potential to shed light on issues of performance, identity and global/local links that had been previously highlighted as salient.

Figure 7: Example of Audio Memo



This process allowed me to select around 9 hours of ‘key recordings’ (approximately 37% of the total key participant interactional data), in addition to the key participant interviews to transcribe and translate where necessary, thus facilitating further detailed analysis.

3.8.4 Translation and Transcription of Key Audio Recordings

I was able to transcribe the English language recordings and English language parts of the interactions myself, but for those parts that were in Kazakh and/or Russian, I needed assistance. After approaching a number of potential assistants, Dariga, one of the key participants came forward to volunteer. This proved to be an excellent arrangement for a number of reasons. Firstly, not only was she fluent in both Russian and Kazakh, as well as being an upper intermediate user of English, I also knew from her own audio recordings that translanguaging was a common part of her own communicative repertoires and she knew that I was interested in and positive about such practices. Therefore, unlike some other translators I might have worked with, I felt more confident that she would not try to ‘cover up’ such flexible multilingual practices in her transcriptions and translations. I also said she should feel free to add her own comments in the margins of the transcripts, wherever she felt necessary. On one notable occasion, Dariga claimed this metalinguistic space to take up an evaluative stance toward ideologies of ‘good Kazakh’, which went on to constitute another source of data for analysis (See Chapter Five). Due to her other commitments, I had to rely on other translators for a small number of other translations and transcriptions, but once again these were people who I knew I could trust. (The guidelines I gave to those who worked on translation and transcription are given in Appendix 7.) I also checked with the key participants themselves for permission before releasing their data to any third party and made sure the translators were aware of the

confidentiality restrictions of my research. (It is also for reasons of confidentiality and anonymity that audio/video recordings are not given for the transcripts discussed in this thesis, as participants are explicitly named or identifying details about the community would be revealed).

3.8.5 Analysis of Transcribed Key Participant Audio Data

Having translated and transcribed the key recordings, I then set about the process of more detailed linguistic analysis of the interactions. Working between the original transcripts, the translated versions and the audio recordings, I initially adopted a strategy of open-coding (Emerson et al 1995), guided on one hand by research questions and on the other by the themes I had developed through reviewing the data corpus. Once again, this took the form of margin notes, but this time I turned my attention more toward the micro level details of interaction: for example, how linguistic resources were used across turns to negotiate positions and to position others within the interaction, how speakers aligned themselves with interlocutors, audiences, contexts and circulating ideologies, the significance of uses and shifts in linguistic resources and the manner in which utterances were made. I also included references to concepts from literature that I felt might be useful in interpreting these details (Copland and Creese 2015:49), or links to other data sets or contexts of interaction. In relation to the analysis of key participant data such as this, Wei (2011:1224) characterises this process as a double hermeneutic- what Smith and Osborne (2008) describe as the process in which the researcher tries to make sense of participants trying in turn to make sense of their social world. As in the earlier stages of analysis, I would then draw together the margin notes on the details of each key recording in a 'memo' drawing out what I felt were the main themes explored in the analysis of the particular

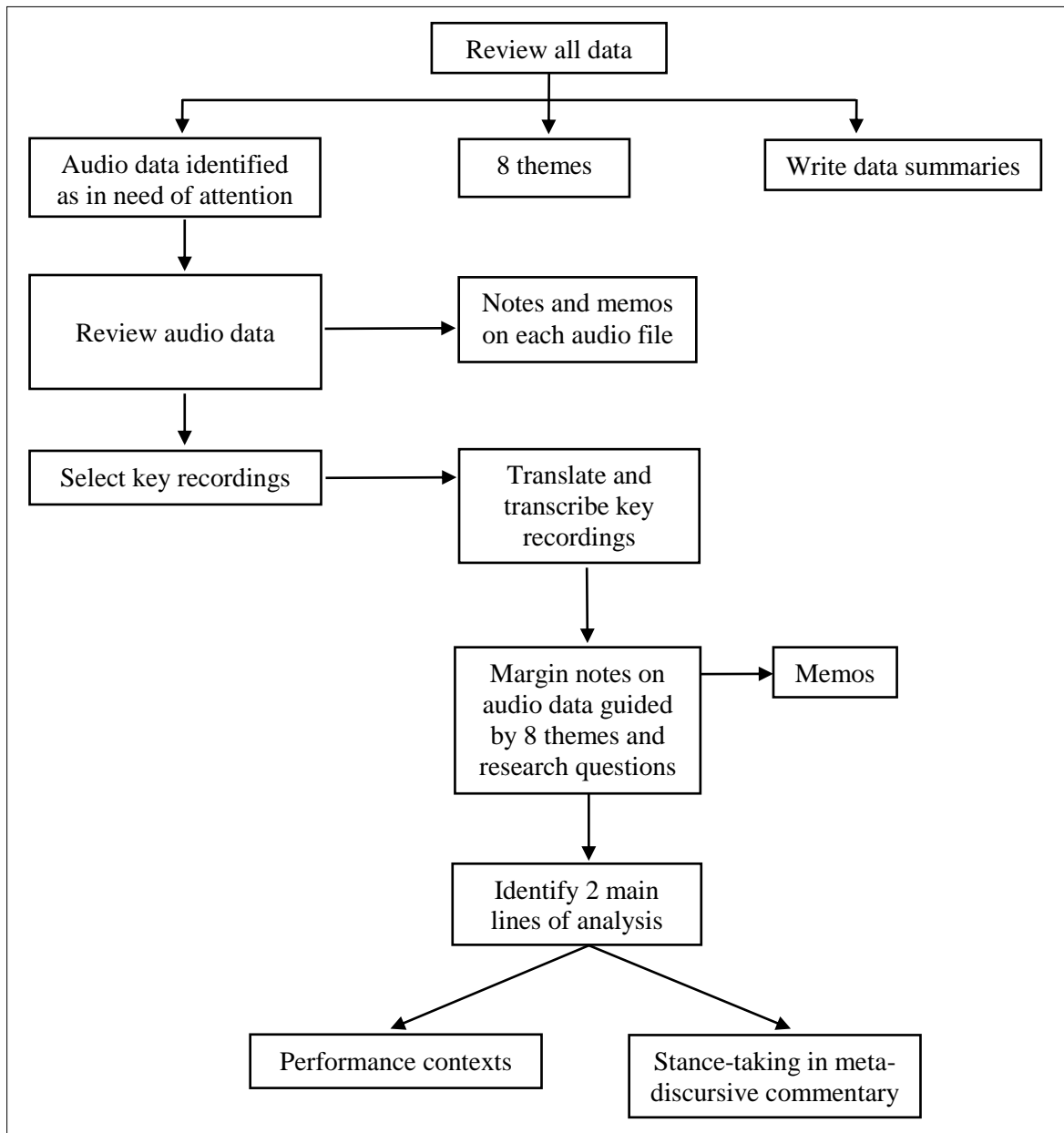
interaction, its links with other data as well as the potential significance for the particular key participant. An example of my margin-notes relating to an audio recording Dariga made with her mother is shown in Figure 9 (the corresponding memo is given in Appendix 8). In particular, I was looking for contextualised instances of the indexical relationships between linguistic resources and practices and particular linguistic ideologies, that I had begun to identify across the different KSU contexts. As Warriner (2012) and Wortham (2001, 2011) argue, it is impossible to separate the macro/ideological from micro/interactional, and that analysis must attend to the ways that language ideologies are enacted, resisted or changed through situated linguistic practice and interpersonal work.

Figure 8: Example of Margin Notes on Key Audio Data

	Original Transcript	English translation	
M	а через сколько фотографий будут готовы?	After how long will the photographs be ready?	<p>LW Louise Wheeler In this sales encounter, M and D use Russian to shop keeper</p>
S	через десять пятнадцать минут	after ten fifteen minutes	
M	ну а че так долго?	Well, but why so long?	<p>LW Louise Wheeler Very informal Russian. Close, familiarity between D and her mother</p>
S	три с половины четыре с половины	three half four <u>half</u> (<i>meaning dimensions of the prints</i>)	<p>LW Louise Wheeler Even though 'flashku' seems obviously derived from the English 'flashcard' it is usually interpreted as a Russian word. Not marked as English and not Kazakh, probably because of its modern/tech associations</p>
D	на	Here (<i>gives flash card to M</i>)	
M	а флешку оставить да?	Ah, we should leave flash card yes?	<p>LW Louise Wheeler D now uses Kazakh to address S. S's accommodation of the switch seems unproblematic and <u>seemless</u></p>
D	канша дейді?	how much did you say?	
S	алты [жүз елу]	six [hundred and fifty елу]	<p>LW Louise Wheeler Now speaking in a Kazakh 'frame' (Goffman), D still uses the Russian word <u>иррек</u> from 'item', not Kazakh 'dana', which would be very unusual 'good' Kazakh and marked. The <u>translanguaging</u> does not appear to be marked here (D agreed in interview)</p>
D	алты [жүз елу] теңге алты <u>штук</u>	six [hundred and fifty елу] <u>tenge</u> for six items	
S	xxx сала салшы	xxx give me please	<p>LW Louise Wheeler Shopkeeper use polite Kazakh шы suffix. Respect to customer</p>
D	мhm ... кофтамен түсейін ба мынаумен xxx?	mhm ... should make photo with blouse with this xxx?	
M	елу теңге бар ма?	Do you have fifty <u>tenge</u> ? (<i>to D</i>)	<p>LW Louise Wheeler 20 minutes ago D and M speak in Kazakh, instigated by D. In interview, D explained that her M learned K as an adult, because her husband was a <u>Kaz</u> speaker. Practice? Allowing M to perform <u>Kaz</u> ID to Dictaphone?</p>
D	жоқ кой деймін	No, it seems	
M	қазір көрем	Hang on, I'll look	<p>LW Louise Wheeler Photographer speaks in Russian</p>
P	не моргаем	don't blink (<i>P to D as he prepares to take her photo</i>)	

From the analytical approaches and strategies described above, two main lines of discussion emerged as being most productive in shedding light on processes of language ideology and identity, as well as being richest in detail and data. The first focussed on performance contexts, which seemed to be particularly significant to participants, as spaces where language ideologies and identities of multilingualism were constructed and negotiated. The second important analytical focus was in relation to how multilingual individuals took up stances towards multilingualism and negotiated aspects of their linguistic identity in meta-discursive interactions. Here, discussion of particular instances of meta-discursive talk in key participant interviews were linked to other field notes, researcher journal entries and particularly the audio recordings made by the speaker. As Davis (2012) highlights, exploration of ideological processes requires more than simple description, but that researchers must link these to people, places and practices across space and time. The processes of initial post-fieldwork analysis are depicted in Figure 10. These two analytical foci of performance and stance are detailed in the following sections.

Figure 9: Initial Post-Fieldwork Analysis



3.8.6 Focus on Performance

The notion of 'performance' was an important one in relation to linguistic identity at KSU and in analysis of fieldnotes and my research journals, the important role of performance practices

in everyday life at KSU could not be overlooked. Furthermore, my key participants further foregrounded the importance of performance, by making audio recordings in these contexts more than any one other kind. The prevalence of performance contexts at KSU and the way that members of the community themselves used these spaces to articulate ideologies of language and identity, helps to justify my decision to use 'performance contexts' as an analytical lens. Moreover, I felt that analysis of performance and linguistic identity could help to shed light on the ways in which agency to negotiate linguistic identities can be afforded or constrained, depending on contextual conditions. I believe that the insights gained from analysis of communicative practices in performance are not just limited to these contexts, but contribute to better understandings of the opportunities available more widely for negotiating agency and linguistic identities. Moreover, I wanted to explore more deeply the notion of 'off-stage' and 'on-stage' contexts and consider how these might contribute to the analysis of identity construction in performance in multilingual settings, as highlighted by Divita (2014) and Han (2009). Such distinctions definitely emerged as meaningful and potentially valuable in the KSU study. Not only did many of the data address issues of identity in instances of performance, the distinction between on and off-stage aspects of these performance contexts was often clearly marked by differences in the linguistic resources and repertoires employed by participants. These patterns seemed to provide an ethnographically warranted reason to explore these constructions of performance and on/off-stage in my analysis.

Analysis focussed on field-notes and audio and video recordings, and were also supported by insights from interviews with key participants and insights from my researcher journal. In the Literature Review, I described my focus on 'performance contexts', a term in which I wanted to reflect the way that the analysis would account for both the processes of contextualisation and actual content of the performances discussed. Firstly, therefore I needed a means by which to

identify examples of performance contexts in the data. In order to do this, I selected data that fitted the following three main criteria, intended as a working definition of 'performance'. These three aspects of audience, reflexivity and artfulness are not completely distinct from each other, rather, they are intertwined and mutually shaping.

- 1) **Audience:** Performers take responsibility for their communicative skill and efficiency, which is both *to* and *for* the audience (Coupland 2007). Furthermore, the meanings created in performances are always constructed both by the performer and the audience(s).
- 2) **Reflexivity:** By consciously putting communication on display, the act of performance invites critical reflection on the communicative process (Bauman and Briggs 1990).
- 3) **Artfulness:** The language practices consciously employed in the communication and making of meaning in performance, at least to some extent, are more artful, than in typical everyday talk and interaction (Bauman and Briggs 1990).

For the purposes of performance context analysis, these three aspects were initially used to identify appropriate data. However, this etic perspective was balanced by close attention to the ways in which the participants themselves understood these contexts and what the performances meant to them. This was done by attending both to the textual and contextual details and by drawing on a wider range of other ethnographic sources of data from across the KSU research site. This resulted in the identification of 10 'performance contexts' (see Appendix 9 for list), comprising field-note, audio and video data. In order to analyse these further, I applied the following analytical questions to the data on each performance context.

- 1) How is the context constructed as performance?
- 2) Is agency constructed or limited? How? Why?
- 3) What is the role of the audience?

- 4) What vectors of reflexivity are in play?
- 5) What are the on/off-stage dynamics and shifts in dynamics?
- 6) What is the role of linguistic and ideological resources in these performance contexts?
- 7) What indexicalities are drawn on in the performance?
- 8) How do imposed/assumed/negotiated identities interact in each performance context?

For each performance context, I annotated the corresponding fieldnote or transcript in relation to each question in turn. In addressing each question, I found it essential to take into account the indexical relationships between language practices and identities that had been highlighted by previous analysis across all of my data. I then drew the main themes of these margin annotations together in an analytical summary for each context. For example, Figure 11 shows the annotations I made to a transcript of an English club context of comedy improvisation and Excerpt 3 shows part of the resultant analytical summary (See Appendix 10 for summary).

Figure 10: Example of Analysis of Performance Context Data

2. Is agency constructed or limited? How? Why?		
<p>J: Well, Darth Vader is replaced with someone else. Who will Darth Vader be?</p> <p>S: Аватар (Throughout the exchanges which follows there is a lot of background noise as students chat amongst themselves in a mixture of Russian, Kazakh or both -although Russian predominates*)</p> <p>J: <u>Darth Vader</u> will be replaced by someone else. (Student talk continues, some suggestions are shouted, but are unclear)</p> <p>J: <u>What?...He's what?</u></p> <p>S: Ring</p> <p>J: Snow White?</p> <p>N: <u>Its</u> about who sees the video and then dies after 7 days</p> <p>J: Do you know this <u>movie?</u></p> <p>S: Ring ring from Japan</p> <p>J: <u>Oh</u> the ring</p> <p>S: Do you know?</p> <p>J: <u>Yeh</u> I know. I know the ring <u>its</u> just not called Snow White. <u>Its</u> called the ring. OK, the ring.</p>	<p>J: Well, Darth Vader is replaced with someone else. Who will Darth Vader be?</p> <p>S: <u>Avatar</u> (Throughout the exchanges which follows there is a lot of background noise as students chat amongst themselves in a mixture of Russian, Kazakh or both -although Russian predominates*)</p> <p>J: <u>Darth Vader</u> will be replaced by someone else. (Student talk continues, some suggestions are shouted, but are unclear)</p> <p>J: <u>What?...He's what?</u></p> <p>S: Ring</p> <p>J: Snow White?</p> <p>N: <u>Its</u> about who sees the video and then dies after 7 days</p> <p>J: Do you know this movie?</p> <p>S: Ring ring from Japan</p> <p>J: <u>Oh</u> the ring</p> <p>S: Do you know?</p> <p>J: <u>Yeh</u> I know. I know the ring <u>its</u> just not called Snow White. <u>Its</u> called the ring. OK, the ring.</p>	<p>UA Unknown Author Ss suggest characters, but final decision is with T.</p> <p>Louise Wheeler Kazakh and Russian are not legitimate onstage languages here and so agency cannot be <u>exercised</u> AND recognised as valuable by T</p> <p>UA Unknown Author Presence of T affords English language indexing characters.</p> <p>Louise Wheeler Ss struggled to accomplish this context in English only</p> <p>UA Unknown Author In order for suggestions to be included, students must present effectively to the teacher in English – not easy in such a noisy environment.</p>

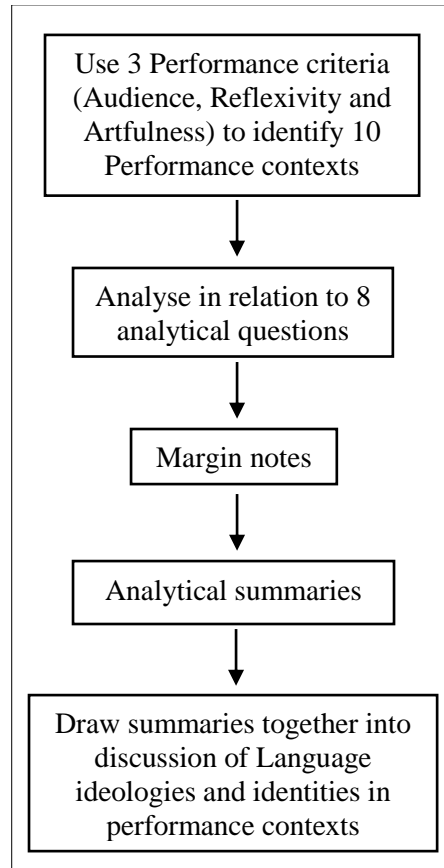
Analytical Summary: GEM J Transcript

Is agency constructed or limited? How? Why?

The improvised performance frame was intended to provide opportunity for agency, specifically set up by the teacher, who knew that the university hoped the Go English Movement would help foster student autonomy and creativity. However, it is an unfamiliar genre to the students, who do not know the TV show 'Whose line is it anyway' and who are probably more used to pre-rehearsed, polished performances and to evaluating performances on this basis (based on my observations at KSU). This together with the fact that many of the students' English proficiency did not seem up to accomplishing the goal set out by the teacher (funny, improv in English) severely curtailed the capacity of many students to exercise any kind of agency in the identities they performed on stage. In fact, the majority did not 'perform', but were audience members throughout. However, in off-stage interactions and moments, we see students performing such acts of agency in Russian and or Kazakh – especially S1, whose carnivalesque heckles from off-stage in Russian actually seem to embody more of the spirit of creative, witty agency that the 'legitimate' on stage action in English.

By looking across the summaries and details of each analysed performance context I was able to identify ways in which performances and on or off-stage regions were contextualised, how roles were negotiated, the kinds of identities and ideologies performed and the significance of linguistic resources and indexicalities to these processes. This became the basis for the discussion of 'performance of multilingual identities' in Chapter Four. The process of analysis of performance context data is summarised in Figure 12.

Figure 11: Summary of Performance Context Data Analysis



3.8.7 Analysis of Stance in Metalinguistic Commentary

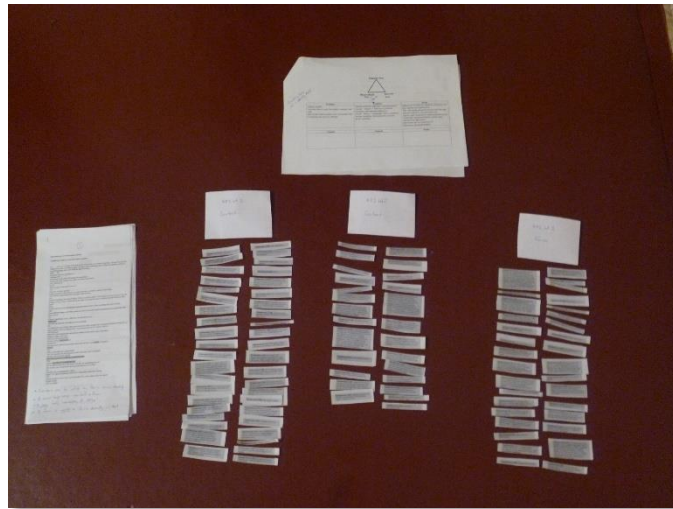
In analysing the interview data, I felt that the approach described above was inadequate. I needed a better way to account for the prominent role that I myself played in the interview interactions and the way in which they were far more directly shaped by my research agenda than the other recordings. I also felt that I needed a different analytical approach to respond to the personal-historical dimension of these interactions and to tie this to the agentic ways that

the students and I orientated our metalinguistic, meta-discursive talk to each other and to the subjects of our discussions.

For this reason, I turned to Pavlenko's (2007) paper on "Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics", which outlined the kind of approach I wanted to take: one that linked the speaker-centred nature of the interview data to other observational data and linguistic concerns and also one that took into account the interdependent dimensions of content, context and form at both 'macro' and 'micro' levels. However, Pavlenko herself cautions that her paper does not advocate a specific set of methodological procedures, but rather highlights important issues for analysis – as became evident when I tried to apply her tripartite 'content, context, form' approach to my interview data. At first, I found the framework rather complex and unwieldy, but through trial and error I winnowed down the scope of each aspect, to include only the concerns that were most salient and productive in relation to analysing issues of language ideology and identity in my data. This resulted in my 'interview analysis framework' (shown in Table 12). I applied this framework to analysis of my key participant interview data in the following way.

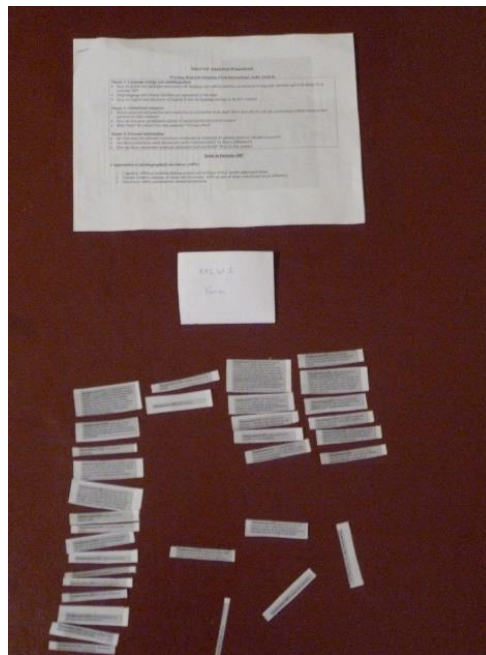
- 1) As with the other data, I would work through the transcript with the audio recording making margin annotations. I tried consciously to annotate on content, context and form separately, using my research questions as a guide.
- 2) Having annotated the transcript, I then cut up all of the comments, so they were on separate pieces of paper.
- 3) I then assigned each comment to the headings of content, context and form. As Pavlenko (2007) points out, these concerns are interdependent and so each comment may straddle more than one category (See Figure 13)

Figure 12: Meta-Discursive Data Analysis Step 3



- 4) Next, I tried to group the comments within each of the 3 categories thematically, related to the 8 themes described in section 3.8.3, my research questions and to the indexical relationships suggested by analysis of other data so far (See Figure 14)

Figure 13: Meta-Discursive Data Analysis Step 4



5) I then noted each of the comment numbers into the Table 12, so that I could track them later and added my written interpretation and a working heading. I often found that, even though the comment was allocated to one category, the interpretation crossed into others and brought in references to other data. This helped to overcome my concern that, in separating the comments into three categories, I might lose the aspect of interdependence that Pavlenko stresses is critical. However, it seemed that the way in which themes and interpretations naturally splintered and blended helped in braiding together the strands of content, context and form, while still structuring the analysis sufficiently for it to be manageable.

Table 12 shows an excerpt from my analysis of Dariga’s first interview. Not all of the ‘working’ headings are followed by interpretation here, for reasons of brevity.

Table 12: Example Analysis of Meta-Discursive Data

Content	Context	Form
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Subject reality</i> • <i>Not just what is said, but what is omitted and why.</i> • <i>Researcher must analyse own conceptual lens.</i> • <i>Categories do not just ‘emerge’</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Global and local influences interdependent</i> • <i>Global = Macro = historical, political, economic and cultural influences</i> • <i>Local = Micro = Language choice, audience, setting, modality, interactional concerns, power relations</i> 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Influences of culture, linguistics and genre on how stories are constructed and interpreted</i> • <i>How interactional goals are pursued through narrative devices, lexical choice etc.</i> • <i>Agency and creativity in representation of self</i> • <i>Interviews are co-constructed</i> • <i>Interviews are performative</i>
<p>Dariga (D) Interview 1 (Numbers indicate comment number of comment on transcript)</p>		
Content	Context	Form
<p>156, 18, 32, 28, 29 , 27, 151, 13: Translanguaging in KP1’s family D is very open and uninhibited about the fact that in her family, switching between Kazakh and Russian is normal, unmarked and accepted in spoken interactions. She told me in this interview that, before getting married, her</p>	<p>52, 24, 122, 16, 57: Discourses around gender These all relate to the way in which D’s views and practices are shaped by discourses and ideologies regarding gender, that circulate in KZ society. These include the notion that women can’t work on oil fields, that marrying and having a big family is almost a moral duty and that in Kazakh society the wife should</p>	<p>129, 64: Russian language indexing resources Even though D represents herself as a predominantly Kazakh speaker, who uses both Kazakh and Russian, most of the data I have is conducted mostly in Russian and less so in Kazakh. In this interview too, it is interesting that the filler words she uses are Russian indexing signs and the mistakes she makes like</p>

<p>mother spoke and was educated predominantly in Russian and only started to speak and learn Kazakh more after she married D's father – a predominant Kazakh speaker from the South. She also gives an example of where her father asks her to 'perform' her knowledge of English when joking around with his friends. The inference is that he is proud of her and enjoys showing her off in this way. Later, she relates a visit to her 'sister' and her husband to discuss a research article she is working on. She talks about the translingual interaction that goes on around this task in 3 languages, D explains that the conversation, was in 2 languages, not because translanguaging is negative means of communication used by those who can't stick to one, but because they are both equally skilled in Kazakh and Russian.</p>	<p>shape her identity to that of her husband's family – as D's mother did in terms of learning Kazakh. 104, 164, 150, 109, 33: Cross lingual awareness D shows she is aware to a reasonable extent of the similarities and differences between Russian, Kazakh and English and at times clarifies the distinctions between concepts in English as opposed to local meanings – eg 'sister', by which she actually means cousin. She then persists in using the word sister. I admire the way she asserts authority to refigure local conceptual resources in English and impose them on the interaction.</p>	<p>magazine/shop are Russian language indexing too. 1, 108: Me positioning myself in the interview vis-à-vis certain culturally circulating identities I often try to establish that I am not entirely clueless of local meanings and practices, so D needn't start from first principles entirely in her explanations – as this sometimes results in me not learning anything if I'm seen as the clueless foreigner.</p>
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Seeing the key participant interviews presented in this way brought to my attention the extent to which the interactions could be conceptualised as an ongoing process of negotiation, in which both the participant and myself took up positions in relation to each other, to the language ideologies and practices under discussion, and to other remembered or imagined actors beyond the immediate context. It also highlighted the amount of 'interactional work' that students in particular put into trying to ensure that the ideological and linguistic resources they drew on to construct particular positions and identities were interpreted by me in the desired way. My analysis of the key participant interview data, and its links to data from other sources began to shed light on the extent to which indexicalities between language use and identity, although

deeply enregistered, were also far from being straightforward, in that a given set of ideological resources could potentially be employed by different speakers in vastly different ways, depending on the context of interaction, the identity of the speaker and the way in which such resources were interactionally framed. As, Blackledge and Creese (2014:5) note, it is important to pay attention, not only to words themselves, but to the social tensions within them. Furthermore, analysis of the interview data also helped me to see the kinds of identities and goals that the students themselves constructed as most important to them, across our interactions - for example 'good student-hood', agency and patriotism – and the need to understand their linguistic practices in this light.

Therefore, the key participant interviews constituted a central axis, around which discussion of individual speaker's negotiation of language ideologies and identities could be anchored. However, I felt that I needed a conceptual lens that allowed me to draw together my interest in exploring the processes of socially situated and socially consequential positionality and the flexibility of language ideologies and indexicalities as resources for individual and agentive acts of identity negotiation. This led me to Jaffe's concept of stance-taking, defined as 'taking up a position in respect to the form or content of one's utterance' (2009:18), which she suggests as a potentially productive analytic tool to conceptualise the processes of indexicalisation that link individual performance and social meanings (Jaffe 2009:22). The metalinguistic nature of 'stances' seemed particularly apt in relation to interview data and, as an umbrella term, encompassing moral, epistemic, affective, sociolinguistic and interpersonal dimensions (Kiesling 2009), I felt it had enough inherent flexibility to help make coherent sense of the various interactional moves made by the interlocutors. Moreover, Jaffe's work advocated that, in order to explore how linguistic, cultural and ideological texts become resources for stance-taking, it was necessary to understand the historical trajectories and repertoires of the

individuals, communities, contexts and discourses involved (Jaffe 2007), making it an analytical tool that I felt helped situate the individual at the heart of analysis.

Therefore, I started looking for ways in which each of the key participants took up stances in relation to key indexicalities of language and multilingualism I had already identified throughout the prior analysis, how they performed their alignment or disalignment with established indexicalities, identity categories and language ideologies, and how they used these stances as ‘sociolinguistic resources’ with which to position themselves and others (Jaffe 2009:10). I did this by colour coding the ‘‘interview analysis frameworks’ I had created for each interview, to highlight instances in which the students positioned themselves (green) or others (blue). For example, Table 13 shows how I categorised the examples of analysis shown above.

Table 13: Categorisation of Meta-Discursive Data Analysis

Dariga (D) Interview 1		
(Numbers indicate comment number of comment on transcript)		
Content	Context	Form
<p>156, 18, 32, 28, 29, 27, 151, 13: Translanguaging in KP1’s family</p> <p>KP1 is very open and uninhibited about the fact that in her family, switching between Kazakh and Russian is normal, unmarked and accepted in spoken interactions. She told me in this interview that, before getting married, her mother spoke and was educated predominantly in Russian and only started to speak and learn Kazakh more after she married KP1’s father – a predominant Kazakh speaker from the South. She also gives an example of where her father asks her to ‘perform’ her knowledge of English when joking around with his friends. The inference is that he is proud of her and enjoys showing her off in this way. Later, she talks about the translingual interaction that goes on around this task in 3 languages, KP1 explains that the conversation, was in 2 languages, not because translanguaging is negative means of communication used by those who can’t stick to one, but because they are both equally skilled in Kazakh and Russian.</p>	<p>52, 24, 122, 16, 57: Discourses around gender</p> <p>These all relate to the way in which D’s views and practices are shaped by discourses and ideologies regarding gender, that circulate in KZ society. These include the notion that women can’t work on oil fields, that marrying and having a big family is almost a moral duty and that in Kazakh society the wife should shape her identity to that of her husband’s family – as D’s mother did in terms of learning Kazakh.</p> <p>104, 164, 150, 109, 33: Cross lingual awareness</p> <p>D shows she is aware to a reasonable extent of the similarities and differences between Russian, Kazakh and English. She then persists in using the word sister. I admire the way she asserts authority to refigure local conceptual resources in English and impose them on the interaction.</p>	<p>129, 64: Russian language indexing resources</p> <p>Even though D represents herself as a predominantly Kazakh speaker, who uses both Kazakh and Russian, most of the data I have is conducted mostly in Russian and less so in Kazakh. In this interview too, it is interesting that the filler words she uses are Russian indexing signs and the mistakes she makes like magazine/shop are Russian language indexing too.</p> <p>1, 108: Me positioning myself in the interview vis-à-vis certain culturally circulating identities</p> <p>I often try to establish that I am not entirely clueless of local meanings and practices, so D needn’t start from first principles entirely in her explanations – as this sometimes results in me not learning anything if I’m seen as the clueless foreigner.</p>

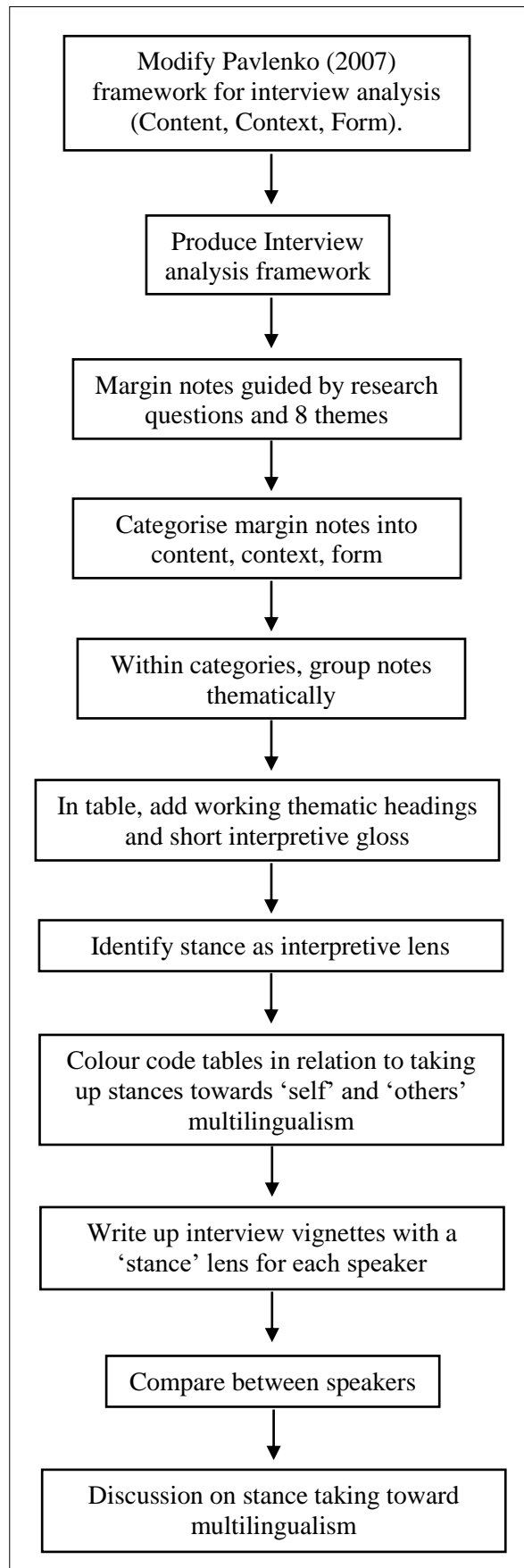
This process of colour coding facilitated the writing up of interview vignettes for each key participant, in which I drew together my observations from across an individual's interviews and audio data, to discuss it with a stance lens. Excerpt 4, for example shows one part of my vignette on Dariga, in which I discuss her stance taking toward Kazakh linguistic identity (See Appendix 11). These vignettes became the basis of the discussion on 'stance taking toward multilingualism in metalinguistic commentary' in Chapter Five. The approach to the analysis of meta-discursive data is summarised in Figure 15.

Excerpt 4: Example of Key Participant Stance-taking Vignette

Stance towards moral indexicalities of being a Kazakh speaker

The first thing Dariga foregrounds is her mother as a Kazakh language learner – in case I judge her harshly for not being a predominant Kazakh speaker? By foregrounding this so markedly, Dariga appears to key my interpretation of in terms of the indexical link between a Kazakh linguistic identity and patriotism and morality. She also takes a moral stance herself, in aligning with this ideology that speaking Kazakh is the moral duty of Kazakh people. Elsewhere, in other interviews and her audio recordings, I have noted that Dariga constructs family ties as extremely important and so, her positive stance toward her mother's Kazakh learning as patriotic, helps extend this identity of 'good Kazakh' to herself.

Figure 14: Summary of Approach to Analysis of Meta-Discursive Data



3.9 Ethical Considerations

Copland and Creese (2015:185) stress that in linguistic ethnography, consideration of ethical issues should permeate every facet of the research process and that ethical decision making should always be informed by the local context and by mutual understandings developed within the researched community. For this reason, many of the issues regarding the negotiation of access, gaining of consent, ensuring of anonymity and reflexive strategies have been discussed in the previous sections. I also obtained ethical approval from the University of Birmingham, before the commencement of any data collection in the field.

However, ethical considerations in ethnography can, at times, be a source of tension and ‘grey areas’ (Copland and Creese 2015, Burgess 1989), as the researcher attempts to balance her responsibilities to the research, with the rights, views and values of the participants (Cohen 2007:75). Throughout this chapter, I have highlighted numerous instances when the systems of belief and values articulated by the participants jarred uncomfortably with my own, raising important question about whose values should guide research (Kubaniyova 2008) and how the researcher’s perspective can be represented alongside that of the researched community. Ortega (2005:427) emphasises the need to acknowledge that research is never value free and therefore, it is the duty of the researcher to be explicit and conscious of the value commitments that shape her inquiry and mindfully engaged throughout in allowing these to inform the framework of interpretation. Therefore, what kind of ‘stance’ did I take up with respect to my research, my participants, the data and its interpretation?

For me, this meant an ongoing effort to ensure that the diverse voices of the KSU community contributed to the ongoing development of the ethnography and to the final account (Eisenhart 2001) and an awareness that I was one voice among many in this community. While this stance

seemed to entail that I had a legitimate right to speak about its practices, it also forced me to constantly remember that my ethnography represented a *perspective* on these practices, albeit one that strived to be predicated on data and ‘unusual thoroughness and reflexivity in noticing and describing’ (Erickson 1990:81). I also relied on my evolving research questions to anchor my relationships with both data and participants throughout the study, attempting to understand and explain, rather than to evaluate (albeit from a confessed post-structuralist, ideological perspective, shaped by what some may conceive as ‘Western’ liberal values). I hope that in trying to explicitly articulate my own stance and values vis-à-vis the research, I may encourage critical engagement and further discussion of its findings. Furthermore, I also tried to remain open to the perspectives and values of my participants, bearing in mind that the KSU community was far from homogeneous. For this reason, I tried to create opportunities throughout the research to involve participants in research (Gobo 2008) and to discuss my emerging understandings with the participants both individually and in group meetings (Gao 2010) and to actively debate the direction and purpose of the research (Eisenhart 2001) – for example in student ethnography group meetings, in interviews, in workshop discussions with academic staff and by allowing participants to collect, see and comment on their own data.

However, it is not only on a fundamental ‘values’ level that the ethics of the study needed to be negotiated. It was also necessary to develop situated approaches to dealing with ethical issues on a more practical level too: for example, around issues of consent, anonymity and the right to withdrawal (Copland and Creese 2015:187). It was for this reason, that those with roles within that study in which in-depth, individual data was elicited, or who were involved repeatedly over time (such as observed and interviewed teachers, interviewed students, members of the Student Ethnography Group and key participants) were asked to sign consent forms after being given time to read the project information (See Appendices 2 and 4). Although

the participant information was available in three languages, the linguistic, cultural and epistemological differences between my own research background and the local one, meant that I was worried that the language of these documents might not adequately represent the full meanings of the terms used in English (Metro 2014, Adams et al 2005, McCabe et al 2009). For that reason, I always made sure participants were given project documents in advance of data collection (usually around a week at least) and that they were able and encouraged to contact me with questions or concerns. Furthermore, I tried to make time during fieldwork to carefully and repeatedly explain the research to participants, (Campbell 2010). This attention to informed consent as an ongoing concern was particularly important given the way in which the focus of the study changed over time, making it crucial for me to keep my participants updated, modifying consent information and forms when necessary and maintaining open dialogue with participants and stakeholders (Copland and Creese 2015).

Maintaining a meaningful and productive dialogue with my participants was predicated on the building of good rapport between us (Erickson 1990) and it was for this reason that I tried to emphasise my 'student-researcher identity', partly to put my student participants at ease and partly to draw a line between my role as a teacher and my research project, reiterating that participants should not infer any benefit to their participation in terms of grades etc. (Kubaniyova 2008, Burgess 1989) - indeed, none of my key participants were current students in my classes. But while such rapport can be of great benefit, it is also important that the researcher is aware of its potential negative consequences as well, such as participants feeling under pressure to provide the kind of data they perceived I wanted (Kubaniyova 2008). Once again, I found that keeping an open dialogue with the participants and a critical eye to my data helped me mitigate and circumnavigate these issues as much as possible.

While written consent was obtained from the main, individuals who participated in the study, from others consent was elicited in other ways. For example, originally, I had planned that that I would get written consent from all students present during participant observations in which I made field notes. However, classroom realities made this impractical and it seemed that, as experienced by other ethnographers, the presence of the consent form could be a cause for suspicion and distress (Metro 2014, Campbell 2010). When I asked the class teachers if they could give consent forms to their students to sign, they asked me if I could gain their consent in another way, explaining that they feared it would make the students nervous about speaking out in class, which at the time was something that that the department was struggling to encourage. After discussing this issue with my colleagues in a department meeting, we agreed a different approach, of explaining the reason and nature of my visit in advance, providing them with project information and then my asking for verbal consent in the class itself, emphasising that if anyone did not want take part, they were free to inform either the teacher or myself. I also elicited verbal consent from students at extra-curricular activities in the same way. When making their own audio recordings, I stressed to key participants that they should never record without the knowledge and permission of those involved and that their participants had the right to refuse. Moreover, I have made every effort to obscure the identities of all participants through the use of pseudonyms and the redaction of certain identifying details.

In other contexts, I was concerned at times by the blurriness between what constituted public and private spaces (Metro 2014): for example, in some contexts of staged performance, where gaining consent from everyone present was not feasible. In these situations, I compromised by not making notes on the behaviours of any identifiable individuals, who were not consciously performing. I interpreted the fact that in putting their actions ‘on stage’, as a public act, that performers were, by definition, opening their performance up to the scrutiny of an audience

(Bauman and Briggs 1990), of which I was part. Kubaniyova (2008:506) points out that, in ethnographic research, there is inevitably a compromise between confidentiality and anonymity on one hand, and sufficient contextualisation on the other. She advocates that these decisions should be guided by a ‘micro-ethics of care’, in which the researcher must view each participant as an individual person, not just a source of data, and consider carefully how harm to that individual is best avoided.

In dealing with all such ethical issues and decision making, the underlying ethnographic principle of reflexivity was crucial throughout. This chapter has described multiple ways in which I tried to make reflexivity an integral part of the study, both in its design and its implementation: for instance, in my researcher journal, through the practice of ‘writing myself into’ my fieldnotes and in my approach to interview data as situated, social interaction of which I was a constituent part. Blommaert and Dong (2010:5) refer to such reflexive research practices as a kind of ‘methodologised ethics’. On-going reflexivity (Guillemin and Gilliam 2004:274) has played a vital role in helping me examine the influence of my own ideologies and values in the work (Ortega 2005), in tracking the compromises and solutions I reached with my participants in the field and understanding the contextual conditions that shaped them (Burgess 1989).

3.10 Chapter Summary

This chapter has outlined how this linguistic ethnography of a multilingual, university community has the potential to open up spaces and new perspectives on the processes of language ideologies and identities in Kazakhstan. By considering the small phenomena of interaction alongside the wider social context (Blommaert 2005), the research sets out to

explore the ideological in the interactional and the interactional in the ideological (Blackledge and Creese 2010:59). By assuming that social groups are heterogeneous and mobile (Heller 2011), it aspires to critically investigate how identities and ideologies are shaped through the multilingual linguistic practices of KSU community members. Throughout this chapter, I have detailed how and why linguistic ethnography's fundamental tenets of reflexivity, complexity, historic and emic sensitivity, and criticality towards relations of power have shaped every aspect of my enquiry – from research design, to data collection, to analysis. Furthermore, in an attempt to respond to Erickson's call to 'demystify' the processes of data construction (2004), I have also described in detail my procedures for the analysis, and the role that the analytical lenses of indexicality, performance and stance played in shaping my interpretations.

Over the next two chapters, I will present my analysis and discussion of the data, focussing first on contexts of performance and then on stance-taking in meta-discursive commentary, exploring the ways that ideologies and indexicalities of language are performed across contexts at KSU and how these resources shape opportunities for multilingual young people to negotiate identities, take up stances and construct agency in relation to discourses of language and multilingualism in Kazakhstan.

4 DATA ANALYSIS

PERFORMING MULTILINGUAL IDENTITIES AT KSU

4.1 Introduction

For members of the KSU community, contexts of staged performance were significant spaces, in relation to construction of linguistic identities. The centrality of performance practices in everyday life at the university was readily apparent, with students regularly asked to make presentations, to perform role-plays in front of their teachers and peers and even to 'perform' the results of their homework or in-class exercises by standing and reading aloud at the front of the class. Elsewhere in KSU, the importance of performances was also hard to overlook. In department meetings, teachers, like students were expected to stand and read their reports aloud in front of their colleagues. Educationally, class assessments in the form of dramatic 'spectacles' or game shows were praised more highly than other, less formal or public forms. And regularly, throughout the academic year, it was a generally accepted that students would be exempt from classes to participate in or attend last minute performance events, organised to mark public holidays, to support political parties or welcome special guests. The importance of performance was further reiterated by my key-participants, who chose to record performance contexts more than any other, single kind of communicative event – ranging from comedy competitions, to musical performances, to bible sessions, to English language events to recorded journalist-style interviews.

In these performance contexts, the role of ideologies of language and languaging as resources for identity negotiation were particularly visible and powerful. As Silverstein (2003) comments,

in their inherent, heightened reflexivity, performances, rely on, foreground and encourage the formation of higher order indexicalities, as well as playing a pivotal role in the embedding of language ideologies (Rydell 2015) through processes of enregisterment. The performances I observed in KSU often drew on powerful ideologies of language that were circulating in Kazakhstan's wider cultural and political landscape, such as those of the Trinity of Languages, essentialist links between mother tongue and ethnic identity, and the emerging indexes of English language use and speaker-hood. In staged performances, indexical links between language and identity were emphasized, presented for scrutiny and made vulnerable to interpretation by audiences; potentially open to uptake, question, contestation or transformation (Jaffe 2009, Bell and Gibson 2011). However, whilst the performance contexts discussed in this chapter all have elements of 'staged' performance at their core, the temporal and physical spaces in which they were situated also allowed for more 'break-through', everyday performances in off-stage interaction and, indeed for different 'shades' of performance in-between. Therefore, my analysis also considers processes of contextualisation in performance contexts (Bauman and Briggs 1990), the framing of communication as on- or off-stage and how these contribute to the construction or constraint of agency, in negotiating linguistic identities. For this reason, my discussion is woven through extended examples of field-note and transcript data, to convey a sense of how each performance developed over time and space, and to help interrogate how the processes of contextualisation shaped participants' performances and interpretations of linguistic and ideological resources.

As discussed in the literature review and methodology, performance can be characterised as

“a specially marked, highly artful way of speaking that sets up an interpretive frame, within which the act of speaking is understood... [Performance] puts

speaking on display and lifts the interactional setting to the scrutiny of the audience”

(Bauman and Briggs, 1990:73)

This chapter will consider data from three different performance contexts within KSU. The first section focusses on the planning, rehearsal and televised broadcast of a video conference with the President, to mark the launch of new educational TV channel. Here, the core data takes the form of vignettes constructed primarily from my participant observational field-note, but supported by insights from interviews with KSU participants throughout the research and by excerpts from my reflective researcher journal. The second section goes on to discuss a more student-led performance context, that was part of KSU's 'Go English Movement', an extra-curricular initiative aimed at 'developing the English language environment' within the university. The data related to the planning, recording and filming of a student-produced promotional video for the movement's English Clubs, as well as the resultant video itself. Here again I focus my analysis on field-note data, supplemented with insights from KSU participants and from my researcher journal, as well as referring to the promotional video itself. In the third section of the chapter, I present analysis of a transcript of one of the English Clubs, in which an American teacher tries to involve students in an improvised comedy performance. In this section, my analysis focusses on the transcript of an audio-recording, which one of my key participants made at this event, supported by my field-notes of the same situation. Each set of data provides different insights into how heteroglossic, linguistic and ideological resources within 'performance frames' (Goffman 1974) position performers as certain kinds of social actors and how performance contexts may afford or constrain agency in the construction of linguistic identities.

4.2 The Presidential Video Conference

4.2.1 The Context

Early in the Autumn Semester, the university was invited to participate in a video conference with President Nazarbayev, to be televised live as the initial broadcast of a new Kazakhstani TV channel devoted to educational matters. The theme of the video conference, as far as we knew, was the future of education in Kazakhstan. The proposed format was that representatives from selected educational institutions, from all over Kazakhstan would each ask a question directly to President Nazarbayev, via video link up, live on air and the President would give his reply. At the time, this seemed like an excellent opportunity for gaining insight into the ways that policy and state discourses might shape the ideologies of language and identity in the KSU community. For this reason, I made field-notes throughout the preparations and rehearsals for the video conference, as well as about the broadcast itself, later writing up my notes into fuller vignettes, supplemented with insights and reflections from my researcher journal. This resulted in 16 pages of vignettes, spanning the nine-day period from first rehearsal to final televised broadcast. In the section which follows, I present my analysis of these vignettes. (*Excerpts from vignettes are shown in italics to distinguish them from the analysis which follows*)

4.2.2 Analysis of the Presidential Video Conference

Wednesday 29th of August 2012. The invitation:

The first I heard that KSU would be participating in a video conference with the President was on Wednesday the 29th of August. It was my second week of the semester, referred to as 'add-

drop week' - officially the first week of classes, but in reality, a chance for new students to change disciplines if necessary and often, for older students, taken as an extra few days of holiday. That evening I received an email from the Head of Department. It read,

Subject: IMPORTANT_rehearsal_meeting with the President

Dear ...,

I know it is a day off tomorrow, but I have to ask you to come tomorrow 31 August 2012 at 12-00. You will be reimbursed for this extra work.

What will happen is a rehearsal of a meeting with the President N.Nazarbayev. You are invited as honourable guests as well as 6 other foreign teachers. Please wear best possible clothes.

Thank you for understanding,

Even at this early stage, there were clear indications of the importance and significance being given to this event by the university's administration: the fact that staff and students were being called in on a national holiday and that my Head of Department personally called to ensure my attendance. However, what was not clear at this point, was if the event we were 'invited' to participate in constituted 'performance'. At this point, it was being referred to as a 'meeting', *vstrecha* in Russian, which is a word that can cover a range of events, from a business meeting, to an official address, to a panel discussion, to a public talk. It was not until later, when I learned more about the details of the context, the purpose, the participants and the audience roles, that this 'meeting' resolved itself unmistakably into a 'performance context'.

Thursday 30th - Monday 3rd September 2012. The Rehearsals:

When I arrived at the university at around 11:30 on the holiday morning, I found that the rehearsal was being held in the 'Great Hall'. The hall is circular in shape with two tiers of wood and leather chairs looking toward a raised stage and lectern. It is a grand, imposing location, in Kazakhstani pale blue and decorated with national symbols, still housing all of its original fittings, where most other parts of the university have been updated (See figure16). The hall already seemed fairly full of students, being organised into rows by members of the local staff, including some of my language department colleagues. Imposing rows of professional looking lights were a noticeable addition to the hall's usual equipment, as was a huge camera boom, towering over the audience, with smaller cameras on each side.

Figure 15: The Great Hall



I sat for some time at the back of the hall, joined by some local and international colleagues. I made a comment that this event must have taken a lot of planning, but the Head of Department laughed and said that all the teachers, administrators and students had only learned about it the previous afternoon. By the knowing smiles of my local colleagues, it seemed that this was not an unusual state of affairs.

We sat for around an hour and a half, waiting for further instructions. During this time, the seated students chatted amongst themselves, mostly in Russian, from what I could overhear., while the wide-screen TV displays mounted on the walls of the hall quietly played Russian pop videos, to "keep the students entertained" according to my colleagues. On-stage, the ethnically Kazakh film crew talked quietly to each other, looking into laptop screens and adjusting equipment. Then at around 12:30, they told the foreign staff that they were "not needed" and could go home. I found out the next day that the local staff and the students had waited until about 14:30, but that they had not actually been required to do anything. The staff and students I spoke to seemed understandably frustrated and annoyed at missing their day-off.

The choice of the Great Hall as the venue for the meeting further reinforced my understanding that this event was important. This is perhaps the most historic location in the university and was normally kept locked and only used for special occasions, such as graduations. Furthermore, the presence of the TV cameras made it clear that this event was not simply a speech by the President to KSU, but an event that would be witnessed by a much wider audience. Interestingly, these cameras were intended to film the audience, rather than the President himself. We had come to the rehearsal with the notion that we were to be the audience of a public event, but this potentially transformed our role from 'audience as evaluators' to actors ourselves. Regardless of our personal evaluation of the communicative event that we would witness, 'on-stage' - here meaning 'on camera' - we would enact or embody the role of a certain kind of audience taking up a certain kind of 'stance', as dictated by the film crew. Furthermore, our 'audience' role had no power to shape the performance itself, as our pre-recorded applause was removed from the 'on-stage performance' both spatially (in another city) and temporally (days before the actual broadcast). Nor could participants be seen as true 'performers' of an audience role, as reflexivity was not invited and they could not orientate their performance

toward an audience they knew nothing about. In this way, the students and staff could be considered more as resources to be used by those with the power to shape the form and meaning of the performance. Jaffe (2009:12) observes that, “participant roles are the building blocks of context”, but in this performance context, the participant roles offered left very little opportunity for the 'audience' to exercise any kind of agency over how to construct their own identities, either group or individual. As Holland et al (1998:190) highlight “there may be far less to participation than meets the eye”. In order to understand the role of agency in shaping the processes of identity negotiation through performances therefore, it seems crucial that the participant roles of audiences and performers are critically investigated, rather than unproblematically assumed.

The next rehearsal I was involved in was on Monday the 3rd of September, where I was asked to sit in the front row with the other foreign staff. I learned that local staff and students had been called in for rehearsals throughout the past four days, including the weekend. Over this time, teaching schedules were continually rearranged and many classes were cancelled. When I asked some of my own students what they were rehearsing, they replied sarcastically "clapping. Just clapping", expressing also that they felt it was all a bit of a waste of time, but that they were resigned to it. I also asked if my local colleagues knew what was going on and was surprised that they knew little more than I did, despite having been here for the previous four days. However, one was able to tell me that KSU students would ask a question to the President, live on television. Later, another senior colleague explained that this presidential lecture would be televised as the first broadcast, marking the launch of a new TV channel called 'Bilim' (meaning 'knowledge' in Kazakh). Other questions would come from other schools, universities and kindergartens from all over Kazakhstan.

After almost two hours, one of the production team announced, in Russian, that the rehearsal was about to begin. The audience fell quiet and watched while, on the TV screens, a female host in Astana read an introduction from her script in Kazakh. After she had finished, a recorded male voice spoke in Kazakh, backed by an electric guitar soundtrack. He introduced the topic of the video conference as the future of education in Kazakhstan. As I continued to watch, I began to see a pattern to what was unfolding on the screens. The female host would read from her script, introducing the educational institution with the next question. Then they would cut live to that institution and a student would read the question. Then the older Kazakh director, in place of the President's reply, would ad-lib, either in Kazakh or in Russian, to match the language of the question asked. For example, saying in Russian 'And the president will say some words...Ratatatatata' and finishing with thanks, "Рақмет" (Rakhmet) in Kazakh'. The male host would then introduce the next question, followed by another pre-recorded link in Kazakh, giving more information about the institution in question. Initially, the female host spoke in Kazakh and the male host in Russian, but after about half an hour they switched languages.

KSU's turn to speak came fairly early in the programme. A microphone had been set up in the central aisle of the hall. A male, Kazakh student in a grey suit stood at the microphone and waited for his cue from the producers. Unfortunately, the microphone was not turned on and so his question was difficult to hear. Interestingly however, although it was in Russian, he also ended with Рақмет - thank you in Kazakh - followed by applause from the audience. Later, when I asked a colleague about the topic of about his question, she said that last week he had prepared his own, beginning in Kazakh and then changing to Russian. KSU staff had edited it a little, to make the style a little more formal, but the TV production team however, had since changed it multiple times, eventually giving the student a much shorter question to read, which

they had prepared in Russian. When I asked what the new question was about, she admitted that she didn't really, know, as she hadn't heard it yet. Many staff members I spoke to later expressed their disappointment that the students involved in the programme were not given the opportunity to ask their own questions.

It was at this rehearsal that I first had the chance to see something of what the TV broadcast would look like, and the on-stage 'performance' frame brought a number of aspects of the context's language ecology into sharp focus. The first of these was the distinction between on-stage and off-stage languages. In this part of the rehearsal, the on-stage performance could be understood as those sequences of actions that were filmed and that would appear in the actual broadcast, shown on the TV screen, whether or not they were physically present in the hall or in Astana. This shift to an 'on-stage' frame was partly signalled by the producers calling the participants to attention and asking for quiet, but there was also a noticeable difference in the ways linguistic resources were used. Until this point, all communication between the production crew and the participants, and between university and participants (with the exception of informal conversations with the few foreign staff) had been in Russian. Therefore, it was highly noticeable that the first use of Kazakh was when the host started to read her introductory script, followed by the pre-recorded 'link sequences' to introduce student questions.

Throughout the rest of the on-stage performance sequences, there was a strictly regulated pattern in the performers' use of both Kazakh and Russian. The languages were alternated, so that approximately half of the interaction was in Kazakh and half in Russian, although Kazakh always began and closed each section. Furthermore, there was a strict correlation of Kazakh introductions followed by Kazakh questions and Kazakh answers, while Russian introductions were followed by Russian questions and Russian answers. A further feature of on-stage language use, was the fact that questions in Russian were always closed by the Kazakh word

for thank you - *rakmet*- rather than *spasiba*, in Russian, as would usually be expected. This patterned use of linguistic resources had not previously been a feature of communication throughout the four days of rehearsals (nor in my own experience of everyday interaction at KSU more generally) and so, this pattern helped to ‘key’ and distinguish between off- and on-stage frames of the performance.

However, looking beyond the simple patterns of on-stage language use, and considering their meaning, gave more insight into the kind of language identities being constructed in this performance and its relationship to other, wider language-ideological resources. Firstly, the marked switch to Kazakh for rehearsal of the on-stage, on-camera broadcast is worth noting. Although the shift from interaction in Russian off-stage, to Kazakh on-stage was highly noticeable, it was by no means uncommon in Kazakhstani social life at the time. Encouraged and supported by the state, there was a widespread movement committed to raising the prestige and use of Kazakh language in all spheres of social life (Dave 2007, Davenel 2012). Part of this was through the use of Kazakh for public addresses, formal speeches or at high status occasions like this one. Personally, I had often witnessed every line of Kazakh language opening speeches at the theatre, music concerts or academic talks being greeted with applause, with the speaker seeming to pause to allow this acknowledgement from the audience.

Viewed in this light, the patterns of on-stage use of Kazakh also take on particular significance. Without exception, Kazakh was always used to begin each section of the broadcast, thus seeming to highlight its higher status over Russian. This mirrored legislation that required all signs and forms of official, printed information in Kazakhstan to display Kazakh before Russian, either to the right or at the top of the given field (Fierman 2005). Added to this, was the fact that the end of each section of the broadcast always marked a switch back to Kazakh,

and that even questions in Russian were closed with thanks in Kazakh (a phenomenon I never witnessed elsewhere).

Observations from around Almaty in my research journal, and the views of KSU students from the student ethnography group, suggested that it was widely considered the moral and patriotic duty of all 'good' Kazakhs to be able to speak 'their own language', so the effect of this patterned bilingual practice appeared to 'frame' the communication in the performance as conforming to notions of 'good' civic identity with an ethnically 'Kazakh face' (Schatz 2000), even when the linguistic resources used were Russian, or relied on both languages. Goffman (1955:45) argues that aspects of identity are constructed by such moral rules being impressed from without, with Keane (2011) suggesting that such moral ideologies can ultimately come to shape our evaluations of ourselves and others. Therefore, the on-stage/on-camera framing of Russian or bilingualism as somehow linguistically 'Kazakh' was a means of indexing the 'good', patriotic, respectful and ethnically Kazakh identity for all on-stage participants. In this performance context, however, the resources and agency to negotiate this identity was in the hands of the production team, rather than the on-stage participants or the filmed student audience. For some then, this 'good Kazakh' identity could be characterised as assumed - most likely unproblematic as it was of high social value, especially for those of Kazakh ethnicity. But for others, the framing of bilingual, on-stage communication as Kazakh may have represented an imposed identity position - one that they were powerless to resist or able to construct an oppositional on-stage 'stance' (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004).

The second significant pattern of language relates to the way that bilingualism was organised and performed. The alternation of Kazakh and Russian throughout the question and answer section of the programme was strictly choreographed. Each of the male and female, ethnically Kazakh hosts was given the opportunity to introduce some schools in Russian and others in

Kazakh. The overall impression was one of balance, constructing each young, well-dressed host as an individual confident in both Kazakh and Russian. It is also important to note that the language of the question always matched that of the answer, as did the hosts introduction. Data drawn from my research journal and interviews with KSU students, suggest that matching one's language to one's interlocutor was generally thought of as respectful, of indexing the speaker as being well educated and 'cultured' (*kulturnii*), whereas failure to do so could be perceived as inconsiderate, or a sign that one lacks the linguistic competence to do so. Therefore, ensuring that Russian exchanges were entirely in Russian, and Kazakh exchanges were entirely in Kazakh, constructed an identity for on-stage participants as well-educated, respectful and skilled bilingual people. The only exception, as discussed above was the closing of Russian questions with thanks in Kazakh, perhaps acting as a subtle reminder that it is the Kazakh linguistic identity that should be considered 'the first among equals'. This affordance of special status to Kazakh in public performance has also been commented on by Davenel (2012) who speculates that this is intended to reflect the demographic weight of the Kazakh population and perception of their place in Kazakhstani society.

Later, on the evening of the September the 3rd, we were all instructed to return to the hall for further rehearsals. About 30 minutes after rehearsing the question and applause sequence, one of the TV crew led two casually dressed KSU students onto the stage – a boy with a guitar and the girl with a microphone. A cheer went up from the students as they began to sing and play. They performed a selection of mostly Russian pop songs, with one or two in Kazakh and in English. The first two English songs were chosen by the performers -well known pop songs by Adel and James Blunt. However, the third, called 'An Englishman in Shymkent', was requested by the audience, with a few students shouting out the title of the song. The students seemed to evaluate this performance positively, some listening attentively, some singing along with the

chorus and applauding enthusiastically after the song was finished. This was followed by a rap, in Russian and what sounded like Arabic, which also met with enthusiastic approval from the audience.

This interjection of student performances seemed to be the result of a spontaneous decision by the production crew, in order to entertain an increasingly bored and restless audience of KSU students and staff. It too can be considered a performance that emerged out of this 'performance context', as it involved the artful, reflexive use of language, in this case recontextualization of songs, in the presence of and with the awareness of an audience (Bauman 2011). It was in this performance, that one of the rare examples of on-stage constructions of a flexible linguistic identity occurred; firstly, in the singing of 'An Englishman in Shymkent' and secondly in the student's self-authored rap.

'An Englishman in Shymkent', is adapted from the famous song by Sting 'An Englishman in New York', and was popularised in Kazakhstan by an Italian pop singer, calling himself 'Son Pascal'. Son Pascal was widely praised for being a 'foreigner' who performed songs in both Kazakh and English, partly for its novelty and partly because public use of Kazakh by foreigners was generally seen as contributing to raising the profile and status of the language. Secondly, many people found the song genuinely entertaining. Shymkent, in South Kazakhstan, has a reputation of or being somewhat 'rough' and 'uncultured' and the city and is often the butt of local jokes. Therefore, the juxtaposition of the well-known English pop song, about a quintessential, English gentleman experiencing everyday Kazakh life in this city was widely considered witty and amusing. In this song, Kazakh linguistic resources are mixed with English ones, partly to comic effect, but also in a way that was positively evaluated by this audience.

Here, translanguaging between Kazakh and English did not receive such a negative reception as translanguaging in Russian and Kazakh did in many official settings. The assumption seemed to be that, as these two languages did not share a common historical trajectory, that mixing them was a conscious choice on behalf of the speaker or performer that demonstrated skilled control over both sets of linguistic resources, with the purpose of demonstrating verbal artistry or making a particular point. Therefore, the choice afforded to students in their performance created a space for authoring (Holland et al 1998) in which students could explore and, to some extent, negotiate flexible, bilingual identities and a positive stance towards this. On the other hand, although there was far greater opportunity for agency in the negotiation of linguistic identity positions, this on-stage performance was limited to the audience and performers physically present in the round hall, whereas the TV broadcast could potentially reach a whole nation of viewers at once. This meant that the power of the TV performance was far greater than the student musical performance, and consequently offered much more potential for the de-contextualisation and re-contextualisation of the ideological resources and identity positions performed (Bauman and Briggs 1990).

Tuesday 4th of September 2012: The Dress Rehearsal

On Tuesday, there were more TV cameras on the stage than on previous occasions, some with blinking red lights and all trained on the audience. As before, big screens at the front of the hall showed a live link with Nazarbayev University in Astana. The production team informed us, in Russian, that the rehearsal would be run as it would be seen on TV, so all the links, graphics and sets on the big screen TVs were as they would be the next day. We started fairly promptly, watching as, in Astana, a large Kazakh man with a moustache emerged from a black

sedan and walked into the atrium of NU, accompanied by the university's rector. We ascertained that the man was playing the part of President Nazarbayev, who would only be present for the live broadcast itself. The atrium is a glass covered, man-made 'park' with artificial ponds, grass and palm trees. surrounded by galleries of university hallways Every available space was filled with well padded, beige and gilt chairs, all facing the main stage. On the stage was a news style desk, covered with a white cloth, with three big, white chairs behind it. Written on the cloth and on the screen behind the stage, and on all the other screens were the words 'Қазақстан білім қоға жолда' (Kazakhstan bilim kogha zholda) in Kazakh and the English translation 'Kazakhstan: on the way to a knowledge society.' All the students in the KSU hall were silent throughout this 3-hour rehearsal, in which we practised the whole video conference 3 times. After each practice, an older Kazakh woman in Astana, gave slow, serious feedback to each participating institution in Russian. After the second practice, another older Kazakh man in Astana also gave direct, curt-sounding feedback in Russian.

As in the earlier rehearsals, there was a clear distinction in language use during the dress rehearsal, between on-stage, separate, multilingualism and off-stage Russian instructions. However, for the first time, English was a visible part of the language ecology of the performance context. English language indexing resources were prominent, in the form of the printed slogan 'Kazakhstan bilim kogha zholda', 'Kazakhstan: on the way to a knowledge society', in both Kazakh and English, as the backdrop to the 'soon-to-be' Presidential stage and in the positioning of 'foreign' members of staff at the very front of both audiences. This served as a clear reminder that English was officially seen as having an important role in the state's 'Trinity of Languages' project, and strengthened the ideological link between the English language and discourses of globalisation and international development. However, unlike Kazakh and Russian, in the on-stage contexts of the broadcast, English language resources were

of far more importance for their symbolic meaning, rather than for their referential or semantic meaning. As Jaffe (2015) observes in relation to minority languages (as English could be argued to be in Kazakhstan), the symbolic value of these languages often outstrips their value for creating semantic meaning in everyday use, and performances often tend to portray an idealised form of monolingual practice. On-stage foregrounding of English language symbols (written words and speakers) seemed intended to allow participants to be positively indexed in relation to notions of globalisation and education by proximity, rather than by actual performance of communication in this language.

Wednesday 5th September: The Live Broadcast

The broadcast, which we in the audience watched on big screens at the front of the hall, started with a sequence of images set to grand, brass-band music: blue and yellow swooping graphics, images of the president holding the hands of two elementary school students and walking through their playground, chemistry apparatus, a space rocket taking off from Baikonur space station in North Kazakhstan, a soaring eagle, Kazakh men on horseback hunting with eagles against the sunset, the national poet Abai, people playing sport and swimming, students in libraries and working on computers, ending with the TV station logo (an open box a glinting English letter B inside) and the channel name, 'Білім', (Bilim) in Kazakh Cyrillic. We then saw the president himself emerging from a black sedan, met by the NU rector and walking into the building just as in the rehearsal. We all clapped as instructed, as the camera panned over the clapping students and back to the President and the Rector taking their seats on-stage.

It was then the turn of the male and female hosts to introduce the programme. They stood behind a lectern of their own, facing the stage. They began in Kazakh, greeting the president, students

and teachers, at NU, around Kazakhstan and around the world. Following their introduction, the Japanese rector, spoke in English to welcome the president to the university. However, a few seconds after he started his speech, a voice-over began simultaneous translation of his words into Russian, meaning that the English was practically impossible to make out. There was applause from the audiences after he finished.

After Rector Katsu's welcome, the president moved to a white lectern in front of the dark blue screen, emblazoned with the slogan 'Kazakhstan knowledge society' in English and "Қазақстан білім қоға жолда" ' in Kazakh. He began by greeting and thanking the audience in Kazakh, pausing for hearty applause. The President spoke about the importance of knowledge to the development and future of Kazakhstan, talked about technology, history, politics, economics and industry and encouraged the students to work hard. After outlining the importance of all these aspects in Kazakh, he then switched to Russian, apparently in order to discuss each area in more detail. His voice was low and clear, occasionally referring to a script, but mostly maintaining eye contact with the Astana audience. At the end of each section of his speech, he would pause, eliciting applause from the audience.

After the President's speech, the camera cut back to the two presenters. In Kazakh, the female presenter thanked the President for his words and advised that we would now be going live to students around Kazakhstan for the question and answer session. As in rehearsals, the male and female presenters' talk alternated between Kazakh and Russian, with both the introductions and closings in Kazakh. Each question also had its own introductory sequence of images, where a charismatic male voice-over would give background information on each educational institution to accompanying video footage of the institution and surrounding area. Important points were emphasised by appearing across the screen in Kazakh, in gold lettering.

A summary of the question and answer sequence is shown in Table 14.

Table 14: Summary of Presidential Conference Questions and Answers

	Institution	Questioner	Language of Question	Images in introductory sequence	Language of President's Answer
1	Nazarbayev University, Astana	Male, Kazakh student	Kazakh	None	Kazakh
2	KSU, Almaty	Male, Kazakh student	Russian	KSU building and surroundings, students taking their seats in the round hall, footage of the president punching the air after signing the declaration of independence, students working at computers, a teacher giving a power point presentation	Russian
3	Bolashak Scholarship students, Washington DC	Male, Kazakh student	Kazakh	Students sitting round a polished wooden table in a plush office, with the President's portrait on the wall, shots of Washington DC and the White House	Kazakh
4	Military Academy, Karaganda	Male, Kazakh cadet	Russian	Cadets marching, doing push ups and in-flight simulators, the President's visit, jets taking off and tanks.	Russian
5	High School, North Kazakhstan	Male, Kazakh student	Kazakh	Students walking in to a modern school building, students in the library, students in national dress, learning about yurts, students working on laptops	Kazakh
6	Special Technological, Kazakh Language School	Female Kazakh student	Russian	A modern building, an astronaut, students in Kazakh national dress, playing Kazakh national instruments, , playing sports and doing judo.	Russian
7	Kindergarten, Kizilorda	Female Kazakh parent	Kazakh	Young boys in army uniform marching in a circle, girls dressed as ducklings dancing, children colouring in class, a young boy giving a speech, 3 girls playing triangles and drums.	Kazakh
8	Nazarbayev University, Astana	Female central Asian student	Russian	No introduction.	Russian
9	Olympic national team, Almaty	Female, Kazakh gymnast	Russian	Clips of 2012 Olympic performances, clips from 2008 Asian games in Almaty, cycling, boxing, a Kazakh man riding a horse.	Russian
10	Medical University, Cardiac Surgical Unit	Older Kazakh, male surgeon	Russian	Footage of a surgical operation, medical machines and equipment, patients in face-masks, looking sad.	Russian
11	Nazarbayev University, Astana	Male, Kazakh student	Kazakh	No introduction	Kazakh

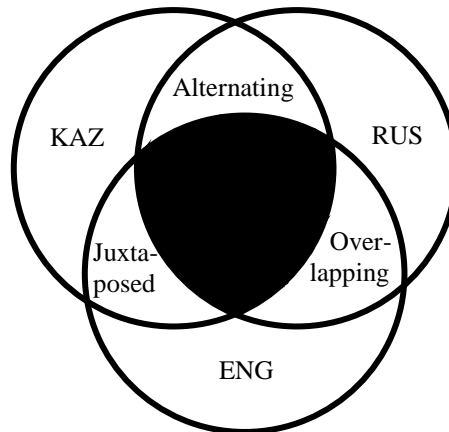
After this, the President summed up and thanked the participants in Kazakh, He spoke again about the importance of knowledge, work and his plans for the future. Later, when I mentioned the President's use of Kazakh in his speech a colleague commented, "It was sweet wasn't it?". The programme finished with applause, after which we were quickly dismissed.

Because of the meticulous detail and the extent to which the TV broadcast had been rehearsed, many aspects of this final, on-stage performance were already familiar, albeit that there was a definite sense that this, final 'live' performance was more 'on-stage' than any rehearsal had been. On the other hand, being able to see the final 'live' version of the broadcast did raise some points of interest in relation to language and identity. The first noticeable additions were the visual links and images that accompanied the different stages of the broadcast. From the introductory sequence, the overall impression was of a proud Kazakh nation, with a strong, distinctive history (the traditional horseman, the national poet, the national symbols of the soaring eagle and rising sun, the blue and yellow colour of the flag) and a technologically progressive present and future (the space station, the laboratory equipment, the students using computers). On the other hand, there were no symbols used in the graphic links that would have specifically indexed the other ethnic groups that make up Kazakhstan's multi-ethnic society, and it was interesting to note that all of the on-stage/on-screen participants with speaking roles (with the exception of the Japanese Rector and possibly one of the student questioners), appeared to be ethnically Kazakh. As a result, the positive bilingual identity constructed for the main participants in the performance, seemed to be solely attributed to those of Kazakh ethnicity. I have used the term 'Kazakh' here, instead of Kazakhstani, as the positivity and patriotism conveyed by the broadcast was undoubtedly tied to a Kazakh ethnic identity, rather than a broader notion of civic identity.

There was also significance in the way that multilingualism, as the 'Trinity of Languages', was performed on-stage and on-screen. I noted with interest that that no subtitles were provided for Russian or Kazakh sections of talk. The producers of the TV show seemed to assume that members of the on-screen audience, the on-stage participants, and potentially also the viewers at home were equally competent in both Kazakh and Russian, or at the very least, it was their intention to construct them as such through the performance, extending this impression of complete, balanced bilingualism in Kazakh and Russian to the audience. Gal and Woodward (2001) highlight that through performances, audiences can be idealised and Jaffe (2009, 2015) adds that performances have the power to ascribe or attribute stances and identities to audiences. Once again, this co-implication of balanced bilingual competence seems to be a way of positioning the performers, the audience and the nation as educated, multilingual, patriotic citizens of Kazakhstan and thus contributing further to the enregisterment of the Trinity of Languages ideology of separate multilingualism.

However, if we consider the way in which English was combined with Kazakh and Russian in the on-stage performance, a very different pattern emerges. As has been discussed above, English was mainly present in a visual, symbolic sense, suggesting that it was most important as an ideological resource, linked to notions of international participation and development. However, English was never presented on its own, within the frame of the on-stage performance, but always alongside either Kazakh or Russian linguistic resources. And there are important differences in the ways in which English was combined with these resources. (See Figure 17).

Figure 16: Patterns of Kazakh, Russian and English Language Resources



Although English was used sparingly overall, the combination of Kazakh and English, was by far the most common practice throughout the broadcast. In each instance, the bilingual slogan, (*Қазақстан білім қоға жолда* 'and 'Kazakhstan: on the way to a knowledge Society') and in the TV channels logo (the Kazakh word of knowledge 'Bilim' and the English letter B) the English and Kazakh linguistic resources were juxtaposed, both being presented simultaneously. This was a pattern I had observed elsewhere around this time, in bill-board advertisements, shop-windows and even on the signs of KSU offices and classrooms. This use of linguistic resources was still a marked one, as the majority of people had grown used to seeing Kazakh and Russian translations alongside each other, rather than Kazakh and English. It seemed that, by juxtaposing Kazakh and English in this visible way, both languages could benefit from the indexicalities of the other. On one hand, English benefited from the respect and status afforded to Kazakh as the 'national language', whilst Kazakh could benefit from the ideology that English was the language of globalisation, development, modernity and progress – a message which fit very much with that of the broadcast performance. By positioning the President and the main participants physically in front of or surrounded by the visible juxtaposition of English and Kazakh, made it possible for them to lay claim to the identities constructed by this pattern of

on-stage language use. In the performance, physical proximity to these juxtaposed linguistic symbols was more important than actual communicative competence in either language.

In the one instance where English and Russian linguistic resources were combined however, the manner of presentation was very different. This came in the form of the welcome speech by the NU Rector, Shigeo Katsu. In his speech, which lasted around five minutes, he spoke entirely in English. In the broadcast however, only the first few seconds of his speech were audible before a voice-over began to dub it into Russian. Here, rather than being juxtaposed, English and Russian language resources are overlapped. Once again, it seems important that Katsu, a foreigner and Rector of Kazakhstan's premier and most international university, be seen to speak in English, as the presence of this symbolic resource constructs an identity position for its students, staff and namesake (the President himself), as well-educated, global citizens who are competent in this language. However, it seemed that an assumption had been made by the production company that the audience would be unable to understand the content of the English language speech, presumably important as it welcomed and praised the President, as well as setting the scene for the events which followed. The fact that the choice had been made however to dub the speech into Russian, rather than Kazakh, is in my opinion rather telling of the discrepancies between the on-stage and off-stage realities of the Trinity of Language project. Just as Russian had been relied on throughout the rehearsals to ensure effective communication between the performance's various participants, it also appeared in some on-stage contexts for seemingly similar reasons.

4.2.3 The Performance Context of the Televised Presidential Conference: Summary

The analysis of the Televised Presidential Conference, highlights that performances are not

always spaces for authoring and that the potential to exercise agency in the negotiation of identities is not always equally distributed among all participants. The process of contextualisation of this performance constrained the capacity for agency in the KSU students and staff participants, by diminishing the reflexive, evaluative role of the audience and by limiting the extent to which the majority of performers could find out about the purpose or nature of the event, prior to its broadcast. This lack of awareness made it impossible for participants to infer the framework in which their performance would be interpreted or to take-up any kind of meaningful stance towards the performance's content or construction. In some ways, this challenges definitions articulated by Bauman and Briggs (1990) of the extent to which active, conscious reflexivity characterises the roles of audience and performer, suggesting that sometimes, these assumptions can mask the power of performances to limit, rather than create spaces for agency.

Analysis of the performance context leading up to the final Presidential conference also highlighted the stark contrast between on-stage performance of separate multilingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English, whilst off-stage contexts were characterised almost entirely by communication in Russian, mirroring the language ecology in many other such contexts across KSU. The way that Kazakh, Russian and English resources were performed on-stage powerfully constructed the Trinity of Languages as an ideology of perfectly balanced, separate multilingualism in each language as bounded code, albeit that the privileged status of the Kazakh language was repeatedly emphasised. This construction of the Trinity of Languages with an ethnically 'Kazakh face' (Schatz 2000:490) was evident in the combination of linguistic resources with visual imagery that indexed a Kazakh ethnic and cultural identity, in the 'framing' of bilingual interactions as linguistically Kazakh, and the overwhelming presence of ethnically Kazakh participants on-stage. English language resources appeared to be valued

more for their symbolic meaning, in indexing notions of globalisation, development and educatedness, than for their semantic meaning, with performers laying claim to these indexicalities predominantly through proximity to English texts and foreign guests. The way that these three bounded languages were combined in the performance is also telling. Whereas Kazakh and Russian were painstakingly alternated to reflect balanced bilingualism. Kazakh and English indexing resources tended to be juxtaposed, allowing each language to benefit from the positively constructed indices of the other.

Finally, it is important to take account of the impromptu student musical performances that emerged out of this performance context. In marked contrast to the official conference, students had much greater agency in the context and nature of these performances, and in a number of songs they translanguaged across English, Kazakh and Russian, to the overwhelming approval of the KSU audience. Although not as powerful on-stage as the televised performance, which would be broadcast to the whole nation, these more local, more peripheral performances represented a more positive stance toward flexible multilingual practice and toward translingual identities.

4.3 Opportunities for Agency and the Negotiation of Language Identities in The Go English Promotional Video

The first part of this chapter focussed on the rehearsals for and performance of a televised video conference and attempted to show that, despite the emphasis in the literature on how performance contexts can be spaces for creativity and agency in the negotiation of identities, that this is not always or necessarily so. Much can depend on how the performance context emerges, how the linguistic and ideological resources are performed on-stage or off-stage and

how the participant roles of performer and audience are constructed. The next two parts of this chapter however, will consider other performance contexts at KSU, in which participants had greater agency to negotiate their linguistic identities, drawing on resources from across languages, in more creative ways. The next part of the discussion will centre around data related to KSU's 'Go English Movement'.

4.3.1 The 'Go English Movement'

The 'Go English Movement' was a new initiative at KSU. Although the university had previously conducted some 'English corner' social events, the 'Go English Movement' was intended to be a more organised and regular network of English language clubs and activities that would “promote the English language environment” at KSU. At the department meeting when this idea was initially discussed, the inception of this 'movement' was tied to a recent, high profile conference hosted by the university on how the 'Trinity of Languages' could be put into action in education. The new Head of Department, supported by the university administration therefore, saw the movement as playing a vital role in ensuring that English had as important a role in KSU's linguistic landscape, as Kazakh or Russian.

In its initial incarnation, the Go English Movement included a range of free, extra-curricular English language clubs, open to all KSU students. These clubs are summarised in Table 15.

Table 15: Summary of Go English Movement Clubs

Club	Aims	Activities
English Club	To provide an opportunity for students to develop their English communication skills, put their language learning into practice and learn about different cultures.	A range of communicative, discussion, cultural and vocabulary building activities.

Movie Club	To allow students to develop vocabulary and listening skills through watching English movies.	Watching English movies
Music Club	To provide an opportunity for students to develop vocabulary, pronunciation, listening and communication skills in English.	Listening to and singing songs in English. Vocabulary focus and a range of communicative activities and discussions.
Effortless English	To improve speaking and listening skills and grammatical accuracy (especially for weaker students)	Vocabulary, listening and lexis building activities.
Creative Writing Club	To provide an opportunity to improve their English language skills and vocabulary through creative writing.	Discussion of genres and approaches to writing, group writing and reflection activities, vocabulary building work.

The overall aim was that that these clubs should be fun, whilst at the same time allowing students opportunities to improve their English, with particular emphasis on speaking. It is also important to highlight that, from the outset, the conducting and organization of these clubs was seen as the responsibility of the English departments 'foreign staff'. Partly this was because there was a widespread belief that 'native speakers' were better able and qualified to develop spoken fluency than local staff. I discussed this issue with the Head of Department in a semi-structured interview. She told me there was a belief by many in the university administration that 'foreign teachers' somehow embodied the more student-centred, egalitarian and 'effective' pedagogies they were hearing about from 'the West'. As Block (2008) notes, communicative English language teaching pedagogies originating in the USA and the UK, have become a point of reference in discussions about language teaching around the world, albeit that they are also often a site of tensions between global and local discourses (Appadurai 1990) "*Who else can do an English club than native speakers?*" the Head repeated twice during the interview. Even

though she acknowledged that “*not all native speakers are good teachers*” ... “*the students get not only language from them. It’s not just about language learning, it’s a model of cultural behaviour, they are a representative of their culture and educational systems...Students should get access to these things*”. This ideology, of what those labelled ‘foreign teachers’ were seen to index and embody, was therefore a resource that circulated within the Go English Movement, with foreign teachers themselves as resources for performance - physical symbols of ideologies related to English language culture, society and education, and what access to these resources represents in Kazakhstan. In addition, the Head of Department also recruited a group of ‘enthusiastic’ volunteer students, who would help promote and organise the Movement.

Typically, the English club events attracted between 10 and 50 students at weekly or biweekly meetings. Most events lasted between one and two hours and resembled a very informal, English class, in which the foreign teacher led the student participants through a range of communicative activities, games or discussions, often involving resources such as English language film clips, music or texts. As a ‘foreign’ member of the department, I was also expected to lead my share of these clubs, although, for research purposes, I also attended the majority of clubs that were conducted by my colleagues, in the role of participant-observer.

4.3.2 The Promotional Video

The first ‘Go English Movement’ performance context discussed here, relates to the making of a promotional video to advertise and attract KSU students to the English Club events. This had been the idea of the new Head of Department, although she had devolved responsibility for its creation to the student volunteers. The video would be shown on TV screens around the university in the following months.

It was not until around a week after the first mention of the video project, that we were approached by two of the student volunteers, a boy, Alibek, and a girl, Zhanar (pseudonyms) who had good English language skills. They told us that they were making a “promo video” for the Go English Movement and asked if we would be willing to be in it, as they thought it would be “interesting and attractive for students to see foreign teachers there”, with Alibek adding that it was a “kind of marketing”. The students invited us (the four foreign members of the English department) to a meeting, to be held in the student volunteers’ room later that week.

From the very start, the regions and roles in this performance context seemed relatively well defined. The audience would be other KSU students, as well as members of academic and administrative staff, who would either approve or see the recorded 'performance' of the video. 'On-stage' regions, would be those that were filmed and especially those that made the final cut for the video itself. The ultimate performance of the promotional video was, of course, not free from constraints, shaped as it was by the social, cultural and institutional expectations of students and staff, as well as temporal, financial and material constraints. However, other aspects of the context did offer the potential for greater agency to the students constructing the performance. Firstly, they were informed from the outset as to the purpose and audience of the performance, thus allowing them to interpret these creatively over the weeks which followed. Secondly, the Go English Movement was still in its infancy, meaning that the ideological resources and social meanings of identities within it, were, as yet, relatively unwritten, leaving scope for 'authoring', both of selves and of this social world, as meanings were made from these heteroglossic resources by participants (Holland et al 1998). As Jaffe (2009:3) points out, although no context is stance neutral, some are more ideologically saturated than others. Thirdly, this performance context was rather unique within KSU at the time, as there were very few such student-led projects, in which they were allowed to exercise decision making power

over staff. These opportunities were not just rare within KSU, but in Kazakhstani society in general, where traditional values in relation to respect for elders and educators are still very strong (Eagle 2010).

The First Planning Meeting

The small room designated as a base for the student volunteer activities, had previously been the office of a senior English teacher, and still contained all her furniture. Therefore, with 4 foreign teachers and 4 students in it, it was rather cramped. The atmosphere was also a little strained to begin with, perhaps due to the unfamiliar power dynamics and partly to linguistic concerns. It seemed that the students were waiting to see if the teachers would, in fact, take charge, whilst the teachers were keen not to assert their authority over the situation. Furthermore, not all of the students knew English very well, and even those that did no doubt felt self-conscious speaking in front of perceived 'native speakers'. Even though a few of the teachers present did have some competence in Russian, there was never any question of communicating with the teachers in this language.

Zhanar explained that the students had decided to make a music video, in which the foreign teachers would sing a popular wedding song in Kazakh, the words of which had been adapted to be about English club. While she was communicating this in English, Alibek, translated the exchange into Russian for the other three students. Apart from me, none of the other three foreign teachers knew or spoke any Kazakh and, understandably, two of them expressed some anxiety around performing this language on camera. However, Alibek assured us not to worry, as they were currently working on a script and would share it with us as soon as they were finished. Another male, North American teacher was very enthusiastic about the chance to learn

a Kazakh song, but asked why the teachers would be singing in Kazakh if they were supposed to be promoting English. The other students were looking a little puzzled, so Zhanar translated the teachers' comments into Russian. Meanwhile, Alibek told us that, for KSU students, it would be very "funny, interesting and amazing" to hear foreigners "speaking their language". Soon after, as the teachers departed, the students continued their own discussions in Russian.

The off-stage language use and ecology is worth noting, in this first planning meeting. Although the purpose of the video was to promote activities aimed at improving English language competence in KSU students, not all the students were fluent or even communicatively competent in this language. In multilingual contexts, it is common that heteroglossic linguistic resources are not equally distributed between all individuals and this uneven distribution can create inequalities (Lahtemaki 2010:30, Blackledge and Creese 2014). However, as Norton found, in her ethnography of language learners in Canada (2000), participants who appeared to lack English language competence could become valued, active participants through the other resources and skills they offered. Here, for example, they brought with them social capital with other students, technical expertise, musical or artistic talent or competence in other local languages. Despite this, the varying linguistic repertoires of student and teacher participants presented communicative challenges that called for creative solutions. As is mentioned in the vignette above, English was tacitly assumed to be the dominant language in communication between the student volunteers and the foreign teachers: a practice I noticed in many other contexts at KSU, involving international teachers. It was probably for this reason that those students who were more confident with communicating in English stepped in to interpret sections of conversation into Russian, for those whose comprehension skills were poorer.

At this time, as KSU was making a conscious and unprecedented effort to 'put the Trinity of Languages into action' such informal translation practices were widespread among staff and

students at the university. From my in-class observations, my researcher journal, field-notes and discussions with staff and students, it was clear that translation was an established part of everyday life at the university and, at that time, critical to making the Trinity of Languages work in practice: an example of speakers drawing on “collective linguistic repertoires to achieve communicative aims in a given situation” (Madsen 2013:119). Teachers ostensibly teaching in one language, found themselves translating in class to ensure the understanding of their students, students translated to support their peers, and language department teachers were kept busy with text translations for administrative sections of the university. In this respect, the promotional video planning meeting was unremarkable, but did represent a microcosm of the language ecology and multilingual practices at KSU.

It also struck me that all of the translation was into Russian, rather than into Kazakh, suggesting that this group identified as Russian speakers, despite being Kazakh in ethnicity. Once again, it has to be pointed out that, at the time of writing, this was not unusual for KSU, which, being an elite university, drew most of its students from Russian medium schools and urban, Russophone populations. This performance context bears a striking similarity to the Presidential debate in terms of the students’ decision to perform Kazakh speaking identities ‘on-stage’, while conducting the majority of off-stage interactions in Russian. The motivations for this choice were no doubt similar to those discussed earlier, partly attributed to the prestige of performing your ‘mother tongue’ in high profile on-stage contexts, a language act that indexes identity positions of patriotism, morality and pride in being a ‘good citizen’. As Keane (2011:167) points out, speaking in specific registers and genres is often a “distinctly moral form of self-formation”.

Another similarity between both performance contexts is the nature of the juxtaposition of Kazakh and English language resources. Once again, we see a staged performance in which foreigners stand as visual symbols of English language and the ideologies associated with it, rather than English being used to communicate any semantic meaning. Moreover, the juxtaposition of Kazakh and English language resources allows both languages to benefit from ideological indexicalities of the other: patriotism, tradition, morality and modernization, globalization and education respectively. By performing these languages together on-stage, the performers or creators of the performers are able to negotiate these positive identities for themselves.

Introducing the Video Script

The next time that I, or any of the other foreign teachers heard anything related to the video, was around a week later, when Alibek came to visit our office. He informed us that they wanted to shoot the footage for the promotional video over the next few days, in a number of locations around KSU. He also brought printed copies of the script for the song, which he asked us to learn. It was in Kazakh, but had been transliterated into Latin letters. See below.

Original

Korjeyk biz kazakshalap an kylyp
otyrgan bar korjermjendi tan kylyp
studjentterdin oy orisip kotjerjer
English Club zhasay bjersin mangilik

English Clubta tatti kundjer, tatti kundjer
korjermjendjer shat kulindjer, shat kulindjer
sharyktasyn shattyk undjer, shattyk undjer
an salayyk bi biljeyik, bi biljeyik

agylshynnyn onny boljek omirdje
bizdjer tiktik KSUda otauyn
bilim alyp oy salam djep konilgie
ordamyzga kjeldi bugin kop kauyp

English Translation

Let's try to sing in Kazakh today,
To make a surprise for the audience all day
May English Club live forever,
To make students more and more clever.

Sweet days at English Club we have,
Dear audience, smile and laugh.
Let our voices reach so far,
Let's sing and dance, let's sing and dance.

In life English has a special role,
At KSU we have made our own house.
To get knowledge, to improve our way of thinking,
Many people came today to see us

The fact that the student volunteers had decided to transliterate the song into Latin letters, rather than using Kazakh Cyrillic or even transliterating into Russian Cyrillic is interesting. Perhaps it was an extension of the KSU practice that all interactions involving ‘foreigners’ should be in English, assuming that the foreigners would not be able to read Cyrillic of any kind. Moreover, the question of transliteration is not as straightforward as it may first appear, as a standardised convention for representing Kazakh words with Latin letters has never existed. This means that different individuals transliterate Kazakh in a multitude of different ways, some of which can be quite telling regarding the linguistic identity, educational background or historical trajectory of the writer. Bucholtz (2009) and Keisling (2009) both highlight that in contexts where new and old indexicalities are present simultaneously and in tension, this renders them open to multiple competing interpretations.

For example, there are a number of aspects that would suggest the author is from a Russian speaking background. Words such as *kazakshalap* and *sharyktasyn* for instance, spelled with a hard к (kh) in Kazakh are not differentiated in any way from words such as *kundjer* and *biljeyik* which are spelled with a soft к (k). Not only is such ‘synharmonism’ considered extremely important to speaking ‘good Kazakh’, the lack of this distinction is often seen to index a ‘poor Kazakh speaker’ with a Russophone background. Similar examples, include the lack of distinction between words such as *tatti* and *shat* (soft ə and hard a respectively in Kazakh) and words such as *orny* and *boljek* (hard o and soft ø respectively). Furthermore, there is a great deal of inconsistency throughout the text. The Latin ‘i’ token represents the Kazakh i sound in *biz*, whereas it stands for и in ‘bi’. And the Kazakh н sound in *an* is represented by ‘n’, but by ‘ng’ in *mangalik*. This could be interpreted as indicative of a writer who has been educated in Russian medium schools, where Kazakh is taught through Russian - a language in which these distinct phonemes do not exist. Such ambiguity underlines not only how in-flux the practices,

ideologies and indices relating to Kazakh language and multilingualism were, and still are, in Kazakhstan, but it helps explain how carefully young multilingual people must negotiate their identities in the midst of a rapidly shifting ideological landscape.

It is also worthwhile considering the song's origins and content. This song has been adapted from a popular song sung at Kazakh weddings - events of great cultural importance to the Kazakhs I met in Almaty, as were the lavish traditions that go along with them. I repeatedly noted in my research journal, that the indexical significance of cultural artefacts, such as songs seemed to grow increasingly stronger, as signs not only of ethnic Kazakh identity, but of the historical legitimacy and national identity of the Kazakh state. Although young people were keen to embrace, hybridise and creatively adapt cultural artefacts such as global pop culture, music and fashions, traditional Kazakh songs and artistic forms were far less often the subject of such improvisation. In many respects, they represented 'authoritative texts' - those maximally protected from transformation in performance, but often central to the performed reproduction of dominant ideologies (Bauman and Briggs 1990:77).

This perhaps stemmed from a view, popularised in education and the media that Kazakh language and culture needed to be protected and respected in equal measure. Therefore, I was quite surprised that the students had chosen to creatively adapt a Kazakh song for the purposes of promoting English Club. However, the students seemed confident that the performance would be interpreted as entertaining and interesting to their audience. Perhaps the previously established and recognisable 'style' of juxtaposing English and Kazakh languages and mutual enhancement of their respective indices, 'keyed' a positive interpretation of this of hybrid practice by its student audience. As Jaffe (2009) notes, such 'keyings' in multilingual contexts, often rely on the multiplicity and complexity of available ideological resources and identity positions. The lyrics themselves stay fairly faithful to the original song, with the chorus being

identical except for the insertion of the phrase ‘English clubta’ (at English Club). Moreover, the fact that it is primarily a ‘Kazakh’ song is underlined in the very first line, long before any mention of English is made, perhaps allowing the song to foreground its respect for the traditional artefact and its cultural associations.

Shooting the Video

Four days later, Alibek came to ask if we could join the students for filming over lunch. He also brought a bag of Kazakh felt hats, which he asked us each to wear. All but one of us did, with the fourth teacher wearing his own cowboy style hat, as he had not been able to find a Kazakh one that fitted him. Over the next half hour, the student team shot a variety of quick scenes in various locations near or around the university. For example, we were filmed sitting on a bench, dancing in front of the university or walking through the columns, all the time lip-synching the lyrics or, in one colleagues case, miming playing a guitar. Before each scene, the student volunteers would talk among themselves in Russian for a while and then Zhanar or Alibek would relay the instructions to us in English, along with prompting us with the lines in Kazakh.

The kinds of imagery that the student volunteers introduced into the scenes we filmed that day are suggestive of the kind of identities they wanted to perform in the video. There were two aspects that particularly warrant discussion: the Kazakh hats and the university locations filmed. The three hats were recognisably Kazakh– a *tubeteika* skullcap, a velvet *aiyr kalpak* and felt base-ball cap, with Kazakh decoration. Davenel (2012:23) highlights that, in Kazakhstani society, it is common for culture to be performed in an essentialist manner, suggesting the indexicalities of these national symbols would no doubt be immediately apparent to the local

audience. Asking the foreign teachers to wear these symbols of Kazakh ethnicity, juxtaposed their English speaking, international identities with local, ethnically Kazakh identity symbols, visually mirroring the way that the song they sing juxtaposed Kazakh linguistic resources with the linguistic and ideological resources embodied by the foreign, English speaking singers. Once again, this on-stage juxtaposition allowed the performers to draw on positive indexicalities from across both English language and Kazakh language discourses in Kazakhstan.

Through repeated performances across times and spaces, this juxtaposition of Kazakh and English resources became increasingly recognisable and may have been beginning to index a new hybrid identity of Kazakh/English bilingualism in its own right: one that permits subsequent creative uses of these indexical effects for negotiation of new identities by members of the KSU community (Madsen 2013). Considered in this respect, the locations in which the foreign teachers were filmed - all of which are instantly recognisable as belonging KSU - together with the presence of 'foreign teachers', create an impression of KSU as an elite institution, extending the identity of well-educated, elite, modern young people to the performers and audience. However, interweaving this performance with that of the Kazakh/English juxtaposition underlines that this elite status and international outlook does nothing to undermine the patriotism or ethnic authenticity of these multilingual young people.

However, even though great effort is expended to ensure that Kazakh language and identity is performed, positively on-stage, just like in the Presidential conference, there is a stark contrast between on-stage and off-stage language practices in the performance context. Once again, we see the use of Kazakh language being limited to on-stage regions only, whereas all of the communication off-stage/off-camera took place in Russian (between the student volunteers) and English (between some volunteers and the foreign teachers). Although the performance

might aim to position Kazakh as having a key, legitimate role in the Kazakhstani multilingual repertoire, and perhaps to “propel it out of institutional, official spheres and into future contexts of use and value” (Jaffe 2015:163), the dominant discourses of monolingual purity that are associated with ‘good’ Kazakh speaking practices may inhibit the performances power to surmount these ideological boundaries. This does however, prove more successful in relation to English, as analysis of the next Go English meeting will demonstrate.

Recording the Song

It was another few days before our next meeting to record the vocals and music for the video. It was noticeably less awkward than before, but no less cramped, as now, we were joined by two more students and, there were now two guitars, two microphones stands and other electrical and recording equipment filling the small, stuffy office space. Over the next hour, we recorded the song in sections. One student, who was not part of the volunteer group, but who had been invited for his musical skills, played the guitar backing track, whilst the teachers, helped considerably by the students, recorded the vocals of the adapted Kazakh song. The atmosphere was more relaxed, with some jokes and banter going back and forth between the English-speaking students and the teachers, in English. A few of the volunteers who had not previously spoken in English offered a few simple contributions, and some of the foreign teachers tried out their basic Russian, with the students providing encouragement, gentle correction or answers to language related questions.

At this time, I felt much more comfortable communicating in Kazakh than in Russian and so, I occasionally tried to ask questions or engage students in conversation in this language. Unfortunately, this tended to result in awkwardness, as the students did not seem to understand

the language and/or felt embarrassed using it. Also, on several occasions, I asked the students what the lyrics of the song meant, but they were unable to answer me in anything other than the broadest terms, saying that it was a song sung at weddings to make people feel happy, or that it was about having fun at English clubs. Further questioning on my part revealed that the student volunteers themselves had not actually created the new lyrics of the song, but had enlisted the help other students who were 'good Kazakh speakers'. "It is shame for us, but we usually only speak Russian" one student giggled. By the end of the recording session, we were all tired but happy with the result. As the teachers left, the students told us that they would now be involved in the editing and production of the video, but that they would let us see it when it was finished.

This time, not only did the students seem more relaxed with the altered dynamics of power, but this off-stage region consequently became a translanguaging space (Wei 2011) for altering linguistic identities through language learning practices (Van Lier 2008) seeing the foreign teachers begin to try out the Russian phrases they were learning and receiving both positive encouragement and valuable corrective feedback from the students. Moreover, the student volunteers who, until then had claimed not to know English, now began to attempt basic communication with the teachers in this language. In classes, such individuals might be seen as 'weak students', but here they had other valuable skills to offer in terms of musical talent, technical expertise or knowledge of Russian. It appeared that, the performance context of creating the promotional video was creating a 'space for authoring' (Holland et al 1998) in which linguistic identities could be negotiated off-stage, new linguistic resources could be acquired and communicative repertoires in English and Russian extended.

As mentioned previously, the exception to this, was in relation to Kazakh linguistic resources, which were restricted to on-stage regions only. For these participants, in this situation, it was a

language of performance, valuable for the ideological resources it invoked and the identity positions it indexed on-stage, rather than for practical purposes of every day communication, or to convey semantic meaning. My attempts to engage with the students in Kazakh only caused embarrassment and admissions of ‘shame’. I did not appreciate until later that all of these students were dominant Russian speakers, many of whom came from Russian speaking environments or schools in North Kazakhstan or from affluent urban areas. I learned later, that they knew very little Kazakh beyond that which they had been forced to learn in school and felt considerable anxiety around not being able to communicate ‘well’ in their ‘mother tongue’: a sentiment that I heard echoed time and again by other ethnically Kazakh, Russophone KSU students, staff and friends in Almaty. It was through rehearsed, on-stage performance that they were able to draw on the ideological resources and indexicalities of Kazakh language to negotiate positive identities as multilingual, Kazakh, young people. This affordance was aided by the fact that, like English in the Presidential video, the symbolic meaning of Kazakh on-stage appeared to be of far more significance than its semantic meaning. The act of framing communication as performance can go a long way to legitimising the claims of participants to the linguistic identities they perform and to constructing valuable positions of linguistic ‘competence’ (Jaffe 2015).

It is important to note that the volunteers had help from other KSU students in adapting the lyrics of the Kazakh wedding song: other students presumably more fluent in Kazakh than they were. In off-stage contexts however, their lack of mastery of the language seemed to become more salient than the little they did know, and this, in contrast, positioned them as ‘poor’ speakers of ‘their own language’, and implied that they were somehow less of a proud patriot, or a ‘good’ moral Kazakh young person because of it. This is an example of how the Trinity of Languages seems to be working if viewed at a communal, institutional scale, by combining




linguistic repertoires of different KSU students, even if it is not achievable by the individual. The linguistic resources of Russian, English and Kazakh all brought with them the potential for agency in the negotiation of multilingual identities, but for these, dominant Russian-speaking, ethnically Kazakh young people, the shift from on-stage to off-stage context could make all the difference. As Blommaert (2007b:3-4) observes, ‘space does things to people’ and far from being a passive background, it is an agentive force in itself. It can alter indexical meanings and potentially render articulate multilingual speakers ‘language-less’ by moving through spaces where their linguistic resources are devalued.

The Final Video

Ten days after the recording session, the foreign teachers were invited to the Head of Department’s office to see the promotional video. She seemed very pleased with it and commented that “the students really did a great job”. We watched the video with a great deal of laughter, embarrassment and appreciation in equal measure. Over the next month, we regularly saw the video being shown on the TV screens positions in corridors around KSU.

The content of the final promotional video is described in Table 16.

Table 16: Content of Promotional Video

On-screen Subtitles	English	Images
GO ENGLISH MOVEMENT text. Directed by ... Made by ULife	Guitar intro	Collage of visuals – UK flag, Kazakh student's faces, KSU facade, clips of foreigners singing with Kazakh hats.
Korjeyk biz kazakshalap an kylyp Otyrgan bar korjermjendi tan kylyp Studjenterin oy orisip kotjerjer English Club zhasay bjersin mangilik	Let's try to sing in Kazakh today, To make a surprise for the audience all day May English Club live forever, To make students more and more clever.	Foreign teachers singing and playing, KSU columns, park.
English Clubta tatti KSUndjer, tatti KSUndjer Korjerjendjer shat KSUlinder, shat KSUlindjer An salayyk bi biljeyik, bi biljeyik Sharyktasyn shattyk underjer, shattyk undjer	Sweet days at English Club we have, Dear audience, smile and laugh. Let our voices reach so far, Let's sing and dance, let's sing and dance.	Clips of KSU students singing and dancing against back drop of Kazakh and UK flag. They have flags or smiley faces painted on their cheeks
Hiya, hiya, hiya, hiya	Hiya, hiya, hiya, hiya	Teacher with guitar. Teachers punching the air with their fists
Agylshynnyn onry boljek omirdje Bizdjer tiktik KSUda otauny Bilim alyp oy salam djep konilgje Ordamyzga kjeldi bugin kop kauyp	In life English has a special role, At KSU we have made our own house. To get knowledge, to improve our way of thinking, Many people came today to see us	Foreign teachers singing and playing, KSU columns, park
English Clubta tatti KSUndjer, tatti KSUndjer Korjerjendjer shat KSUlinder, shat KSUlindjer An salayyk bi biljeyik, bi biljeyik Sharyktasyn shattyk underjer, shattyk undjer	Sweet days at English Club we have, Dear audience, smile and laugh. Let our voices reach so far, Let's sing and dance, let's sing and dance.	Students doing humorous dance moves in front of Kazakhstan and UK flag. Split screen to mix heads and shoulders of different students. Students informally dressed.
Hiya, hiya, hiya, hiya	Hiya, hiya, hiya, hiya	Teacher with guitar. Teachers punching the air with their fists
English Clubta tatti KSUndjer, tatti KSUndjer Korjerjendjer shat KSUlinder, shat KSUlindjer An salayyk bi biljeyik, bi biljeyik Sharyktasyn shattyk underjer, shattyk undjer	Sweet days at English Club we have, Dear audience, smile and laugh. Let our voices reach so far, Let's sing and dance, let's sing and dance.	Students doing humorous dance moves in front of Kazakhstan and UK flag. Split screen to mix heads and shoulders of different students. Students informally dressed.
<i>Dear all, you are most welcome to join our English club and other clubs we run on a regular basis. Music club. Movie club. Effortless English. Student research and ethnography studies club. English Language Department KSU. Find out more at webpage.</i>	Closing	Teacher with guitar over his shoulder, walking away. Split screen with foreign teachers waving goodbye.
Example Images		
 <p>Korjermjendjer shat kulindjer, shat kulindjer</p>	 <p>Otyrgan bar korjermjendjan kalyp</p>	 <p>Made by ULife</p>

In the video, symbols of Kazakh and English identities are juxtaposed both visually and linguistically: a combination that seems to better fit the concept of juxtaposition, rather than overlap, as the student volunteers have gone to great effort to make sure that neither language takes precedence in the video. As was discussed earlier, the video constructs a positive, hybrid stance towards Kazakh/English bilingualism, which challenges other powerful discourses that were circulating in Kazakhstan. The first was that of endangerment: the notion that the effort to revitalise the Kazakh language after years of Soviet suppression was now threatened by the rise of English and its association with global development and the appeals of popular, youth culture. The students involved in the video however, create the image of an alternative possibility, in which both languages can complement each other, rather than being in competition.

Moreover, the careful juxtaposition of cultural and linguistic resources makes it somewhat ambiguous as to whether or not this positive, hybrid linguistic identity is one that emerges between or across the linguistic boundaries of Kazakh and English. The students' video could also be interpreted as a challenge in ideologies of separate bilingualism, in which the kinds of flexible, translingual practices that characterise everyday life at KSU are devalued and taken to index speakers as uneducated, 'un-cultured' or even morally lacking. In contrast, the teachers and students in the video seem to be performing a way of blending together Kazakh and English linguistic resources in a way that threatens neither their identity as skilful users of either language. This may partly be because the performers never actually 'translanguage' in a strictly spoken or written sense during the performance, or at least not in way that would be generally recognised as such by the audience (usually it is the mixing of words or phrases in both languages that is frowned upon). Rather they negotiate their positive stance toward a hybrid Kazakh/English identity and a more flexible bilingualism at the periphery of the issue by other

means - the combination of Kazakh lyrics in Latin script, the juxtaposition of images and the participation of both local and foreign performers.

The notable absence in the on-stage regions of this performance context however, is that of Russian linguistic or ideological resources. Given that the vast majority of the student volunteers self-identified as dominant Russian speakers, it might seem peculiar that they make no effort to articulate or lay claim to this linguistic identity. However, performances are never wholly detached from the social and cultural practices and values of the social contexts in which they are embedded. (Holland et 1998, Bauman and Briggs 1990, Urrieta 2007). My research log describes numerous examples from around the time of the video project, in which Russian linguistic resources were being quietly 'erased' (Irvine and Gal 2000) from public life and 'on-stage' regions. For instance, where it had previously been common practice to provide translation in three languages for official signs and forms, I noticed many examples in which these texts were replaced with only Kazakh and English - such as office signs at KSU, advertisement for town council events, and visa registration forms at the airport and at Kazakhstan consulates. Even in President's Nazarbayev's new year speech on the Trinity of Languages, it was interesting that although he mentioned of the significance of Russian, it was always in reference to the past (Soviet history, literature and science) whereas discussion of Kazakhstan's linguistic present and future revolved around Kazakh and English. Therefore, in many ways, the student volunteers were drawing on a developing official genre in Kazakhstan at the time, in which the appropriate identity to articulate and take pride in was primarily as ethnically and linguistically Kazakh, albeit with good knowledge and competence in English. Negotiating oneself as proud of your country, respectful, 'a good Kazakh', progressive, international and modern in outlook, was just so much harder through an on-stage performance in Russian.

4.3.3 The Performance Context of The Go English Promotional Video: Summary

Greater clarity and clear definition of roles, regions and purposes in relation to the creation of the promotional video afforded greater agency to its participants from the outset, in the ways that language ideological resources were performed, the stances taken up throughout performance and in the ability to negotiate identities in relation to discourses of multilingualism. This was further enhanced by the fact that the Go English Movement was a discursive space in its infancy and, as such, the meanings of ideological and linguistic resources across its contexts may have seemed more malleable, than in more established, authoritative contexts of performance.

As in the performance context of the Presidential Conference, the distinction between on and off-stage regions was clearly marked in terms of the language ecology, but in subtly different ways. Once again, we see the careful juxtaposition of Kazakh and English linguistic and cultural resources on-stage, suggesting the emergence of a recognisable style with indexes of its own, through which performers can lay claim to a hybrid multilingual identity that combines the positive indexicalities of both languages. Moreover, the young people in the promotional video also use performance of the juxtaposition to construct elite identities as students of top-ranking, Kazakhstani university, with strong international links. However, the particular way that the English and Kazakh indexing resources are combined in performance, through orthographic strategies and culturally indexing visuals, is obliquely suggestive of alternative positive stances towards translingual identities across Kazakh and English. Although hazy, this perhaps represents a challenge to dominant ideologies that attribute greater value and legitimacy to separate multilingualism, or to discourses of endangerment that construct English as threat to Kazakh language, culture and identity. However, the erasure of Russian linguistic resources

from this and other on-stage contexts, seems to devalue the off-stage Russophone identities and practices of Russian speakers, like the Go English volunteers.

In off-stage regions of this performance context however, Kazakh linguistic resources were almost entirely absent, as they were in off-stage regions of the Presidential conference. However, here these off-stage regions unfolded as ‘translanguaging spaces’ (Wei 2011) in which dominant Russophone students and English speaking foreign teachers came to draw flexibly from across Russian and English. These off-stage regions highlighted the potential for translanguaging as a space in which communicative repertoires could be extended and in which agency and identities could be negotiated. They also emphasized the critical importance of translanguaging to the everyday practices of life and learning at KSU, where communicative competence in Kazakh, Russian and English is not equally distributed among all members of the community. Therefore, although not legitimized and celebrated explicitly in on-stage performances, flexible multilingual practice across language boundaries seems central to the realization of the Trinity of Languages at an institutional scale, even if it cannot be embodied and performed by every individual. Hence, laying claim to an identity as a member of the KSU community is one way for individuals to index the kind of tri-lingualism espoused by the Trinity of Languages.

4.4 Improvised Performances On- and Off- Stage at English Club

4.4.1 Context

The discussion which follows centres around an English club which took place in the second semester, conducted by Tom (pseudonym), a male teacher from the USA. He had chosen as his

topic ‘Comedy Improv’ with the intention of adapting activities in the style of the US comedy improvisation TV programme ‘Whose line is it anyway?’ to the English club format. The club was attended by around 30 students and took place in a large lecture hall filled with rows of desks, with chandeliers on the ceiling, and posters on the walls describing the work of an oil and gas company. At the front, there was a large stage, on which Tom stood and where the improvised performances took place. As in the majority of English Clubs, I was present as a participant-observer, taking field-notes. However, also present in the audience (unbeknownst to me in advance) was Dariga, one of my key participants. It was she who made the audio recording from which the transcribed excerpts below have been taken. As in earlier sections, my analysis is supplemented by the perspectives of participants themselves and by insights gained from interview and researcher journal data.

4.4.2 Comedy Improvisation at English Club

The transcript starts in the middle of the event, as the teacher, Tom, was preparing the students for a second improvised performance. His idea was to elicit characters and other dramatic elements from the students and then give them an unlikely context in which they had to combine their ideas into an amusing performance. As the recording begins, a group of five students from the somewhat haphazard previous skit had just left the stage and Tom was inviting new students to take part in a new scenario. The atmosphere in the hall was noisy and more chaotic than would be usual for a KSU ‘class’, with students talking and laughing uninhibitedly amongst themselves throughout most of the interaction which follows. From my place in the audience, I caught snatches of conversation in both Kazakh and Russian, as students discussed the improvised performance that had just finished. From what I could gather, they were amused

and confused in equal measure. In the previous skit, three volunteer students, joined by Tom, had improvised a sketch in which Darth Vader was buying lunch in the KSU canteen. Not only were the students unfamiliar with the improvisation format, but many seemed to find the task of improvising ‘on-stage’, in English and attempting to be funny at the same time in this language, extremely challenging. The next improvisation, unfolded in a similar fashion. The interaction between the teacher, Tom, and the main students involved in the activity is transcribed in Excerpt 5.

Excerpt 5: Transcript of ‘Comedy Improv’ English Club (part 1)

1: Tom: Well, Darth Vader is replaced with someone else. Who will Darth Vader be?

2: Audience student 1: Avatar

(At this time, there was a lot of background noise as students chatted amongst themselves in Russian, Kazakh or both)

3: Tom: Darth Vader will be replaced by someone else.

(Student talk continues, some suggestions are shouted, but are unclear)

4: Tom: What?... He’s what?

5: Saule: Ring

6: Dinara: Snow White

7: Tom: Snow White?

8: Saule: It’s about who sees the video and then dies after seven days

9: Tom: Do you know this movie?

10: Saule: Ring ring from Japan

11: Tom: Oh the ring

12: Saule: Do you know?

13: Tom: Yeh I know. I know the ring it’s just not called Snow White. It’s called the ring. OK, the ring

14: Saule: Em

15: Tom: What? OK the ring. Four volunteers for the ring. Come on.

16: Saule: Eh the other main character will change by eh by James

17: Dinara: James Sparrow

18: Tom: OK Jack Sparrow. Perfect perfect

All of the characters suggested were personalities from global popular culture, media and politics. Amongst KSU students, it was a common view that ‘Western’ pop music and film were more enjoyable and attractive to them than those produced locally, with bigger budgets, better effects and more well-known actors often cited as reasons. In a way then, this performance context offered the students a chance to lay claim to these ‘cool’, successful, internationally renowned English language identities (Pennycook 2010a, Eagle 2010) on-stage and have this recognised both by their peers and by their ‘native-speaker’ teacher. However, the on-stage nature of the performance brings with it a potential element of risk (Rampton 2009, Howe 2000) –of failing to represent the character in a sufficiently convincing or entertaining way, or of exposing a lack of proficiency in English. Especially given the emphasis on mastery and perfection in language classes at the university and in the majority of other on-stage performances, it is no wonder that the students were reluctant to volunteer, with no opportunity for preparation. Due to the students’ reticence, it took some time to persuade an adequate number on-stage for the next improvisation. The interactions involved are recorded in the next part of the transcript below.

Excerpt 6: Transcript of ‘Comedy Improv’ English Club (part 2)

19: Saule: Eh what are you, eh?

20: Tom: Yes, but she’s Jack Sparrow

(the students mostly ignore him, talking amongst themselves about how to organise the scene)

21: Tom: Come, come on...

22: Saule: нет мы другое имели виду. нет я не буду ...? нет я говорю? понила понила < *No, we need to change for another one, No I'm going to....I'm not saying... I get it. I get it*>

23: Tom: This only works if we have volunteers. I’ll do it with you. Come on come on come on.

24: Saule: давайте давайте анау xxx? < Come on, go up **there** xxx? > (getting to her feet)

25: Marat: What about Final Destination?

26: Dinara: қалай көрсетеді? < **How to show it?**>

27: Tom: That’s not so commonly seen

(There is discussion between the students in Kazakh/Russian - unclear)

28: Tom: OK the Ring, going once. Any volunteers? Come on, if you stand up they'll stand up with you. (to Saule who is looking at him)

29: Saule: Динара жүр ші? < **Dinara, please go?**>

30: Dinara: I haven't seen this film, but can I go here?

31: Tom: Yes, sure

32: Saule: Қайсар, Қайсар Қайсар Қайсар давайте... понила? < **Kaisar...Kaisar...Kaisar...Kaisar** Go on.... Do you get it?>

(Kaisar then convinces a girl sitting beside him to join him and follows Saule and Dinara on-stage)

When I spoke to Tom the next day about the English Club, he told me that he felt it was “*kind of a disaster*”, as the students were reluctant to volunteer, they kept talking over him and amongst themselves, and that their English language skills were not up to performing the kind of skilful, funny, improvisations he had hoped for. His negative evaluation may have been because the performance context constructed did not strike him as the kind of ‘English Language environment’ the Go English Movement existed to promote, as well as feeling an element of personal insult that the students seemed to be ignoring him. However, close analysis of this episode, shows a far more complex picture, in which boundaries between on- and off-stage, performer and audience are more fluid if considered translingually, across English, Kazakh and Russian. This is the way that the majority of the students most likely experienced the event, not necessarily as an English language activity, but as a multilingual performance context and a translanguaging space (Wei 2011) that required them to draw on resources from across languages to participate in, negotiate, interpret and evaluate.

Turns 19 to 32 are mostly concerned with negotiating which students would join Tom on-stage for the next improvised performance. Throughout the whole transcript, the majority of spoken interaction with the teacher involves three individuals: Marat, Saule and Dinara. In order to make more sense of the interactions which follow, it is useful to say something here about these students. Marat was a second-year boy: an ethnically Kazakh, dominant Russian speaker from

the North of Kazakhstan. Although he was a regular attender at English Clubs, he was generally thought of by his teachers as a ‘weaker’ student, usually not contributing much, unless spoken to directly, but when he did he was known for cracking sarcastic jokes. Saule on the other hand, was a very different student. She was an ethnically Kazakh, dominant Kazakh speaker, from Shymkent in the South of Kazakhstan and very proud of her local, ethnic and linguistic identity (although she used Russian when necessary to communicate with the many non-Kazakh speaking KSU students and staff). She was a second-year student in an upper-intermediate level English class and was well known to teachers for her unflagging positivity, enthusiasm and outgoing personality. I almost always saw her in company of Dinara, a quieter girl, also a Kazakh speaking, Kazakh student from South Kazakhstan, with a similar level of English.

It was no wonder then, that the first student to volunteer for Tom’s improvised performance was Saule, which she does in turn 22 by saying in Russian “нет мы другое имели виду. нет я не буду ...? нет я говорю? поняла поняла” (*No, we need to change for another one, No I'm going to....I'm not saying... I get it. I get it*). At this point, she was still seated in the audience and was twisting in her chair to address the students around her. She no doubt knew that the majority of her KSU peers there were dominant Russian speakers and that speaking in Kazakh may alienate them, especially as the unmarked communicative practice at KSU was to speak Russian when your interlocutors included both Kazakh and Russian speakers. Her appeal for volunteers proved unsuccessful however and so, in turn 24, we see Saule begin her utterance in Russian and finish it in Kazakh: “давайте давайте анау” (Come on, go up there). This prompts a response from her Kazakh speaking friend, Dinara, who asks her uncertainly in turn 26 “қалай көрсетеді?” (How to show it?”, meaning the proposed scenario on-stage). In turn 29, Saule then focusses her efforts entirely on her friend, asking her directly to go with her, pleading, “Динара жүрші?”, naming her and using the markedly polite and respectful, Kazakh suffix

“iii?” to add emphasis in way she knows will be meaningful for Dinara. Saule then switches back to Russian in turn 32 to ask Kaisar to join them, perhaps knowing he is a Russian speaker. This appears to be successful, as he not only rises to join them, but convinces the girl beside him to come too.

All this time, Tom has been working hard, in English, on-stage to encourage students to volunteer too (“Come come on” in turn 21, “This only works if we have volunteers. I’ll do it with you Come on come on come on”, in turn 23), although the students appeared to pay him little heed. To some extent, his identity as the native-speaker, foreign teacher limits him to using English, whilst on-stage, even though he was at this point learning Russian and was keen to practice it. In later discussions with the student focus group, with my key participants, and with the Head of Department it was clear that a large part of the perceived value of foreign teaching staff was that they were monolingual speakers of English, thus creating conditions in which it was ‘necessary’ to communicate in English. However, in this off-stage performance context, not feeling free to draw on his Russian language resources constrains the extent to which Tom could allay the students worries about volunteering, by underlining his mastery of the target language in comparison to their ‘learner-status’, by adding an extra comprehension barrier to an already unfamiliar and confusing task and by limiting his ability to overcome the usual teacher-student power dynamics of KSU and appeal to in-group membership on linguistic and cultural grounds.

However, it is not just Russian language resources that are in play for the student audience, but Kazakh as well. Tom had no communicative competence in this language at all and therefore would not have been fully aware of the ways in which Saule was supporting him in his effort to rally volunteers from amongst the students. It is possible that the background student-student talk that he interpreted as chaos and lack of attention from the audience, was in some cases,

exactly the opposite. Students like Saule, Dinara and Kaisar were engaging with the performance context, but were drawing on their multilingual resources to do what the teacher was struggling to do in English alone. It is clear from the other performance contexts analysed, that these kinds of off-stage translanguaging spaces in ‘back- regions’ of performance contexts are often critical to the ultimate accomplishment of the ‘on-stage’ aspects of the performance (Han 2009).

The construction of the English Clubs as English Language spaces, in which Kazakh and Russian linguistic resources are seen as a less legitimate means of communication also poses challenges for students like Saule, in the negotiation of non-linguistic identities. All of Saule’s activities and conduct at KSU suggest that the identity of being ‘good’ student (helpful to teachers, hard-working, enthusiastic) is one that is extremely important to her and one that she devotes a great deal of time and energy to maintaining. However, in this context, her off-stage linguistic work to support the teacher and the construction of the performance are not recognised as such by Tom, who instead construes the student-student talk as counter-productive to his aims and as a challenge to his authority. It is only when Saule and the other students physically rise and move toward the stage that their participation is finally recognised.

In the next part of the recording, four student volunteers had joined Tom on-stage and they proceeded to discuss how the performance should be organised. This is transcribed in turns 34 to 65. As with the earlier parts of the recording, the considerable background noise of students in the audience talking amongst themselves continued.

Excerpt 7: Transcript of ‘Comedy Improv’ English Club (part 3)

34: Tom: OK, I’ll be the, you’re the

35: Saule: Uh, the is the situation that one customer came to to uh shop and buy one disk

36: Dinara: аһау не? < **What's there?**>

37: Tom: OK, so

- 38: Saule:** Uh, I give to you?
- 39: Tom:** No no no no no. You're the ring girl right?
- 40: Saule:** No. We both have to
- 41: Tom:** But you're Jack Sparrow
- 42: Dinara:** Oh yes
- 43: Saule:** Қайсар Қайсар бері екеуің шығындаршы телевизор болуға xxx? телевизор будем показывать потом Қайсар шықшы болшы! < **Kasiar, Kaisar, would both of you please be the television please? The television will show it later. Kaisar, please go out and be?**>
- 44: Tom:** So we'll get the video and then we'll watch it
- 45: Saule:** ээ почти Қайсар? < *Ehh, almost Kaisar*>
- 46: Dinara:** Астынан шығасын. жоқ мен кино көрім отырғандай боласын ғой? < **Go under. No. you'll act like I'm watching a movie, yeh?** >OK
- 47: Tom:** But you're Jack Sparrow. Your character is
- 48: Saule:** No
- 49: Tom:** Alright
- 50: Dinara:** OK. Kaisar!
- 51: Saule:** Телевизорды өшірші! Давай шықшы, өлесін деп айтам телефонмен < **Turn off the television please! Come on go out, I'll call to tell you'll die**>
- 52: Student from the audience:** да выйдете ктонибудь. <*Someone come out already*>
- 53: Tom:** Ready?
- 54: Saule:** you are for seven days and after seven days, I came and you
- 55: Dinara:** After seven days?
- 56: Saule:** Yes
- 57: Tom:** OK ready?
- 58: Saule:** I choose I choose one of them
- 59: Tom:** OK
- 60: Saule:** ну так наверно (to TV actors) < *Right, that's correct*>
- 61: Tom:** OK, Actors ready?
- (The audience still chat amongst themselves)
- 62: Saule:** Әсем видео сен xxx? <**Asem, video you xxx**>
- 63: Tom:** Action
- 64: Saule:** Em потом... ШЫҒЫП бізді xxx көтермейсін ғой? < Em *Later...* **We went xxx You didn't you show right?** >Em hello
- 65: Kaisar's friend:** нормалне < *Its fine*>

Unusually, for KSU, Saule translanguages across Kazakh and Russian for the majority of her on-stage instructions to Kaisar and Dinara. This is something that seems to cause Saule a degree of concern and her instructions in turns 43, 45, 62, and 62 are characterised by halting pauses, sudden dips in volume and nervous giggles. In the longer turns, 43 and 51, she begins each utterance confidently in markedly polite Kazakh “Қайсар, Қайсар бері екеуің шығындаршы телевизор болуға ххх?” (Kasir, Kaisar, would both of you please be the TV please?) and “Телевизорды өшірші! (Turn off the television please!). Then, in both cases, she pauses slightly, before going on more uncertainly in Russian to say “телевизор будем показывать потом” (The television will show it later) and “Давай” (Go on!), before switching back to polite and formal Kazakh again to conclude the instruction: “Қайсар шықшы болшы!” (Kaisar, please go out and be) and “шықшы, өлесін деп айтам телефонмен” (“Come on go out, I’ll call to tell you’ll die”).

In this section, the participants have physically moved ‘on-stage’, potentially marking them as performers, but the performance itself is still in the process of preparation: the scenery is organised, roles are negotiated and the basic plot is discussed, suggesting that the interaction is still ‘off-stage’ in many respects. Physically and spatially, communication takes place on a raised platform, in front of the audience, keys of an ‘on-stage’ frame, but the performance still appears to be in its preparation stage, keying an ‘off-stage context’. As Goffman underlines ‘keyings are themselves, vulnerable to re-keyings’ (1979:79). Whilst on-stage translanguaging in Kazakh and Russian is typically considered disrespectful - indicative of linguistic inadequacy and indexing the speaker as poorly educated and uncultured - analysis of other performance contexts suggests that off-stage translanguaging is considered a common, more acceptable and a necessary part of everyday language practice. Therefore, the blurred boundary between on- and off -stage may afford Saule greater agency in combining linguistic resources in this way,

and in allowing her the ideological space to negotiate her own coveted identity as a ‘good’, multilingual KSU student. Jaffe (2015) observes that in improvised performances, participant roles are blurred, making it ambiguous as to what extent performers speak as themselves or as an assumed character – a kind of ‘double-voicing’ (Bakhtin 1984). Jaffe suggests that the fusion of participant roles in improvisation allows for ‘leakage’ across communicative repertoires, which here perhaps highlights the potential to open up a space for translanguaging within this otherwise monolingual ideological setting. Drawing on Turner’s concept of liminality (1969) Baynham and Simpson (2010) highlight that, although such liminal, boundary spaces tend to be constructed as less valuable, they are nevertheless of great potential value for the development of communicative repertoires and learner identities. The ambiguous stance taken by the students towards the performance roles offered opens up tentative ‘spaces for authoring’ at the boundaries of the other powerful, dominating discourses of KSU’s institutional context (Jaffe 2015). Within these liminal spaces, where indexical relationships are vaguer and evocations of identities are blurred (Rampton 2009) students perhaps have greater agency to negotiate the hierarchy of linguistic practices and index multiple social identities.

However, as Pennycook (2001:120) reminds us, agency is always constructed within wider structures of power and involves the continual recycling of powerful ideologies in everyday words and actions. For dominant Kazakh speakers like Saule, this liminal space may be a particularly important one, with comments from her teachers and peers suggesting that she was, like a minority of students of KSU, less confident in Russian. Therefore, although speaking ‘good’ Kazakh in on-stage contexts allows speakers like Saule to lay claim to a range of positive identity positions (a patriot, a ‘good’, moral, ethnic Kazakh, or as respectful, educated, traditional etc.), off-stage, everyday use of Kazakh, as opposed to Russian at KSU, was generally understood to index an individual who had grown up and been educated in a more

rural or less prestigious school and community. Commonly held stereotypes positioned speakers from such communities as less cultured, modern and educated than those from Russophone urban centres and often the dominant use of Kazakh was taken to suggest that the speaker used this language because they ‘had’ to, lacking as they were in Russian language proficiency.

It is very likely that Saule was aware of this, perhaps explaining her apparent self-consciousness in Turns 43, 45 and 64, as she begins her instruction in Kazakh, falters as she switches to Russian and then switches back into Kazakh to end her utterance. Her decision to switch to Russian could be because she knows Kaiser is a dominant Russian speaker, or because she is aware that her audience are mainly Russophone and she is aware that the polite, unmarked, cultured practice is to speak Russian in such communicative situations. Also, perhaps she has noticed, as I did during the promotional video rehearsals, that speaking Kazakh to ethnic Kazakhs who do not know the language well, can be a cause of embarrassment for them, and here, up on stage, this embarrassment could be a very public one for Kaiser and his friend. Despite her good intentions, it appears that Saule lacked sufficient confidence and/or proficiency to continue speaking so publicly in a Russian frame for long and so finishes her utterance in Kazakh. It is likely that her use of both Kazakh and Russian linguistic resources is constrained by these powerful indexicalities of off- and on-stage Kazakh and Russian codes.

In the last part of the recording, with the issues over roles, character and plot mostly resolved, the actual improvised performance itself took place. Given its location on-stage, within the performance and English language frame set up by the teacher, and being preceded by Tom’s utterance ‘Action’ in turn 63, the construction of this interaction as ‘on-stage’ would seem to be widely understood by both audience and performers and thus, unproblematic. However, once again, if viewed in a multilingual frame, rather than in a purely English language learning one,

the regions and roles which emerge in performance are less static or clearly distinguishable than might be expected. This is demonstrated below, in turns 66 to 94.

Excerpt 8: Transcript of 'Comedy Improv' English Club (part 4)

66: Saule: Eh thank you (chat from the audience becomes a little quieter) I want to relax and watch eh film. Which is the film you can advise?

67: Kaisar: Shh (to audience)

68: Saule: Which is a film you can buy?

69: Tom: Ah well, we have a nice relaxing romantic comedy, perhaps you would like to watch a eh eh a copy of pirates of the Caribbean?

70: Saule: Oh great. I I thought that I, is this a famous film or

71: Tom: Yeh, but it's stupid, you don't wanna watch that so I also have this movie. This movie eh if you watch it you will surely die, eh I can recommend this

72: Saule: Is it is only good?

73: Tom: If you watch this movie you definitely will not die

(There is some laughter from the other students)

74: Tom: I guarantee you no death will result from watching this movie and no Johnny Depp he's

75: Saule: Give me eight points

76: Dariga: (laugh)

77: Tom: Eight points? I used to use money. Back in my day

78: Saule: How many dollars?

79: Tom: Eh, how much you got? How much you got?

80: Saule: Two dollars

(Some other students shout suggestions for the price in English and Russian)

81: Tom: Five five dollars for the week. Here you go. Thank you.

82: Saule: Oh, I want to see this very very much

(Kaisar's and his friend use their arms to create a TV set and imitate the zhhhhh sound of a CD disk drive)

83: Marat: а где дисковод? Подожди < *But where's the disk drive? Hang on*>

84: Saule: мынаяктан шыға. Саласын ғой < **It comes out from there. You insert it right.**>

85: Marat: довольный < *I'm satisfied*>

86: Saule: (laughs)

87: Dinara: час тоқта енді давай < *Wait. Stop. Then go*>

88: Saule: (laughs)

89: Tom: She's doing a very good job.

90: Dinara: (Makes telephone ringing sound)

91: Marat: Allo? эта Пульт < *Hello? This is the remote control*>

92: Dinara: (In scary voice) you will die after seven days

93: Saule: (gasp)

94: Dinara: You will ready You will die after seven days. You will die after seven days

In this section of the transcript, Saule, Dinara and Tom (with help from Kaisar and his friend, using their arms and bodies to represent a TV set) do manage to achieve the improvised performance in English, as planned. Saule plays the Pirate, Jack Sparrow, who is visiting a DVD shop to rent a film from Tom, the shop assistant. Towards the end of the performance, Dinara makes an appearance as the possessed girl from the Japanese horror film ‘The Ring’, to tell Jack Sparrow that he will die after seven days of watching the film he has chosen (the plot of the original horror movie). The students in the audience did seem to quieten slightly and give their attention to the performance on-stage, with their laughter at the appropriate times suggesting that many of them enjoyed and appreciated it, at least to some extent.

Throughout the performance, Tom interacted with Saule, not as a language learner, but as an English-speaking co-performer, generally overlooking her grammatical mistakes in a way that would be considered unusual or even poor practice in other teacher-student interactions. This allowed Saule to perform a skilled, fluent English ‘native-speaker like’ identity on-stage, and have it acknowledged and valued by her peers and by her teacher. It is only in turn 75, when she says, “Give me eight points” (presumably instead of ‘I will give you eight dollars’) that Tom is forced acknowledge her mistake. However, by staying in his shop keeper character and turning her error into a joke, shared with the audience and with Saule, he frames the whole incident as being in keeping with the comic and entertaining purpose of the performance, thus avoiding potential embarrassment for Saule or undermining her on-stage identity as a skilled performer in English. The performance frame here and the indexicality of performing fluent interaction with a native speaker, is central to positioning the student performers as competent

users of English and allowing them to lay claim to this socially and institutionally desirable identity.

However, Tom and his on-stage cast were not the only comic performers here. Their on-stage skill and ability to entertain and amuse the audience in English was rivalled by the audience member Marat, who, in 83 and 91, heckles the performers in Russian, shouting “а где дисковод? Подожди” (and where’s the disk? Hang on) to highlight the flaw in Kaisar and his friend’s performance as the TV/DVD player and then “Алло? эта Пульт”. (Hello. This is the remote control) when Saule used the remote as an on-stage prop to represent a ringing telephone (sound provided by Dinara). Both of his contributions earned a hearty laugh from the audience and on-stage student performers alike. As has been mentioned earlier, Marat’s English competence was not thought to be particularly good, although he was widely admired for his wry sense of humour. No doubt he was not the only student in the audience with a lower level of proficiency in English, who, at this point may have been feeling left out of the action unfolding on-stage. By interjecting in Russian therefore, he is probably concerned with asserting his own identity as a clever, witty jokester, rather than merely a poor English speaker or poor student. His unanticipated, ephemeral contribution seems to constitute the kind of ‘breakthrough into performance’ described by Hymes (1975). By parodying Kaisar’s on-stage, English language performance, he introduces a new semantic intention to the original communicative act, allowing the discourse, momentarily to “become a battle ground between two voices” (Bakhtin 1984:193), re-keying the authoritative discourse of English language learning and mastery as humorous, and undermining its hegemony (Bakhtin 1981:353). By positively evaluating his contribution through their laughter, the other students not only validate this identity position, but those with a similar linguistic repertoire can also claim it, in part, for themselves. As Jaffe (2015) and Holland et al (1998) point out, play and pleasure can often be

important contexts in which to counter dominant discourses of mastery.

4.4.3 The Performance Context of Improvised Comedy at English Club: Summary

Analysis of how this improvised comedy sketch was constructed throughout the performance context of the English Club event highlights how the ideologies of the language classroom that constructs value and legitimacy in relation to native-speaker norms, discourses of linguistic standardisation and monolingualism, can limit the potential for agency in negotiation of identities by devaluing the other linguistic resources and translanguaging practices of multilingual people. Local ideologies circulating in Kazakhstan that construct essential links between language, and national and cultural identity also strengthen the power of these ideologies to exclude and undermine the value of multilingual resources and identities. For the multilingual students in this performance context, translanguaging across Kazakh and Russian was an extremely important resource for negotiating desired identities, for resisting imposed identities, and for working toward the achievement of the comedy performance itself. Whilst the on-stage performances in English allowed learners to position themselves as fluent speakers of this language, and thus lay claim to its indexical associations of globalisation, cool youth culture and educatedness, there were numerous occasions when the participant roles of performer and audience, or regions of on- and off-stage became blurred, fuzzy and ambiguous. These liminal, peripheral spaces opened up possibilities for the negotiation of identities and construction of agency through translanguaging, in quiet opposition to the dominant, monolingual ideologies of the English language classroom.

4.5 Conclusion: Performing Multilingual Ideologies and Identities at KSU

This chapter has explored how processes of contextualisation of performance contexts shape the ways in which language ideological resources are drawn on in the construction of identities and how they can shape the extent to which these contexts afford or constrain the agency of multilingual individuals. It has highlighted that the ideology that valorises separate, multilingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English on-stage, is often in stark contrast the translingual language practices that go unmarked by participants in off-stage regions and which constitute an essential resource for communication, stance-taking and identity negotiation in the KSU community. However, it also describes how, in some situations, KSU's multilingual young people do perform linguistic and ideological resources more flexibly, on the periphery or liminal boundaries of on-stage regions, obliquely indexing new hybrid identities and oppositional stances towards dominant ideologies of multilingualism and language in Kazakhstan.

Rymes (2010) stresses that, in trying to understand the how linguistic and ideological resources are used in the construction of identities, it is important to focus on the repertoires of the individual speaker, and this concern has been raised repeatedly throughout the discussion of performance contexts in this chapter. Therefore, in the next chapter, I focus on individuals, examining the relationship between their history-in-person (Holland et al 1998), the stances they adopt towards multilingualism and the way in which they negotiate multilingual identities for themselves and for others.

5 DATA ANALYSIS

STANCE-TAKING TOWRD MULTILINGUALISM IN METACOMMENTARY

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I considered the way that language ideological resources were used by members of KSU's multilingual community in performance contexts and the potential of performance contexts as spaces for negotiation of identities, agency and translanguaging practices that allow for semiotic and ideological resources to be combined in ways that challenge the power of hegemonic discourses. It is important to acknowledge that ideologies do not move freely across social space, but rather that they are deeply embedded in contexts of practice (Davis 2012, Mariou 2017). Therefore, I argued that the processes of contextualisation were of great significance in shaping the kinds of linguistic identities that participants chose to claim or were able to claim in performance.

In this chapter I consider a different process of contextualization that gave rise to the construction of a different kind of interaction and a different kind of discursive space: namely that of metacommentary, constructed through interviews with key participants. As I discussed previously, this shift in focus is not to suggest that I see the frameworks of performance and metacommentary as entirely distinct entities, but rather that the analytical lens that proved valuable in the analysis of staged performance, was less well suited to understanding the intricacies of person-to-person interaction. Instead, this chapter uses the concept of 'stance-taking', characterised by Jaffe (2009) as an inherently performative and heteroglossic concept

in itself, to explore how linguistic and ideological resources are used by multilingual individuals in the process of identity negotiation. It will focus on data from four KSU students: Dariga, Farhat, Meiram and Mark. Through analysis of these key participants' metalinguistic, meta-discursive and metapragmatic commentary, this chapter will explore how individuals construct positive stances toward multilingualism by drawing on, challenging or negotiating between indexicalities of Kazakh, Russian, English and translanguaging.

In order to ensure that findings were sensitive to the emic perspectives of participants, the research sought to provide numerous opportunities for KSU community members to comment on their own language practices and to share their own interpretations of others' recorded interactional data: described by Lucy (1993:94) as 'instances of language referring to language'. This chapter will concentrate on analysis of these instances of metapragmatic and meta-discursive language (Silverstein 1981, 1993, 2003) and how they were used by participants not only to take up ideological stances of their own vis-à-vis language and identity, but also to position others. Jaffe (2009:10) highlights how analysis of such 'stance taking', or "taking up a position in respect to the form or content of one's utterance", can be a useful lens for exploring how ideologies of language are used as resources for individual and agentive acts of identity negotiation. However, these stances are not always articulated explicitly or directly. Silverstein (1993) points out that a great deal of the meta-pragmatic function, which signals speakers' evaluations of language practices, occurs at a more implicit level throughout the course of an interaction, perhaps even beyond a speaker's 'limits of awareness' (Silverstein 2003). However, Rymes (2014) writes that, in this respect, it is the work of the researcher to track this implicit and explicit metapragmatic discourse across interactions, through a process of fine-grained linguistic analysis.

Considering linguistic phenomena in isolation however, is insufficient in order to understand the meanings that specific speakers in specific contexts strive to create. To this end, the analysis of interview transcripts aimed to link contextualized utterances from interviews, with data and insights pertaining to the social context of the researched community. In interviews, the key-participants and I would discuss audio recordings they had made of their multilingual lives both within and beyond the university, as well as listening to their perspectives and experience of language in Kazakhstan more generally. These complementary sources of data aimed to reflect the way that language ideologies are expressed through metapragmatic discourse and also emerge through social experience (Kroskrity 2001). As in the previous chapter, I also interweave observations from my fieldnotes and researcher journal into my analysis. As Collins (2013:205) advocates, “it is necessary to understand ‘voice’ across layered spacio-temporal and sociolinguistic scales”. Rymes (2014) also urges that such an approach to the examination of metacommentary can contribute toward a more accurate and emically sensitive representation of identities in sociolinguistic work.

Across the majority of interview data, participants’ stances toward both separate and flexible multilingualism and their attempts to negotiate positive, agentive multilingual identities for themselves emerged as a common thread. Although the emergence of this theme was partly influenced by my own research interests, it was also undeniably shaped by the recordings key participants collected. Therefore, although the decision to construct a meta-discursive space for reflection on multilingual practices was arguably mine, the way this space was claimed by participants to foreground their multilingualism and translanguaging represents a choice on their part.

5.2 Key Participants

Three of the key participants, Dariga, Farhat and Meiram, all identified as ethnically Kazakh speakers of Kazakh. This is not to say that all of them claimed Kazakh as their dominant language, but rather they ascribed to the widespread ideology that Kazakh ethnicity implied Kazakh language as *'ana tili'* ('mother tongue' in Kazakh) and that they all reported using Kazakh linguistic resources to some extent for communication in their everyday lives. Furthermore, these three participants also identified as Russian speakers and as English language users. In essence, these individuals characterised themselves as multilingual in Kazakh, Russian and English (and, in the case of Farhat, Uzbek). The other key participant, Mark, however identified as being of non-Kazakh, European heritage and as being multilingual in Russian and English.

The seemingly straightforward label 'multilingual' belies a great deal of heterogeneity as regards the linguistic experiences, trajectories, practices and identities of these individuals (Blackledge and Creese 2014, Blommaert et al 2012). Their 'communicative repertoires', "the collection of ways individuals use language... and other means of communication to function effectively in the multiple communities in which they participate" (Rymes 2010:303), may draw on similar sets of linguistic resources, but these were combined in very different ways. For this reason, each discussion of how the key participants negotiated identities and stances through metacommentary will be pre-empted by a brief description of the language backgrounds of each one. These descriptions are partly based on testimony from the participants themselves in interviews, as well as evidence from their language diaries and from audio recordings. Key participant profiles are reproduced in Table 17 (*self identification by participant).

Table 17: Key Participant Profiles

	Dariga	Farhat	Meiram	Mark
Gender	Female	Male	Male	Male
Year of Study	2	2	1	2
Hometown	Almaty	Tashkent/Almaty	Pavlodar/Almaty	Karaganda
Ethnicity*	Kazakh	Kazakh	Kazakh	Unspecified
Faculty	IT	IT	IT	IT
Language of study	English	English	Kazakh	English
Medium of high school	Russian and Kazakh	Russian	Kazakh	Russian
English Language Classes	Conversational English	IELTS	Academic English	Intercultural Communication

5.3 Positive Stances toward Multilingualism and Construction of Positive Multilingual Identities

One thing that all the key participants had in common was their positive stance towards multilingualism, which in turn became a resource for positive positioning of themselves as multilingual people. Furthermore, all of the ethnically Kazakh key participants, also took up positive stances toward translanguaging. They all unguardedly acknowledged that communication drawing on both Kazakh and Russian linguistic resources was a common-place, acceptable and unmarked practice in their everyday interactions with peers, friends or family. Not only were these reports corroborated by the audio data the key participants collected, but this view was also expressed by participants in ‘Student Ethnography Group’ discussions. Overall, in the interviews, Dariga, Meiram and Farhat took up the stance that translanguaging was something skilled people do ‘because they can’, rather than as a strategy employed to compensate for a lack of linguistic skill or knowledge in one or both languages. Therefore, the

following discussion of the ways in which participants construct stances toward multilingualism and translanguaging attempts to understand the contextualized utterances of these individuals, in the tension between their unique ‘history in person’ (Holland et al 1998) and the circulating discourses, ideologies and indexicalities that exist in the wider society in which the interaction is embedded. The following sections will focus individually on the metacommentary of each of the four key participants and will explore the different stances they take to negotiate positive multilingual identities.

5.4 Dariga

Dariga comes from a home background where both Kazakh and Russian and translanguaging across these two ‘codes’ form part of the family’s communicative repertoire: an assertion which is attested to by her audio recordings in domestic and family settings. She told me in an interview, that she had been educated in a Kazakh-medium class within one of Kazakhstan’s then-rare, mixed Kazakh and Russian medium schools (Fierman 2005), but since coming to KSU she had found herself communicating more in Russian and less in Kazakh, as this was the language in which most of her friends were most comfortable. In addition to Kazakh and Russian, Dariga also told me that she had been studying English, both in school and at private classes, since primary school. She was now studying on the English-medium track of the IT department. However, as she explained, many members of her family had lived and worked abroad and so English was present in her family life too, in the form of references to work, research articles and presentations prepared by her relatives.

5.4.1 Dariga Draws on Dominant Ideologies to Position her Multilingual Family

Prior to the first round of interviews, I asked each key participant to keep a ‘language diary’ for one week. This diary was intended to give me a rough idea of each individual’s day to day activities and the sorts of language practices and linguistic resources they drew on to accomplish these. Part of the initial interview was constituted by discussion of these diaries in order to clarify certain points or to seek further details. Excerpt 9 is taken from my initial interview with Dariga. Here we are discussing one of the entries in her language diary (L = researcher, D = Dariga).

Excerpt 9: From Dariga Interview 1

- | | | | |
|--------|---|-----------|---|
| 1. L: | Em OK you visited your aunt | Chemistry | |
| 2. D: | Yes | 23. L: | Ok |
| 3. L: | And quite interestingly you’ve got Kazakh, English and Russian | 24. D: | To the project for the research article |
| 4. D: | Yes | 25. L: | Ahh |
| 5. L: | Down here with your aunt, which surprised me because I always expect that people won’t speak English outside of | 26. D: | About oil and gas chemistry, because her husband eh works about oil and gas industry |
| 6. D: | Ah, no | 27. L: | Yeh |
| 7. L: | University | 28. D: | And definitions |
| 8. D: | Its emem especially I go to the home of my sister | 29. L: | OK, so you were using English for part of the discussion about chemistry? |
| 9. L: | Mhm | 30. D: | Eh not chemistry because, I eh I showed my research article and it was in English |
| 10. D: | Its like mm like a cousin from mother’s side | 31. L: | Ah |
| 11. L: | OK | 32. D: | And he read it in English |
| 12. D: | Eh and she has a family | 33. L: | Ah |
| 13. L: | Mhm | 34. D: | And during the conversation again we use for example, he he doesn’t know Kazakh very well |
| 14. D: | And she eh she know Russian. She studied in Russia | 35. L: | Mhm |
| 15. L: | Yeh | 36. D: | And we discussed in Russian, but sometimes like eh I say when I say something in Russian, some words was in English |
| 16. D: | But then, at this moment, she knows Kazakh very well | 37. L: | OK, yeh |
| 17. L: | Yeh | 38. D: | Just again mixing between both languages |
| 18. D: | And eh our discussion was in both languages | 39. L: | Em how does he know English? |
| 19. L: | Mhm | 40. D: | Um because my sister, she studied in Turkish and Italy. She work-ed in London |
| 20. D: | And eh but eh she and her husband knows English very well too | 41. D: | Also at this moment she works as a lecturer for chemistry in Kazgu |
| 21. L: | Ahh | 42. L: | Mhm |
| 22. D: | And I came to them to ask some things from | | |

43. D: And she usually eh visiting China and eh other countries
44. L: Wow
45. D: For conferences
46. L: So you have quite an international family
47. D: Yes (laugh)
48. L: Kind of lots of travelling and
49. D: Yes. A lot of, I can say that almost all my relatives they are like everywhere
50. L: Yeh? Not just in Kazakhstan, but in other countries as well
51. D: Yes
52. L: Em how about your own sort of family background? Are your family mainly Kazakh speakers or Russian [speakers] or?
53. D: [oh]
54. L: Do they use both equally or?
55. D: Ehhh...at this moment, nowadays em my mother eh learned the Kazakh language
56. L: Ahh really?
57. D: No, my moth my mother is Kazakh
58. L: Mhm yeh
59. D: And my father is Kazakh also
60. L: Mhm
61. D: But my mother studied in em Navakosnetz in Russian in Russian, medicine she studied
62. L: Oh wow
63. D: Medical and therefore she eh studied in Russian and when eh she eh married my father
64. L: Mhm
65. D: She eh began to learn Kazakh
66. L: Ah OK so your mother, em she sort of she grew up speaking Russian
67. D: Yes
68. L: Yeh
69. D: She is from eh East Kazakhstan
70. L: OK East
71. D: East Kazakhstan yes
72. L: OK yeh and you father, he comes from here?
73. D: Almaty yes.
74. L: And he is a Kazakh speaker is that right?
75. D: He is, yes he is a Kazakh speaker he also he know, he knows Russian, Germany languages,
76. L: Oh wow. How does he know those other languages? Did he work a
77. D: Um
78. L: Abroad or?
79. D: He worked abroad eh maybe like studied in abroad in Germany in Poles
80. L: Ah Poland yeh
81. D: Yeh ah yes in Poland yes, eh his profession connected with police ehh Yes with police
82. L: Ah. Ok alright wow. Yeh so, what was I gonna ask about your and your mother was she, is she a doctor now? You said she studied medicine but
83. D: Yes, now she's a doctor
84. L: Now she's a doctor
85. D: High professional
86. L: Yeh
87. D: With high qualification. She's a em children's doctor
88. L: Ahh a paediatrician
89. D: Yes paediatrician (laugh)

On reading Dariga's diary I had been intrigued that she mentioned a conversation at her sister's house involving English, in addition to Russian and Kazakh. As I comment in turn 5, it would be considered unusual for English to be used in personal interactions beyond the university. In turns 6 and 8, Dariga also seems to agree that this situation is atypical, before stressing that this use of English pertains 'especially' to the context of her sister's home. Dariga, aware that the word 'sister' has different connotations in Kazakhstan and in many Western, English speaking

nations, then goes on to clarify the exact nature of her relationship to this woman - namely that she is her mother's cousin. Moreover, she adds the additional information that she 'has a family' of her own.

At first glance, these seemingly insignificant asides about family relationships may appear to have little to do with a discussion of linguistic ideologies. However, when interpreted in light of circulating cultural discourses, regarding the importance of family in Kazakhstan, these minor details mark a significant first step in the construction of a stance and identity that Dariga develops subsequently in the interaction. Observation from my research journal and interviews with other KSU students suggests that, in Kazakhstani society, it is not unusual to refer to extended family members such as aunts, uncles, cousins, in-laws etc as 'sisters' and 'brothers'. Such references go unmarked in Kazakh and Russian, but nevertheless, can act to emphasise the closeness of familial bonds linguistically. Therefore, as Dariga builds a positive impression of her sister's multilingual identity throughout the interview, she also positions herself in the same positive light by association.

Moreover, Dariga's highlighting that her sister 'has a family' in turn 12 is also of potential significance. It was a widely-held view, amongst many Kazakhstani people I met, that having a family and children is not only natural and morally right, but it is often seen as a person's moral duty (for various reasons such as increasing the population to ensure the future safety and prosperity of Kazakhstan, for religious reasons, or to secure the well-being of the family unit). Therefore, by ensuring that I am aware that her sister has a family, Dariga indexes her positively within a local ideological, moral framework, intimating that her subsequent comments should also be viewed positively – i.e. that her professional success and international experience has not been at the expense of her family life. As research in other contexts has suggested, styles of language use by young multilingual often index more than one social

category simultaneously (Bucholtz and Hall 2004, 2011, Jaspers 2011, Rampton 2011, Madsen 2013). Although these discourses of culture, family and morality may not be strictly linguistic in nature, they are nevertheless drawn on by Dariga in her effort to construct her own stance on multilingualism and to negotiate the identity of herself and her family as multilingual people.

In turn 14, Dariga begins to describe her sister's communicative repertoire, saying that she knows both Russian and Kazakh "very well" and that because of this, their "discussion was in both languages". Here she takes a positive evaluative stance towards translanguaging, as a linguistic practice that she and her sister participate in because of their high-level competence in both Kazakh and Russian. Moreover, her sister's ability in Russian is underlined by the fact that she studied in this language in Russia, which, according to many of local professionals I met at KSU, was commonly considered a sign that an individual received a high quality of education in a Russian institution. This is somewhat at odds with ideologies about translanguaging that are represented elsewhere in the data: for example, the notion that 'good Kazakh' is Kazakh that does not draw on Russian indexing signs or pronunciation. This belief was evident in people's positive reaction to my own use of Kazakh which, although limited tended to use Kazakh neologisms rather than Russian language indexing signs, as well as the effort expended by Kazakh language teachers I encountered to characterise translingual practice in classrooms as 'lazy' and disrespectful. Even students who told me that translanguaging in Kazakh and Russian was an acceptable practice in their home lives, frequently added the caveat that they were often chastised by older members of their family for doing so. Dariga is likely to be aware that, having spent around two years in Kazakhstan, I, like a local interlocutor, am also conscious of these discourses.

In turn 20, Dariga adds that, in addition to Kazakh and Russian, her sister and her husband know "English very well too". It transpires that the presence of English in their conversation

was in reference to an English language article, which Dariga wanted to discuss with her sister's husband, who she knew had expertise in this field. She describes the nature of their translanguaging when she says, "*And we discussed in Russian, but sometimes it, like eh I say when I say something in Russian, some words was in English...Just again mixing between both languages*" (Turns 36 and 38). Interestingly, in turn 34, Dariga feels the need to explain their translanguaging in Russian and English on the basis that her sister's husband "*doesn't know Kazakh very well*". In this instance, she justifies the translanguaging practice in terms of lack of proficiency in one language, but not either of the languages used. Given the views Dariga expresses elsewhere, that speaking good Kazakh is a moral duty of Kazakh people, it may be inferred that the highlighting of this man's English proficiency is an attempt to make up for a perceived lack, in her efforts to positively construct him as a skilled professional and communicator. As has been discussed in the literature review, proficiency in English is not yet widespread in Kazakhstan and tends to index that the speaker has had access to good quality education, international experience or some degree of social privilege (Smagulova 2008:191). These indexical links are reinforced in turns 40 to 46, when, in response to my question about how he knows English, Dariga elaborates on her sister's husband's academic and professional experiences both in Kazakhstan and abroad. As with the juxtaposition of Kazakh and English resources in the staged performances, the ideological associations of proficiency in these two languages are different, but both convey a degree of prestige that can be drawn on in the construction of positive identities.

In turn 52, I ask Dariga about typical language practices within her immediate family, namely her mother, father and herself: Are they "*mainly Kazakh speakers or Russian [speakers] or...do the use both equally...?*" She responds to the question in turn 55 by pointing out that her mother "*at this moment, nowadays... learned the Kazakh language*". In her initial statement of this fact,

Dariga sounds pleased and positive in asserting her mother's status as a Kazakh language learner, but it is interesting to notice the way in which she instantly qualifies this by stressing that both her mother and father are ethnically Kazakh (turn 57 and 59). The emphatic '*No*' before telling me that '*My mother is Kazakh*', seems like a reaction towards an assumption that, although I have not voiced, I might nevertheless have made- that because her mother learned Kazakh as an adult, she is not of this ethnicity. This association would not be an unusual one in Kazakhstani society, where the essentialist discourse tying Kazakh as mother tongue to Kazakh ethnicity is widespread. Moreover, Dariga has demonstrated on many occasions that her own ethnicity as Kazakh is one that she is very proud of and which is of great importance to her. Therefore, by ensuring that I understand that both her mother and father are Kazakhs, she not only positions them in relation to specific ideologies surrounding identity and language in Kazakhstan, but also strengthens her own claim to this particular identity.

Having established her mother as Kazakh, Dariga then sets about explaining her mother's need to learn Kazakh as an adult in turn 61 to 71. Dariga initially raised this point in a positive way, but given the view that speaking Kazakh is tied to ethnic authenticity, and that is a moral duty of patriotic Kazakh people, she brings in other ideological resources to ensure that I interpret her mother in a positive light. Firstly, she tells me that her mother studied medicine in Russian, in Novokunetsk, Russia. As mentioned previously, reference to Russian education of this kind, within local interpretive frameworks, normally indexes the person as highly-qualified and well-educated. Secondly, Dariga tells me that when her mother married, "*she began to learn Kazakh*". Traditional views on gender roles posit that women should adjust to the social and cultural context of the family they marry into, which can include accommodating to linguistic practices. Moreover, several of Dariga's comments at other times, in relation to her views on gender roles, suggest that the notion of being a 'good women' in moral and cultural terms is of

some importance to her. Therefore, in highlighting that her mother began learning Kazakh after her marriage, she positions her not only as a good, patriotic Kazakh person, but also as a ‘good’ women in cultural terms. Finally, Dariga gives a geographical explanation for her mother’s first language being Russian. She tells me that her mother is from East Kazakhstan, where it is well-known and accepted that Russian is far more widely spoken than in the South and West.

Throughout this part of the conversation, Dariga draws on ideological resources that would generally be considered ‘non-linguistic’ to take up a positive stance towards her mother’s Kazakh language learning and as meta-signs (Urban 2006) to help ensure that I, her interlocutor, interpret her mother’s Kazakh language learning as indexing her identity in a positive way. Bakhtin (1986) reminds us that when we communicate through language, we are not just addressing our immediate interlocutor, but are also in conversation with a whole host of other discourses and ideologies that shape our interaction, what he terms the ‘super-addressee’. Here, in respect to her mother’s language practices and linguistic identity, Dariga negotiates agency in the construction of stance and identity in response to other, potential, local interpretive frameworks that may otherwise cast her mother’s lack of Kazakh as a mother tongue negatively, as indexing lack of authentic ‘Kazakhness’, patriotism or morality.

After discussing Dariga’s mother, we move on to talk about her father. Dariga confirms my understanding, based on previous conversations, that she identifies her father primarily as a Kazakh speaker (Turn 75). Then, as she did about her mother, she instantly elaborates with details which, intentionally or not, shape my interpretation of her father’s linguistic identity. However, unlike in the case of her mother’s Russophone identity, Dariga does not seem to defend or justify her father as a Kazakh speaker, but to add details that resist the positioning of him as a certain *kind* of Kazakh speaker. A number of competing ideologies exist in regard to being a Kazakh speaker.

On one hand, speaking Kazakh can index ethnic authenticity, morality and patriotism, but on the other hand it can also index less desirable identities such as being from the '*aul*' (village in Kazakh), being uncultured, being less affluent or less educated (Yessenova 2003). Dariga is doubtless aware of these competing ideologies and the way in which they might undermine her effort to construct her father in a positive light. It is probably for this reason that she immediately follows the assertion that her father is a Kazakh speaker, by mentioning that he also knows Russian and German, in turn 75. This identifies her father firstly, as a multilingual speaker of both Kazakh and Russian, rather than a monolingual Kazakh speaker (extremely rare outside of rural, village communities) or as a dominant speaker of Kazakh with poor Russian language skills (which might also index him as being of rural origin, uncultured or uneducated). Furthermore, it turns out that Dariga's father developed his Russian and German language skills abroad, in his professional experience as a high-ranking police officer (turns 79 to 91). These details, alluding to international travel and professionalism, further enhance the value of her father's linguistic resources. From this conversation and from my other dealings with Dariga, it is clear that she often takes a positive stance towards multilingualism and translanguaging in Kazakh and Russian, as acceptable and skilful practices. Therefore, by mentioning his competence in Russian, she brings in the linguistic ideologies connected with this language to help construct a positive multilingual identity for her father.

Throughout our interview interactions, Dariga takes up a positive stance toward multilingualism and translanguaging. She draws on established indexical resources related to the languages of Kazakh, Russian and English to position herself positively as a multilingual person and to negotiate identities that are important to her: identities of 'good student', 'good Kazakh' and 'good woman'. Moreover, within a Kazakhstani cultural framework, in which family relationships are constructed as of great significance, Dariga works hard to key specific

interpretations of the indexical resources she uses to position her relatives as Kazakh language speakers and learners.

5.5 Farhat

Farhat identifies his ethnicity as Kazakh, but grew up in Uzbekistan, where his parents worked until the family moved to Almaty when he was around 18 years old. My first encounter with Farhat was through the Student Ethnography Group, where he initially stressed that he was a Russian speaker, but in later meetings he revised this position. Farhat's claimed ability in Kazakh was borne out by later recordings he made, in which he uses a mixture of Kazakh, Russian and, at times English linguistic resources to accomplish his interactional goals. However, unlike the other Kazakh participants, Farhat's use of Kazakh is generally an act of accommodation toward an interlocutor who is more comfortable in that language, rather than his own communicative preference. For him, English language resources are intrinsically tied to contexts of his KSU education and in interaction with various English speaking 'foreigners' he comes into contact with as part of this community.

5.5.1 Farhat Resists Dominant Ideologies of Language and Identity

Like Dariga, Farhat also takes up a positive stance towards multilingualism and translanguaging and constructs a positive identity for himself as a multilingual person. However, whereas Dariga tends to draw on more established ideologies pertaining to the bounded 'languages' of Russian, Kazakh and English, he adopts for a different discursive strategy. Time and again throughout my conversations with Farhat he strived to assert a sense of agency in regard to his actions, particularly toward his academic work at the university. What emerged from our discussions

was his stance that practical, real-life ‘skills’ were more valuable than academic knowledge, as he saw these as relevant to his aspiration to become a successful businessman or future professional. In one interview, he told me directly “*I don’t worry about my grades. I worry about my skills...because these skills, Grades won’t solve all the problems. There are a lot of problems can be solved from eh skills*’. This example serves to illustrate the significance of agency in Farhat’s construction of a positive identity for himself, whether it be as a student or as a multilingual person. This concern helps explain the way in which he strives to construct a positive stance toward multilingualism in resistance and opposition to established language ideologies and indexical links. As Miller (2010:465) highlights, it is when people are positioned within ideologically defined spaces, that agency emerges.

In my initial encounters with Farhat, he identified himself to me and his peers as a dominant Russian speaker, with little functional knowledge of Kazakh. For this reason, I was surprised to hear him using Kazakh to interview some Uzbek nationals about their work making and selling *samsa* (a kind of cheap, pastry snack available on many streets). In Excerpt 10, taken from our second recorded interview, I ask Farhat (F) about this.

Excerpt 10: From Farhat Interview 1

1. L: I remember last semester when we were talking about em different language you said that you don’t ever really use Kazakh in your normal life.
2. F: Yeh I’m eh I use, because they don’t speak in Russian
3. L: Ah oh these the
4. F: Yeh [they don’t]
5. L: [The people]
6. F: They don’t they don’t
7. L: Ah OK
8. F: So its eh its only one way to understand each other or in Uzbek or in Kazakh
9. L: Ah I see
10. F: But for eh for a long time I didn’t I don’t I don’t I didn’t speak ah Uzbek and I forgot
11. L: Yeh [you’ve forgotten. That’s natural]
12. F: [Because when I went] when I liv-ed in Uzbekistan
13. L: Mm
14. F: I didn’t use Uzbek
15. L: Yeh
16. F: I just eh used Russia

In this excerpt Farhat now admits to using Kazakh and goes on to tell me why he did so in the recording: namely because the *samsa* sellers cannot speak in Russian (turn 2). As with Kazakhstani citizens, lack of Russian proficiency from people of other Central Asian nationalities can be seen to index that that the speaker may be from a rural, less developed area, with limited access to decent education - in other words, a less than desirable imposed identity (Pavlenko and Blackledge 2004). Farhat's explanation that he is the one who switches to Kazakh (mutually intelligible with Uzbek to a degree, due to their shared Turkic Altaic roots) (Austin 2008) highlights that he possesses a broader communicative repertoire than the *samsa* sellers. Therefore, in our conversation, Farhat constructs a stance from which I am to understand that his accommodation and use of Kazakh linguistic resources indexes him as a skilled, communicatively savvy multilingual person.

Although, in initial meetings with the Student Ethnography Group, Farhat portrayed himself as an effectively monolingual user of Russian, in later conversations he openly claims a multilingual identity in Kazakh and Russian (and to some degree Uzbek). In the first instance, he was involved in a discussion with other KSU students and a teacher that he did not know particularly well. In this context, he may have been worried that we would negatively evaluate him on the basis that he grew up in Uzbekistan, which in Kazakhstan is popularly perceived to be a far poorer and less developed state. By emphasising his dominant use of Russian and downplaying his use of Kazakh, he may have been aligning himself with an identity position of a member of the Russian speaking, well-educated, elite in Kazakhstan and distancing himself from the negative associations connected with growing up in Uzbekistan or of being a Kazakh speaking *oralman* (ethnic Kazakh immigrant). Perhaps also, in his later participation in my research, when we became more familiar with each other, he may have felt reassured that multilingualism was something I viewed as valuable and also that I was generally open-minded

when it came to judging people on the basis of language, nationality or social background. Nevertheless, generally, the interactional contexts in which Farhat asserted his identity as a Kazakh speaker tended to be ones like that of Excerpt 10, where he could construct this practice as an index of positive identity, rather than risk being subject to an imposed set of more negative indexical links.

However, as mentioned above, Farhat did not only draw on the more established indexical relationships related to Russian, Kazakh and English, but often attempted to construct stances and identity positions in resistance to these ideologies. Indeed, both in group and individual interviews Farhat frequently articulated his opinion that he saw language as a ‘tool’ or ‘instrument’ for communication, pursuing his goals or gaining access to particular opportunities, rather than as an intrinsic part of identity. Given the importance of agency to the kinds of identities Farhat seemed to consider desirable, resistance to these circulating ideologies is understandable. In the Excerpt 11, from our second interview, I was asking him to comment on a recording he had made from his KSU English class. The teacher of this class was Canadian and the 14 students in the class had a mixture of language competences and preferences in Kazakh and Russian. On listening to the recording, I was struck by the fact that a group of four or five students used Kazakh to communicate across the open class, as the usual language for such public exchanges in academic settings in KSU was Russian. I also noticed that the key participant himself did not interact with this group at any time.

Excerpt 11: From Farhat Interview 2

1. L: Em so I was gonna ask about that at the beginning, um a lot of students in that IELTS class seem to be Kazakh speakers. Is that true?
2. F: Mm yeh
3. L: Yeh?
4. F: Yeh, what do you mean?
5. L: Well just, so for example when I was listening to the recording of the IELTS class, like sometimes, you know sometimes
6. F: Ah in my class,
7. L: Yeh
8. F: Yes a lot of Kazakh speakers

9. L: Yeh
10. F: Yeh you know (laugh) in Kazakhstan there are a lot of eh how to say p p patriots
11. L: eh, eh yeh
12. F: They don't speak Russian
13. L: Oh
14. F: But they can speak in English, but they don't with Russian
15. L: OK
16. F: In all their lives
17. L: Yeh
18. F: They all they speak in Kazakh
19. L: And you think the other people in your class are like that
20. F: And they yeh and they try to talk another people to speak eh they
21. L: Ah, persuade people to speak Kazakh?
22. F: Yeh yeh
23. L: OK, cos that was quite that was quite, cos whenever the students are talking amongst themselves or when they're kind of helping each other
24. F: Mhm. And they don't understand the English, they generally use Kazakh
25. L: Do you feel like you're a part of that group?
26. F: No
27. L: No?
28. F: Because it's it's this is not important for me
29. L: OK
30. F: I know Kazakh, I know Russian. It's just an instrument and equipment for communication
31. L: For communicating
32. F: To communicating yeh
33. L: It's not important to be part of a social group?
34. F: (sigh) Yeh but I can speak in Kazakh very well
35. L: Mhm
36. F: I can understand, so its
37. L: Yeh definitely, so you can understand
38. F: I can use everything I can use every language what I like, for me it's not a problem
39. L: No?
40. F: Yeh. You just do the job

In this extract, Farhat seemed annoyed by the group of students in his English class who drew attention to themselves by using Kazakh in contexts where he deemed it unusual or unnecessary. However, it seemed it was not the language practice itself that annoyed him or the fact that he could not understand – as he reiterates throughout turns 30 to 36, he is a confident Kazakh user. Rather it is what he interprets as the indexical link between this marked use of Kazakh and a kind of ostentatious patriotism (turn 10) or ethnic pride that he finds distasteful. What seems to annoy him is not that they only speak Kazakh, but that he interprets this linguistic practice of using Kazakh “*in all their lives*” (turn 16) – implying contexts where it would be a marked choice that might not lend itself to most effective communication - as a tacit means of

moralising at others to do the same or ascribing this moral stance to other Kazakhs. However, the way in which he developed his response shows that he was also aware of other discourses that would suggest that a person taking such a stance was only doing so because he lacks competence in Kazakh himself and is therefore falling short of his moral obligations. He contests this position emphatically, by drawing attention repeatedly to the fact that he is a good speaker of both Kazakh and Russian and seems proud of this. Furthermore, in his statement in turn 30, “*I know Kazakh, I know Russian, it’s just an instrument and equipment for life*” he resists the whole concept that linguistic competence indexes any kind of social identity at all. Farhat stresses about himself that, “*I can use every languageI like*” (turn 38) and so constructs agency and freedom from this interpretive framework through multilingualism.

In response to my questions and these wider ideologies of language, Farhat negotiates a position for himself as a pragmatic and agentive multilingual person – a stance that he takes up repeatedly in his interviews and recorded data. This fits with his effort to construct agency for himself throughout almost all the identity positions and stances. However, Farhat resists the ideology that speaking a language indexes other identity positions or stances, or that others can judge him on moral terms for speaking or not speaking a language. This is a powerful discourse to resist, but he puts a lot of effort into doing so, here and throughout other data.

5.6 Meiram

Meiram was the youngest participant, in first year rather than second, and unlike the others, was currently studying in the Kazakh medium track of the IT Faculty rather than the English one. In reality this meant that he studied so-called ‘basic’ subjects such as philosophy and history and some IT classes in Kazakh, but other IT courses were conducted in either English

or Russian. This was partly due to the availability of teachers and partly due to the belief that these ‘developed’, ‘world’ languages (Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013) were more appropriate to deliver the technical content of the lessons. Beyond education though, he told me that he mainly communicated in Russian, explaining that, although he and his family were Kazakh, the fact that they came from Pavlodar meant that they, like the majority of people from the North of Kazakhstan, were dominant Russian speakers. Interestingly however, his parents had chosen to send him to a Kazakh medium high-school and so his education prior to KSU had been conducted almost entirely in Kazakh. The practice of parents from Russian speaking backgrounds sending their children to Kazakh medium schools was one that was growing more popular across Kazakhstan (Fierman 2005), as parents were either eager to ensure that their offspring had access to Kazakh linguistic resources that would help ensure high-ranking government posts in the future or ascribed to the burgeoning ideology that good knowledge of Kazakh is part of the patriotic duty of Kazakhstani citizens – especially Kazakh ones. In contrast with the traditional notion of Kazakh as the language of the home and informal, social sphere and Russian as the language of education and the professional sphere, Meiram’s communicative repertoire is quite different. He is relatively at ease using Kazakh in academic contexts – reflected in the data, for example, by his knowledge of vocabulary and structures that would be considered rather formal and ‘correct’, as opposed to more colloquial forms – whereas it is on Russian that he most commonly draws for social interactions with friends and family.

5.6.1 Meiram’s Identity as a Flexible Translanguaging Kazakh Person

In a similar way to Dariga and Farhat, Meiram also takes a positive stance towards his own multilingualism. Throughout our interviews, he frequently reiterated the pride he took in being

a multilingual speaker of Kazakh, Russian and English. For example, he told me that adapting to life in a university, across a curriculum where different subjects are offered in different media of instruction and in classes where students and teachers draw on a range of linguistic resources studying “*was not difficult for me because I understand Kazakh, Russian and English*”. Throughout our discussions, Meiram generally adopted the stance that his multilingualism allowed him to be more flexible in terms of the positions he can take up, the people he can communicate with and the contexts he can participate in. This stance is exemplified in the following excerpt from our first recorded interview (Excerpt 12).

Nevertheless, this is not the only stance toward multilingualism that Meiram constructs in this part of our interaction. Just like Dariga and Farhat, he seems to adopt a positive evaluative stance towards translanguaging, saying that neither he, his peers nor his family saw this kind of language practice as remarkable, uncommon or problematic. He saw translanguaging as a practice that skilled multilingual individuals, with access to a range of linguistic resources engage in because they *can*, rather than a strategy adopted to mitigate for some lack in communicative competence. However, as Meiram describes the contexts in which he and others draw on translingual practices, a further nuance begins to emerge, in terms of positioning the person who is doing the translanguaging. In the excerpt below, Meiram (M) intimates that the reason he and other individuals translanguage is in order to help those who are less communicatively capable. In other words, he appears to be suggesting that translanguaging is a valuable part of the communicative repertoire of a multilingual person that does not mitigate for a lack of competence on their *own* part, but rather mitigates for a lack of competence in *others*.

1. **L:** And I noticed that when you were having that conversation with the other students, like half of the time you speak Russian and then sometimes you speak Kazakh
2. **M:** Mhmm
3. **L:** And sometimes you change between Kazakh and Russian
4. **M:** Hm
5. **L:** Is that quite normal for you to change between Kazakh and Russian?
6. **M:** Ah, yes.
7. **L:** Yeh?
8. **M:** Eh because, because eh some students eh speak only in Kazakh
9. **L:** Mhmm
10. **M:** They don't speak in Russian and don't understand Russian very well
11. **L:** Really?
12. **M:** Yes. From South part of our country
13. **L:** Really?
14. **M:** Yes
15. **L:** Oh right
16. **M:** From Shymkent
17. **L:** Mhmm
18. **M:** Or Taraz or from West, Atryrau, Aktau students from this parts of our country speak in Kazakh
19. **L:** Ahh, and their Russian is not so good?
20. **M:** Russian is not so good
21. **L:** OK. It's normal for, for them, you know, speaking Kazakh?
22. **M:** Mhmm, But eh but I can speak in Kazakh and so I can change languages
23. **L:** OK
24. **M:** I can converconversate
25. **L:** Converse
26. **M:** Ah converse with people who speak in Russian and who speak in Kazakh
27. **L:** What about in, for example with (Teacher 1) or, for example with em, (Teacher 2), do they, is it OK when students are working in small groups is it OK for students to speak in Russian or Kazakh in English class or is the teacher angry or..?
28. **M:** Ah, no
29. **L:** No? It's OK
30. **M:** Teacher wasn't angry
31. **L:** Yep
32. **M:** It's OK, eh, так <ehh>No, when we work in small groups, for example two students we eh, we speak in Russian or in Kazakh uh and then, when we should eh, no, show our ram <there>, show our teacher our...
33. **L:** Yeh
34. **M:** What we do, what what we do
35. **L:** Yes, report back
36. **M:** Yeh, uhhuh
37. **L:** Mhmm
38. **M:** Of course we speak in in English
39. **L:** Yeh? Is it useful that, for example (Teacher 1 and 2) they can also speak Russian?
40. **M:** Aow? yes
41. **L:** Is it useful?
42. **M:** It is very useful
43. **L:** Yeh?
44. **M:** It is very useful yes, because eh they can eh как <how> ah they can explain us
45. **L:** Yeh
46. **M:** Eh tam ram <there> words or What sentence which we don't understand
47. **L:** Yep
48. **M:** And also we can, also we can ask something or, no, what we not understand
49. **L:** Yeh
50. **M:** In Russian or Kazakh
51. **L:** And they can help to translate
52. **M:** Yes. They explain us
53. **L:** Yeh? Useful right
54. **M:** It's very useful

At the beginning of the excerpt, I ask Meiram about a series of audio recordings he made during his Academic English classes, in which he and other students are translanguaging across Kazakh and Russian codes. Based on his own report and on the other recordings he made, I could assume that translanguaging in this manner was fairly normal for Meiram. However, in turn 10, unprompted, Meiram begins to justify his translanguaging, explaining that he does this

in order to communicate with or perhaps to support other students who he sees as effectively monolingual in Kazakh, due to the part of Kazakhstan they come from. Then, in turn 24 to 26 he emphasises “*I can speak Kazakh and so I can change languages...I can converse with people who speak in Russian and who speak in Kazakh*”. By foregrounding his ability to use both Kazakh and Russian linguistic resources he constructs himself positively not only as a skilled and flexible individual, but as a person concerned with the well-being and support of his classmates.

I was also curious to know if Meiram’s positive stance on translanguaging extended to its use by teachers, as there were frequent examples in his recordings of local English teachers (e.g. Teacher1 and 2 in Extract 12) mixing Russian, Kazakh and English linguistic resources to scaffold their students toward better understanding. I asked about this in turn 27. Meiram’s view of his teachers’ translanguaging in classroom settings appears to be consistent with that of his own. He tells me in turn 44 “*It is very useful yes, because they can...explain us...words or what sentences which we don’t understand...and we can also ask something...what we not understand...in Russian and Kazakh*”. Again here, the translanguaging is constructed as a valued practice *because* it is employed to support a speaker with poorer command of linguistic resources and the translanguag-er is thus positioned positively as the more skilled, flexible and communicatively competent of the interlocutors.

However, as mentioned above, the nature of Meiram’s multilingualism is an interesting one. Being a Kazakh from a Russian speaking background is a fairly common situation for KSU students, but Meiram took time in our interviews to carefully explain his particular linguistic background and family language practices: see Excerpt 13.

Excerpt 13: From Meiram Interview 1

1. **L:** Do you study together with the other students from Russian and English or...?
2. **M:** Yes [eh]
3. **L:** [Or separately?]
4. **M:** Yes, in some subjects [we] study together
5. **L:** [OK]
6. **M:** And its not difficult to me because I understand Russian and English very well
7. **L:** Yeh
8. **M:** Because I am from Pavlodar. Its uh North of our country and
9. **L:** Yeh
10. **M:** And its near to Russia, so eh till I was born I speak in Russian
11. **L:** Mhmm Yeh
12. **M:** At home I speak in Russian, with my friends I speak in Russian,
13. **L:** Mhmm
14. **M:** Its easy to me, uh its easy for me more than in Kazakh
15. **L:** OK?
16. **M:** I don't speak in Kazakh very well
17. **L:** OK
18. **M:** But I speak in Kazakh only so in classes, so
19. **L:** OK
20. **M:** Lessons
21. **L:** So why did you or your family decide to study in Kazakh then? If [your]
22. **M:** [(starts laughing) Because I am]
23. **L:** [Sort of natural] language is Russian? (I start smiling/laughing too)
24. **M:** Because I am Kazakh
25. **L:** OK, eh yeh
26. **M:** And we live in Kazakhstan
27. **L:** Right
28. **M:** So, I think that I should know my eh my own language
29. **L:** Mhmm
30. **M:** My, know Kazakh and my eh my parents thought that in future
31. **L:** Yeh
32. **M:** Level of Kazakh language will increase
33. **L:** Mhmm
34. **M:** And the Kazakh language will be would be everywhere
35. **L:** OK, so I should know the Kazakh language
36. **L:** Yeh
37. **M:** And then that's why they, eh that's why I eh как <how>I eh I study in Kazakh
38. **L:** OK.
39. **M:** Because
40. **L:** Eh sorry
41. **M:** I eh I know the Russian language
42. **L:** Mhmm
43. **M:** Eh and eh Russian language don't eh как <how> (laugh) run away from me
44. **L:** (Laugh) OK
45. **M:** (Laugh)
46. **L:** OK so even though you're learning, even though you're studying in Kazakh, you're not losing Russian?
47. **M:** Yes, I'm not losin

In turns 6 to 14, he told me that he comes from a Russian speaking background because his family are from Pavlodar, in the North of Kazakhstan, and that this is the language in which he commonly communicates with them and with his friends. However, his academic trajectory has been linguistically Kazakh, in that his parents chose to educate him in Kazakh medium schools. Surprisingly, however, Meiram evaluates himself as 'not speaking Kazakh very well' – in turn 18 - admitting that for him '*Russian is more easy for me...than in Kazakh*' (turn 14) and so he

speaks Kazakh ‘only in classes’. This ‘history-in-person’ (Holland et al 1998) can be seen for example in a number of Meiram’s recordings, where, even though his interlocutor is more fluent in Kazakh, Meiram is often able to provide Kazakh translations of academic or formal vocabulary. In many ways, Meiram’s ability in Kazakh may be described as a truncated repertoire, whereby a speaker’s fluency in a language may vary depending on the domain of use (Blommaert 2010). This highlights that although the dominant ideology may be that speaking ‘good Kazakh’ is associated with mastery of its formal registers and the avoidance of Russian indexing linguistic signs, the stances individuals take toward speaking Kazakh ‘well’ is may be tied closely to the context of use. For Meiram, not being able to draw on indexicalities of colloquial registers in Kazakh in social encounters, is perceived by him as a deficit.

It is worth considering the facets of his linguistic identity that Meiram chooses to explain, as well as the means he uses to do this. The first part of Excerpt 13 shows him foregrounding both his Russophone and Kazakh speaking identities. Firstly, in conjunction with an expression of pride in his competence in Russian, he feels the need to justify this linguistic identity by drawing on the discourse that this is normal and for the Northern regions of Kazakhstan adjoining the Russian Federation. Obviously, I had no intention of judging him negatively for being a predominantly Russian speaking Kazakh, but his un-sought explanation belies an anxiety that I may interpret his statement in a framework where a Kazakh speaking background is seen to index heightened ethnic authenticity, patriotism and morality, whereas a Russophone one is associated with the negative identity of ‘*Shala Kazakh*’ (a derogatory Kazakh term used by participants to refer to a linguistically and culturally Russified Kazakh person). Nevertheless, although he is critical of his ability to communicate in Kazakh, he does stress, that for him, Kazakh is the language of education, rather than his home language. Perhaps, in terms of identity, this allows him to position himself linguistically as properly patriotic and moral, but

distance himself from the identity of a ‘backward country Kazakh’ for whom this would be the first language and language of the home. In a way, it is his claims to proficiency in Russian which make this kind of negotiation possible. Moreover, in turns 22 to 37, he draws on the discourse that posits speaking Kazakh as the duty of anyone laying claim to this ethnic identity and highlights that an awareness of this shaped his family’s decision to educate him in Kazakh medium. However, in turns 41 and 43, he is quick to return to the issue of his Russophone linguistic background, stating that his parents’ choice to educate him in Kazakh, with all the benefits it afforded, was *because* he was already proficient in Russian.

It is only in the final sections of the excerpt, that Meiram finally draws together his comments on both Russian and Kazakh, when he points out that even though he studies in Kazakh (and English) “*I know Russian language and it will not run away from me*”. It seems that he only feels able to take up a positive stance on his own multilingual identity after the discursive ‘work’ of constructing the linguistic ideological resources of Kazakh and Russian in a particular way, that allows him to negotiate an identity for himself as a skilled, educated, communicatively competent person, for whom being multilingual is not at odds with being a ‘good Kazakh person’. As Linell (2013:175) highlights, pre-interactional framing provides an important guide as to how subsequent performances should be interpreted. Therefore, the meta-discursive commentary in Meiram’s interviews highlights that, although individuals draw on existing language ideologies to negotiate different identities and stances, these ideological resources often require a degree of ‘language work’ (Heller 2011) or ‘re-figuring’ (Holland et al 1998) in order to make them fit the individual’s purpose.

5.7 Mark

Mark was the only key participant who did not consider himself to be ethnically Kazakh. Indeed, for Mark ethnic identity was never a particularly significant issue, although he told me on one occasion that perhaps his family may have originally been from Poland. Conversely, his linguistic identity as a Russian speaker and his Christian religious faith seemed far more important to him, when it came to discussing his linguistic and social practices. From my first encounter with Mark, I was struck by the way he spoke in English – in a relatively colloquial and fluent way that suggested he had spent a lot of time around native speakers or abroad. It emerged that most of his extended family live in Europe or America and that he has spent considerable time there on visits. However, albeit that he tended to use English when abroad with his relatives, in his life in Kazakhstan, his use of English is either connected with KSU contexts, where he also studied IT on the English-medium track, or with interactions with foreign visitors or volunteers that he meets through his church. Otherwise, Russian is very much the dominant language in his life. He made no claims to have any communicative competence in Kazakh, although it emerged in discussion that he has some degree of understanding, due in part to the fact that his Kazakh speaking peers often translanguaged around him, even if he is rarely addressed directly in this language. For Mark, translanguaging is rare and he tends to speak in an English frame to foreign, English speakers and in Russian to his local, peers, family, teachers etc. Perhaps the only exception to this is in peer interactions in English educational contexts, where Russian language resources are used between Mark and his peers to scaffold each other toward maintaining communication in English.

5.7.1 Mark Avoids Dominant Ideologies of Multilingualism to Negotiate Non-linguistic Identities

The sections above have discussed how Dariga, Farhat and Meiram use linguistic and ideological resources in their metacommentary to take up stances vis-à-vis multilingualism and translanguaging, in order to position themselves positively as multilingual individuals. My interviews with Mark, however were somewhat different. Firstly, Mark's multilingualism and communicative repertoire was qualitatively different to that of the others. He described himself as Russian speaking, although his English language competence was perhaps the best-developed of the four, due in part to the fact that he frequently makes extended visits to his family in America and Europe. Moreover, as with the majority of Kazakhstani students, he has studied Kazakh language both at school and university, although he claims his abilities in this language were limited. Nevertheless, despite his linguistic repertoire, he did not foreground his own multilingualism as the others did. Moreover, the other participants self-identified as ethnically Kazakh, while, in contrast, ethnic identity did not seem to be a significant category for Mark, as he rarely made any reference to this during our conversations or in his audio recordings. It was only when tentatively asked about this subject that he, quite uninhibitedly, told me that he honestly wasn't sure of his family's origins, but that they may be in Poland or Germany. There are a handful of other instances in which he refers to himself as 'European', in order to make a distinction between himself and students of Central Asian origin.

On the other hand, there are other aspects of his identity which he emphasised strongly throughout the interviews, particularly his Christian faith and his entrepreneurial aspirations (he was already the manager of his own 'start-up'). Linguistically, he draws attention to his identity as a Russian speaker, although he plays down his competence in English, claiming that he does

not consider himself privileged in this respect by his experiences abroad and that he has had “*the same opportunities as most normal KSU students or anyone with access to the internet*”.

Mark’s data highlights that, even within one community, not all identities are equally significant or relevant to all individuals. Although discourses of multilingualism are undoubtedly prevalent and widely contested throughout Kazakhstani society, they are not taken up as resources for identity construction to the same extent by all Kazakhstani people. Moreover, as discussed previously, the ideological resources associated with multilingualism might not afford the same possibilities for negotiation of positive identities to all social actors. Focus on the metacommentary of the ethnically Kazakh participants, Dariga, Farhat and Meiram, illustrated how foregrounding of a multilingual identity, in which one can claim competence in both Kazakh and Russian allowed the speakers to position themselves positively between the moral, patriotic and authentic indexical ties of Kazakh linguistic resources and the indexicalities of Russian linguistic resources, which suggest a cultured, urban, well-educated, or privileged background. However, for those who cannot claim Kazakh ethnic identity, such as Mark, the positive indexicalities of speaking Kazakh, especially those of moral duty and ethnic pride and authenticity, lose much of their relevance in light of apparent contradiction with the non-Kazakh speaker, and therefore cease to be available as resources for a positive identity. As Mark told me in one of his interviews “*Kazakh and Kazakhstani are different for me*”, in that he can claim to be the latter but not the former. It is not surprising then, that Mark tends not to take up explicit, metapragmatic stances towards the practices of multilingualism or translanguaging throughout the course of our discussion, as these are unlikely to be useful to him as ideological resources in negotiating the identity positions he seems to value: namely as a good Christian or as an agentive, young entrepreneur.

Just as in performance, audiences and interlocutors can also be extremely important to the stances and identities speakers choose to foreground: as Bauman (2000) points out, everyday speakers are often acutely aware of their accountability to their audiences. This point is also raised by Mark himself, during discussion of a recording in which he was interviewing a foreign visitor to Almaty about his knowledge and opinions of Kazakhstan and its people. The interview task was a home assignment set by the teacher of his Intercultural Communications class at the university. The man, Peter, (pseudonym) whom Mark interviewed was a first-time visitor to Kazakhstan and, although he was originally from somewhere in Africa, he was now living and working in the USA. Mark's interview covered a number of topics including previous knowledge of Kazakhstan, preconceptions, first impressions and comparison of social structures and values. However, what caught my attention was the way in which Mark (Mk) made reference to himself, at different times as 'Kazakh' throughout the recording –an ethnic identity category to which he had not hitherto ascribed. This part of the interview is transcribed in Excerpt 14.

Excerpt 14: From Mark Interview

1. **Mk:** Mm. This is a guy who came here to Almaty, just for a few days. He couldn't um describe Kazakhs
2. **L:** Mm
3. **Mk:** Kazakhstani people
4. **L:** Yeh
5. **Mk:** And he was a bit interesting, what I found him was that he was from Africa
6. **L:** Yeh
7. **Mk:** He was born there
8. **L:** Mhm
9. **Mk:** And em Africa is a mm how to say this mm? ...Too eh too co-operate culture
10. **L:** Yeh. Cooperative?
11. **Mk:** Too cooperative. No not cooperative
12. **L:** Em it's a very communal culture?
13. **Mk:** Communal OK. Em very communal culture and between for example USA
14. **L:** Mm
15. **Mk:** Which is absolutely almost absolutely individualistic
16. **L:** Mhm
17. **Mk:** And mm such very communal culture, Kazakhs are something between
18. **L:** Right
19. **Mk:** We're we're something in the middle
20. **L:** Mm. Um what I found interesting and you can probably tell me more about this than I know, is that throughout the interview you normally, you ask Peter about his opinion about Kazakhs. Um so like for example you ask him to compare eh he talks about em I think you talk about how people are like either open minded or close minded, you said Kazakhs can be quite close minded sometimes about people from other countries and I'm just wondering is that word, what does that word Kazakh mean for you?
21. **Mk:** Kazakhstani
22. **L:** Mm I mean, I'm guessing, I'm guessing but I may be wrong here that ethnically you're not Kazakh?
23. **Mk:** No I'm not
24. **L:** OK. I don't like to assume, but I was guessing
25. **Mk:** (laugh)
26. **L:** (laugh)
27. **Mk:** I mean you had a right to assume that I'm not a Kazakh
28. **L:** OK (laugh) I see
29. **Mk:** It was a reasonable assumption (laugh)
30. **L:** OK
31. **Mk:** Something like
32. **L:** OK that's fine. Em so why why use that word? And use to describe
33. **Mk:** Myself?
34. **L:** Well, I think sometimes you do, like ahh, well sometimes you do sometimes you don't. Like when you're telling them about your family in Karaganda you said (reading) I'll tell you a little bit about Kazakhs now. I'm from Almaty and my parents are from Karaganda, but when my parents come to Almaty they say its like day and night. So in that situation you seem to be using the word Kazakh [to] refer to yourself
35. **Mk:** [Mm] (laugh) My dad will kill me
36. **L:** Sorry?
37. **Mk:** My dad will kill me if I said I am Kazakh
38. **L:** Really? ... (laugh)
39. **Mk:** No I'm just kidding
40. **L:** Yeh
41. **Mk:** ...um...
42. **L:** Are there different words in Russian?
43. **Mk:** Yes
44. **L:** Yeh
45. **Mk:** Kazakhstani and Kazakh are different for me for example
46. **L:** OK
47. **Mk:** But
48. **L:** Are those Russian words Kazakh and Kazakhstani?
49. **Mk:** Yes we have also different. Kazakhstani and Kazakh
50. **Mk:** OK same in English. Exactly Kazakhstani is someone who lives in Kazakhstan
51. **L:** Mhm
52. **Mk:** Kazakh is some someone who ethnically belongs to Kazakhs
53. **L:** Yeh
54. **Mk:** Russian is someone who ethnically belongs to Russia, but if he lives in Kazakhstan he is probably a Kazakhstani
55. **L:** Mhm yes yep
56. **Mk:** And that's what I understand, but I couldn't ehm I couldn't um I couldn't predict if Peter understands what is the difference between Kazakh and Kazakhstani
57. **L:** Ahhh OK
58. **Mk:** Yeh and for him for example, describing a person from Kazakhstan I used Kazakh
59. **L:** Well many, its not only you many people do em
60. **Mk:** Its easier again, mm less questions. Its all about sort of keeping annoying questions to a minimum.
61. **L:** Actually very few people use the word Kazakhstani that I hear
- Mk:** I think sometimes when I re when I remember I think maybe better Kazakhstani. OK Kazakhstani

This is one of the few occasions in which Mark and I discuss ethnicity. I was intrigued by Mark's fluctuating use of the terms Kazakh, Kazakhstani and Russian in his interview with this 'foreigner'. I had begun by asking Mark to tell me about Peter, his interviewee. In his reply in turn 1, he told me that this man "*couldn't describe Kazakhs*", before instantly correcting himself to say, "*Kazakhstani people*". At this point in the conversation he seemed a little anxious regarding which of these terms to use and his subsequent comments make it ambiguous whether he indeed means 'ethnically Kazakh people' or 'citizens of Kazakhstan'. For example, in turn 17 he says, that '*Kazakhs are something between*' his perceived notions of communal African culture and the individualistic society of the US, adding in turn 19, "*we're something in the middle*". The first of these comments make it unclear whether or not he is including himself in the reference to 'Kazakhs', but the follow up use of the pronoun 'we' suggests that he is.

I was intrigued by this, especially as I had noticed his reflexive use of this term in the recording of the original interview as well. It is for this reason, that in turn 20, I bring this to his attention and asked, "*What does that word Kazakh mean for you?*" At this, Mark instantly re-introduces the word 'Kazakhstani', as if once again correcting himself and demonstrating his awareness of the distinction for me, his interlocutor. Very tentatively, I press on in turn 22, to check that he does not consider himself to be ethnically Kazakh. He is very clear in his reply in turn 23 '*No. I'm not*', but then laughingly tells me that my assumption was warranted (our laughter is because this is so blatantly obvious, given his European physical appearance, his first and last name and his religion). I was reassured by our shared laughter that he was not going to take offence at this line of questioning and so went on to ask him about specific instances in his recording where he describes himself using the word 'Kazakh'. For example, when he talks to Peter about his family life, saying "*I'll tell you a little bit about Kazakhs now. I'm from Almaty and my parents are from Karaganda, but when my parents come to Almaty they say it's like day*

and night.” (turn 34). Mark seemed a little shocked that he had said this, replying, half-jokingly that his father would kill him if he knew his son had done this. We then go on to establish that Russian equivalents exist to distinguish between ‘Kazakhs’ and ‘Kazakhstani’ (*Kazah* and *Kazahstanetz*), just as they do in English, and Mark demonstrates his understanding of this semantic and linguistic distinction (turn 42 to 54).

However, although Mark asserts that “*Kazakh and Kazakhstani are different for me*”, he goes on to explain in turn 56, that due to Peter’s apparent lack of knowledge about Kazakhstan, the distinction in these terms would be meaningless. It is worth noting that the term he chooses to use, on the basis that this foreigner might find it more recognisable, is Kazakh and not Kazakhstani. Based on the notes in my researcher journal, this could be because of the common misuse of this term by English speakers both in Kazakhstan and internationally (for example BBC coverage of the 2012 Olympics or ESPN coverage of the Sochi Winter Olympics) or could be shaped by the more widespread use of the term Kazakh in local languages too – for example the name of the university being ‘Kazakh Scientific University’. Dave (2004) also comments that the term Kazakhstani, referencing a civic identity, was met with apathy from the majority of her informants in Almaty. This could be seen to constitute an officially reinforced, widely reproduced ideological ambiguity, in which titular ethnic identities are tacitly privileged above civic belonging. Jaffe (2009:113) warns that, when identities are presupposed like this, and not openly articulated, they are often represented as not being open to question or contestation.

In turn 61, Mark admits that, when he has time to think about it, he feels the words Kazakhstani might better be used to describe himself, but that, in the case of this interview, he uses the term ‘Kazakh’, which he presumes to be less marked in English (as indeed it would be in everyday conversation in Kazakh or Russian) to try to keep “*annoying questions to a minimum*” (turn 60). Avoidance of ‘annoying questions’ was a recurring feature of Mark’s conversations with

me, often carefully selecting the words he used to describe himself, in order not to have to explain too much of his personal business to unfamiliar interlocutors. Mark, like Farhat, was keen to construct a position of agency, and that this seems to be an identity he considers important to his sense of self. In light of this, his use of the ethnically indexing linguistic sign ‘Kazakh’ is more understandable. His view that it might be less marked in English than the more formal and ‘politically correct’ term ‘Kazakhstani’ suggests that his use of this word will draw fewer questions from his interlocutor. The absence of such questions, not only saves him time and energy, but also means he avoids having to negotiate a positive identity for himself, in which ethnicity is not significant, whilst drawing on linguistic resources that are highly ideologically laden in terms of the ethnic identities they index.

5.8 Dariga Constructs Her Own Multilingual Meta-Discursive Space: Stance-Taking and Performance

The previous sections in this chapter have focussed on metacommentaries in interview contexts, and how each of the key participants drew on a range of language ideologies to construct their positive stances toward their particular, multilingual communicative repertoires, in the effort to negotiate positive multilingual identities for themselves and others. However, to suggest that participants’ metapragmatic comments on multilingualism and translanguaging were always positive would be an inaccurate representation of the data. This final section explores another example of metalinguistic commentary from Dariga, in which, in contrast to her interview data, she adopts a nuanced stance toward translanguaging that is more critical. Moreover, this example differs from those discussed above in a number of other ways. Firstly, in interviews, speakers were effectively invited to make meta-discursive comments on their own language

practices, but there were other instances throughout the study where participants created contexts for meta-pragmatic commentary in ways which I, the researcher, did not anticipate. This final section deals with the agentive creation of such a space by Dariga. Secondly, Dariga's metalinguistic commentary here is multimodal, in that it took both written and spoken form, drawing on both orthographic and verbal linguistic resources.

5.8.1 Dariga's Translanguaging Transcription and Follow-up Interview

As well as being one of my key participants, Dariga also worked with me after the data collection was completed, helping with the transcription and translation of selected recordings in Kazakh and Russian. I was extremely intrigued, when I came across her transcription of Meiram's academic English classes, in which, for the first time, she had transcribed English utterances using Russian Cyrillic symbols.

In this recording of Meiram's Academic English class, the local, ethnically Tatar, Russophone teacher (R) and the students are discussing a text about conservation of the Terracotta Warriors in China. The recording begins with a teacher-led, whole class discussion of the topic. Although this interaction is mostly conducted in English, the teacher occasionally uses Russian to help students understand the meaning of a new word, to scaffold them toward an answer or to check their comprehension. Then, he asks the students to work in pairs, to think of three historically important places around the world and two in Kazakhstan. In the recording, we hear Meiram working together with another, Kazakh speaking student to accomplish this task, with both drawing on Kazakh, Russian and English linguistic resources. Although I found the translanguaging in this section interesting in itself (this was discussed with Meiram in our interviews) what most drew my attention was the way in which Dariga had transcribed the

interaction. I would have expected her to use Russian Cyrillic for Russian words, Kazakh Cyrillic for Kazakh words and Latin letters for English words (as she did elsewhere). However, I noticed that here she often, but not always, represented English words with Cyrillic letters (see Excerpt 15).

In this transcript, **Blue** represents signs that would tend to be Russian language indexing, **green** represents signs that would tend to be Kazakh language indexing Kazakh and **red** signs that would tend to be English language indexing. I have modified Dariga’s original transcript by providing a transliteration of sections that have been transcribed in an unconventional way using the <international phonemic alphabet>.

Excerpt 15: Transcription and Translation of Meiram’s Academic English Class

M (Meiram) and S are students. T is teacher (R)

Turn		Dariga’s Transcription (modified by researcher)	Dariga’s Translation
1	T	OK. Now please in pairs. Exercise one, work with a partner. Name three important historic places around the world and two in Kazakhstan	OK. Now please in pairs. Exercise one, work with a partner. Name three important historic places around the world and two in Kazakhstan
2	M	сити оф Отырар < Siti of ɔtra:ra:r >	City of Otyrar
3	S	Казакша < kazaqʃa: > да	In Kazakh, yes
4	T	Two in Kazakhstan three around the world	Two in Kazakhstan three around the world
5	M	historic places around the world ааа Отырар по моему ин Казахстан. Түркістан. Түркістан Отырар потом Суяб аа Суяб ол Қырғызтан ғой.	Historic places around the world, ааа, Otyrar in my opinion, in Kazakhstan. Turkistan. Turkistan then Suyab, аа, Suyab is Kyrgyzstan
6	S	Жоқ қаз қазір бар,жерлер	No, n now existing places
7	M	қазір барлар ма (whispering) есік мысалы	Now existing? Esyk for example
8	S	Есік аа Есік иә дұрыс	Esyk аа Esyk, yes, right
9	M	ин зе уорлд араун уорлд <in zje uärlɔd araun uärlɔd >	In the world around the world
10	S	араун зе уорлд ту <araun zje ua:rlɔd tu >xxx араун зе уорлд. <ara:un zje ua:rlɔd > Великая Китайская Стена, потом иш пирамида Хеопс и в Египте потом ... не бар?	Around the world two xxx around the world. The Great Chinese Wall, then the Giza pyramids and in Egypt then, what do we have?
11	M	mmm	mmm
12	T	ок сри <sri>	OK three
13	M	ее моене бар ед	Oh my god, what else do we have?
14	T	ин зе уорлд ту ин Казакстан xxx <in zje ua:rlɔd tu in Kazakstan >	In the world two in Kazakhstan xxx

When I first read this, I was puzzled. Dariga is a strong upper intermediate user of English and also has excellent proficiency in both Kazakh and Russian, so I doubted her mixing of orthographic systems could be counted as simple ‘mistakes’. I was curious if this practice was conscious on Dariga’s part and if it was something she did in any other contexts. In order to pursue these questions, I organised a follow up meeting, took notes during it and wrote these up into interview-field-notes afterwards. An excerpt from this field-note is given below.

*One thing which Dariga made very clear was that her use of the different orthographies was purposeful. She explained that she had transcribed certain ‘English’ utterances in Cyrillic (such as *ин зе уорлд араун уорлд* (in the world) and *ок три* (OK three) because the pronunciation of the speaker made it seem more like part of Russian or Kazakh speech than a ‘proper’ switch to English. I had noticed that she used this strategy not only with certain student utterances, but sometimes for the teacher too. Therefore, I wondered if she felt that the English utterances she had transcribed in Cyrillic were examples of ‘bad’ English. She didn’t seem to think so, but rather she wanted to show that she thought the speakers were ‘thinking’ in Kazakh or Russian. Then, before I had the chance to bring it up, Dariga pointed out in S’s first turn where she had transcribed the Kazakh word *казакша* (Kazakhsha, meaning Kazakh, or in Kazakh) in Russian rather than Kazakh Cyrillic, saying that here she also did this to show that the Kazakh word was pronounced in Russian way. She continued by saying that this kind of thing annoyed her a lot, because it shows that the speaker can speak Kazakh, but does so in bad way. She feels that such mispronunciation is acceptable from ‘Russians or English speakers’, because they do not know how to properly make the Kazakh *қ* or *э* sounds and therefore have an accent. There is another example of this later in her transcription of the same class discussion, when the Tatar teacher translated the word church for the students as *Meuum* (mjɛʃit - meaning mosque). Here Dariga pointed out that this word, as she wrote is not really*

'correct' in either Kazakh (where it should be Мешым – mjɛʃ'ut) or Russian (where it should be Мечум – mɛʃ'it) (also мәчем – mæʃ'it in Tatar), but the teacher is not a Kazakh and therefore his mispronunciation is understandable. However, she thinks that there is no excuse for Kazakh people "speaking their own language in a wrong or lazy way". I also asked her if she mixed languages and scripts in this way in other contexts. She thought for a moment and then said, 'not really'. She said that normally in classes she wrote English in Latin letters, except on very rare occasions.

5.8.2 Analysis of Dariga's Improvised Metacommentary

My conversation with Dariga makes it clear that her mixing of Latin and Cyrillic characters was a conscious strategy that allowed her to foreground her own stances towards the speaking of Kazakh, Russian and English and in so doing, to position both herself and the speakers in the transcript in relation to certain linguistic ideologies relating to linguistic identities in Kazakhstan. Therefore, I would argue that this constitutes an example of agentive contextualisation, in which Dariga transforms a straightforward transcription task into a meta-discursive space for translanguaging, and an opportunity for the negotiation of stance and identity. Holland et al (1998:272) also identify agency as being drawn on in such improvisations, in which actors, like Dariga, arrange voices in particular ways, in response to a particular time and space, to author specific identities. Dariga's non-standard use of Latin and Russian Cyrillic orthographic signs, helps her to draw attention to the way in which pronunciation of certain phonemes are often taken as indices of a Kazakh speaker's moral character, patriotism and ethnic authenticity. In Dariga's transcription, much of this evaluation revolves around the signs к, і, and ы, where 'correct' pronunciation of these phonemes is widely

seen as a marker of a ‘good’ Kazakh speaker and a ‘good’ Kazakh, whereas ‘incorrect’ realisation of these signs is seen to index that the speaker does not speak ‘good Kazakh’ on account of being a dominant Russian speaker (with the ‘mispronunciation’ often accounted for by cross-linguistic transfer). This is precisely what Dariga told me she was trying to show in her transcription of *казакша* in line 3 and *Мешит* later in the same transcript. These were ideological stances that I also encountered repeatedly in other interviews and field-notes.

Dariga’s transcription and our subsequent discussion again raises the issue that it is often not only the speech that is being evaluated, but the speaker, and that this evaluation is strongly influenced by assumptions about the speaker’s identity. Therefore, Dariga told me, it is acceptable that non-Kazakhs speak the language with imperfect pronunciation, however, when people of Kazakh ethnicity badly pronounce ‘*their own*’ language it is perceived negatively: as she put it “*there is no excuse for Kazakh people speaking their own language in a wrong or lazy way*”. As has been discussed previously, this stance draws on the ideology, vigorously reinforced at the time through much of Kazakh language education, state discourses and the media, that speaking ‘good’ Kazakh is the moral obligation of all Kazakh people and that failure to do exposes that person to being negatively indexed as lazy, morally lacking, unpatriotic, or as ‘*shala Kazakh*’. As Gal (2006:17) argues, such discourses of standardisation are not just about speaking, but are ways of exhibiting loyalty to norms of correctness, supported by powerful institutions, such as nation states. On the other hand, although ‘local’ pronunciation of English was equally marked by Dariga, she did not seem to link it as much to the moral character of the speaker. In other contexts of language revival, Jaffe (2015:177) also finds that bad accent in Corsican is problematized in performance, whereas a non-standard accent in English is not. Data from across contexts at KSU suggests that pronunciation of English is often

taken to index something about the speaker's education, class or professional identity, but in general English seemed tied more to 'what you can do or have done' rather than 'what you are'.

At the beginning of this chapter I reiterated that foregrounding stance-taking over performative aspects in the analysis of meta-discursive interactions, seemed more sensitive to participants' emic perspectives and concerns. However, as Rampton (2009:151) notes, such analytical lenses are rarely mutually exclusive and there is always an 'ineradicable leeway' in terms. Dariga's purposeful act of contextualization, in creating a meta-discursive space for stance-taking toward moral dimensions of translanguaging that were of great significance to her personally, in many ways brings the analysis back again, to notions of staged performance. Her consciousness and the reflexive control she exercises (Rampton 2009) fits well with Bauman and Briggs' (1990) definition of staged performance, as does the artful way in which she combines orthographic linguistic resources and invokes their indexical relationships. Also, the marked nature of the textual strategy she uses invites the scrutiny of the audience: myself as the foreign researcher of multilingualism in Kazakhstan, the imagined future readers of my research and perhaps even the super-addressee of the values and ideologies of Dariga's social context. Furthermore, the stances she creates not only co-implicate these audiences in the ideological framework of interpretation she constructs, but through positioning the audience she seeks to strengthen her identity as a 'good', authentically Kazakh speaker of Kazakh. This highlights how creativity in performance contexts can contribute to indexical links between stances taken and everyday language practices. As Jaffe (2015:4) drawing on Bauman (2000) explains, stance "highlights the dynamic way in which evaluative frameworks function [in performance], tying performers and their audiences together in ways that can both reproduce traditional models of language, identity and society and, by laying them open to scrutiny".

5.9 Conclusion: Stance Taking toward Multilingualism in Metacommentary

This chapter has considered the ways in which four young people at KSU drew on language ideologies of Kazakh, Russian, English to take up stances towards multilingualism and translanguaging and to negotiate identities and agency in contexts of metacommentary. The interview interactions analysed provide evidence of positive stances towards translanguaging being taken up by the majority of participants, whilst also highlighting the powerful role of contextualisation (Bauman and Briggs 1990), in shaping the way that linguistic and ideological resources are used and how they are interpreted. This therefore involves not only the place, time and socio-cultural expectations of interaction, but is also highly dependent on how the speaker's own identity is understood, how he or she positions the interlocuter/audience and the interactional objectives of all involved. The data shows how an individual's 'history-in-person' can powerfully influence the choice of stances taken up or the way that stances are constructed. Therefore, while non-Kazakh individuals like Mark, may struggle to make use of the positive indexicalities of Kazakh language to position themselves as moral or patriotic, for ethnic Kazakh participants these indexicalities and subject positions are more readily available. This highlights that linguistic and ideological resources are not only important in attempting to negotiate 'who you are', but that 'who you are seen to be' can have a profound influence over the way these resources are interpreted.

The data presented here attest to the indexical relationships of Kazakh, Russian, English and multilingual language practices being far from fixed, and often contested and contradictory. Whilst this can make these linguistic, cultural and ideological resources 'slippery' and intractable, their inherent amorphousness can, in other ways lend itself to the more fluid negotiation of identities. As Jaffe has commented about other multilingual contexts,

interactional, identity work is sometimes purposefully aimed at such complex, ambiguous and multiple kinds of alignments (2009:18). The different KSU participants made use of these aspects of ideological tension and amorphousness in different ways, to accomplish different contextual, interactional goals. Dariga, pursued strategies of aligning with or drawing on ideological resources and indexicalities from within established, dominant discourses to emphasise aspects of her identity such as morality, institutionally legitimised academic success, or ethnic belonging and authenticity. Meiram adopts a similar strategy to accentuate nuances in the stances he constructs toward multilingualism, for example, in striving to ensure his interlocutor interprets his unusual linguistic and academic background in the desired way. Farhat, on the other hand, openly resists dominant essential ideological links between language and identity and contests indexicalities that would position him as certain kind of person, on the basis of his language practices. Students of other ethnicities like Mark, may adopt strategies of avoidance, purposefully ignoring circulating discourses on language and ethnic or national identity that seem irrelevant to them or which they see as holding no value as a resource for identity construction.

Throughout Chapters Four and Five, I have explored the ways that ideologies of language are drawn on to negotiate multilingual identities in performance and metacommentary across contexts at KSU. In Chapter Six, I will draw out the main themes and findings from analysis of these data into an overarching discussion of four dominant ideologies of language that shape the social and linguistic context at KSU, and consider the implications these may have for multilingual, Kazakhstani people.

6 DISCUSSION

PERFORMING LANGUAGE IDEOLOGIES AND NEGOTIATING IDENTITIES OF MULTILINGUALISM IN KAZAKHSTAN

6.1 Introduction

Insights from contexts and performances analysed at KSU reveal a language ideological landscape that is indeed shifting, in flux and characterised by tensions, reiterating the claims of many other authors that Kazakhstan is experiencing a process of linguistic ideological transformation (Smagalova 2008, Pavlenko 2008, Dave 2007 etc.). However, the data gathered highlight that these processes of linguistic and ideological change are not merely abstract notions at state, policy and political level, but that they have real implications for the way that multilingual people communicate, learn, work, forge relationships and negotiate the kinds of people they want to be in day-to-day life. The interactions, performances, interviews and improvisations analysed can be seen as “precipitates of ongoing continual processes” (Silverstein and Urban 1996:1), in that they index the wider processes, patterns and discourses of Kazakhstan’s social context, in which they are embedded (Irvine and Gal 2000). Therefore, this chapter sets out to draw together the significant themes and findings from the data analysis of performance contexts and metacommentary, into an overarching meta-discussion. This chapter will consider how the insights into the indexical links between language and identity at KSU might relate to the wider processes of Kazakhstan’s language ideological transformation (Smagulova 2008) and potential implications for multilingual Kazakhstani people.

Across the interactional data from this multilingual, Kazakhstani, university context, four particular ideologies of language emerged as particularly prevalent and powerful. For the purposes of discussion, I have called these ‘separate multilingualism and the Trinity of Languages’, ‘Kazakh as *ana tili*’ (mother tongue), ‘Everyone here speaks Russian’ and ‘English as a discursive space’. To discuss these four ideologies of language is not to suggest that the data was not interwoven with a myriad of other discourses and ideologies. Nor is it to suggest that these ideologies were necessarily articulated explicitly by participants. But these four ideologies emerged from analysis as undeniably significant to the way that participants performed and negotiated their identities as multilingual people in Kazakhstan, and as resources for stance-taking in respect to their own and other language practices.

6.2 Separate Multilingualism and the Trinity of Languages:

As described earlier, the Trinity of Languages project (Nazarbayev 2007) was instigated to promote ‘societal tri-lingualism’, in Kazakh, Russian and English. With Kazakh, the state language, clearly in the foreground, it also aspired to the maintenance of Russian as the ‘language of interethnic communication’ and the increasing penetration of English as the language of successful integration into the global economy (Pavlenko 2008, Smagulova 2008, Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013). The Trinity of Languages makes it the obligation of each Kazakhstani citizen to acquire, have knowledge of and fluency in the three official languages. This idealized notion of perfectly competent, perfectly balanced, trilingual citizens is also constructed as being essential, both to the social cohesion of the nation and for international competitiveness (Nazarbayev 2007, Smagulova 2008). The Trinity of Languages therefore, represents a ‘separate’ ideology of multilingualism that foregrounds the importance of discrete,

bounded 'languages', rather than a flexible one that celebrates the heteroglossic use of linguistic resources to make meaning. The data collected and analysed from KSU strongly suggests that this ideology of separate multilingualism is not only widespread, but is significant, as an ideological point of reference and resource for negotiating linguistic identities and taking up stances towards multilingual practice.

This ideology of separate multilingualism was particularly visible in high-profile, on-stage contexts such the Presidential video conference, in which careful choreographing of linguistic resources created a context in which the Trinity of Languages, in a separate, balanced, idealised way, could be performed by both performers and audience. Staged alternation between Kazakh and Russian reproduced dominant, official discourses that constructs separate proficiency in both bounded languages as 'good' bilingual practice, with its indexes of educatedness and 'cultured-ness'. Performing linguistic and cultural resources that index the bounded languages of Kazakh, Russian and English together on-stage strengthens the ideological links between the Trinity of Language's linguistic aims - promotion of perfect, balanced, separate, individual multilingualism - with the political aims of building a strong, cohesive, stable national identity and of becoming a more competitive, global and developed economy. Careful juxtaposition of Kazakh and English as bounded codes with distinct cultural symbols, on the other hand, appeared to be emerging as an increasingly recognisable, stylistic resource in staged performance, that allowed the positive indexicalities of these two languages to be combined, in a way that was mutually strengthening, rather than threatening to either's legitimacy as part of the Trinity of Languages. Such on-stage juxtaposition of Kazakh and English seemed to be contributing to new indexical resources, available to participants for the construction of new hybrid identities, drawing on associations of elitism, globalisation and patriotism.

However, the separate multilingual ideology of the Trinity of Languages project is not just about linguistic competence, but acts as a framework within which acts of communication and meaning-making are interpreted in everyday life, positioning speakers in relation to social identities and morality (Clift 2006, Jaffe 2009). By explicitly tying tri-lingualism to national stability, prosperity and future development, and by aiming to create a population of speakers, each with equal fluency in Kazakh, Russian and English, the Trinity of Languages ideology seems to put the responsibility for realising this on the shoulders of individual citizens. As with many other aspects of post-independence national identity building, it is left to individuals to locally interpret and enact the cultural and ideological aspirations of the state (Schatz 2000). Therefore, by constructing the extent to which an individual embodies the Trinity of Languages project as sign of their patriotism and national pride, the way in which ethnically Kazakh speakers perform their multilingualism, whether separately or flexibly, comes to index them in moral terms.

These indexicalities are evident in other instances of contextualised multilingual practice from the KSU data set, from the anxieties that Saule feels around her on-stage translanguaging across Kazakh and Russian in English Club, to the strong belief of students and staff that learning to speak good English was only possible in a monolingual English environment, to Dariga's negative evaluation of Kazakh that included Russian language linguistic resources. In all of these and many other contexts, the ideology of separate multilingualism as an index of morality, 'educatedness', 'cultured-ness' and patriotism shaped the language practices performed, particularly those that were performed on-stage. This could have profound implications for the capacity of individuals to negotiate other identities (Rydell 2015), such as 'good citizen', 'good student', 'good Kazakh' or 'good woman'. Correspondingly, this ideology provides a framework in which flexible, translingual practice across language 'boundaries' could be

interpreted as negative or undesirable, thus indexing the speaker as lazy, impolite, or as lacking in morality, education or manners.

Albeit that this ideology of morality and patriotism through separate tri-lingualism permeated many contexts of interaction at KSU, there is also compelling evidence that this discourse is far from hegemonic. Perhaps the most striking evidence of this is in the stark distinction between participants' on- and off-stage language practices. While the kind of perfect, balanced multilingualism espoused in the Trinity of Languages was performed on-stage, off-stage communication was often noticeably characterised by reliance on Russian as an unmarked, lingua-franca, as was observed in rehearsals and preparatory activities, or by flexible multilingual communication through translation and translanguaging, both in and beyond the university. These examples attest the fact that mixing between Kazakh and Russian is a common and widely accepted practice in off-stage contexts, such as between friends or in the home.

Indeed, in contexts constructed as more off-stage, many students took up positive stances towards flexible multilingualism and translanguaging, that would appear to challenge the hegemony of the 'Trinity of Languages' separate multilingualism discourse. The key participants in particular were keen to justify these stances metapragmatically, through insistence that, when they and other people from their social circle drew flexibly across their repertoires of linguistic resources, they did so because they were able to speak all three languages well, and not because they lacked proficiency in any. Moreover, there were also instances in which participants challenged cultural expectations that on-stage multilingual performance should fit the ideological framework of the Trinity of Languages. For example the particular nature of juxtaposition of English and Kazakh indexing cultural and orthographic resources in the English Club Promotional Video and the student performances of songs such

as ‘Englishman in Shymkent’ that crossed linguistic boundaries for the purposes of creativity and entertainment.

Even though the ideology of separate multilingualism is not completely hegemonic, the fact remains that it is a powerful and highly meaningful resource to local participants in negotiating identities in respect to multilingualism. Jaffe (2009) notes that stances are innately ideological, but only have meaning in relation to other ideological positions from which they can be differentiated. Moreover, in order for the stances and identities individuals take up to be visible and meaningful to others, they must be constructed from recognisable resources (Holland et al 1998). Therefore, whether individuals choose to align or dis-align themselves with the indexicalities of the Trinity of Languages, it remains an important ideological resource for performing or negotiating stances and identities.

6.3 ‘*Ana Tili*’: The ideology of Kazakh as ‘mother tongue’

Whilst the Trinity of Languages project emphasises the significance of multilingualism to being a good Kazakhstani citizen, it also strongly posits Kazakh, as Kazakhstan’s ‘state language’ (Dave 2007), as central to this identity and to the achievement of the project’s aims, in terms of national stability, cohesion, development and competitiveness. And indeed, there is widespread reproduction of the dominant ideology that Kazakh, in this ancestral territory of the Kazakh ethnic group, is rightly afforded a special ‘first among equals’ status in the language ecology. This essentialist discourse links Kazakh ethnic identity with Kazakh language as an individual’s ‘*ana tili*’ (mother tongue in Kazakh), regardless of the extent to which they might know or use the language, or identify as a speaker. This feeling of entitlement to Kazakh as a mother tongue on the basis of Kazakh ethnic identity was clearly articulated and generally uncontested by

Kazakh and non-Kazakh participants alike. Taken in relation to other government policies aimed at strengthening the position of the Kazakhs and Kazakh language (Kolsto 1998), and the development of a Kazakh ethnic identity over a multi-ethnic one (Dave 2004, Fierman 1997), this essential link between language and ethnicity has deeper implications, both at a social and individual scale. Language policies that reproduce the 'concept of Kazakhstani civic identity with an ethnically Kazakh face' (Schatz 2000:490) were, most noticeable in high-profile performances, in which the marked on-stage use of Kazakh contrasted obviously with the syncretism of everyday language practices at KSU, and visual symbols and images associated with ethnic Kazakh heritage helped to perform an ethnically Kazakh concept of national, civic belonging on -stage. Furthermore, marked linguistic practices, such as the way Russian questions were closed with the Kazakh word of thanks '*rakhmet*', drew attention to the higher social status of Kazakh linguistic resources, by 'framing' the bilingual communication as 'patriotically' Kazakh.

The essential, ideological link between language and authentic, cultural membership was repeatedly observed to be an important resource for ethnically Kazakh participants to negotiate the kind of identities they felt were contextually desirable or meaningful to them. For Dariga, for instance, speaking 'her own language' is important to constructing her identity academically, as a 'good student', as well as moral, gendered identities of being a 'good Kazakh woman'. Alternatively, Meiram emphasised how the language skills and knowledge he acquired through Kazakh-medium education will make him more competitive, flexible and desirable as a future employee and contributor to the national economy. Farhat also highlighted how his ability to speak Kazakh makes it easier for him to negotiate good relationships with others, by appealing to a sense of shared pan-Turkic identity, compatible with his lived experiences in other parts of Central Asia.

However, the *ana tili* ideology does not always or automatically construe positive associations of morality, patriotism, cultural or national belonging for Kazakhs in Kazakhstan, for inexorably entwined with these implied entitlements, is also the implication that, as a Kazakh person, it is your duty to speak this language ‘well’ and failure to do so is often taken as indexical of the speaker’s lack of morality or cultural authenticity. Feelings of shame were expressed frequently by the predominantly dominant-Russian speaking students and staff at KSU. Moreover, not only does the ideology of *ana tili* construct the obligation for ethnic Kazakhs to speak their own language, it also constructs the significance of speaking it ‘well’ to one’s claim to a ‘good Kazakh’ identity. Aspects of language performance such as fluency, grammatical and lexical range and accuracy were all part of participants’ emic evaluations of ‘good Kazakh’, but in particular, the two linguistic features of pronunciation and the reliance/avoidance of Russian language indexing resources seemed to hold particular significance in judgements of Kazakh speakers.

Nevertheless, just like the Trinity of Languages ideology of separate multilingualism, not everyone accepts that the patriotism and ethnic membership indexed by the speaking of Kazakh are desirable. For example, the Kazakh participant Farhat took up the stance that linguistic competence is entirely detached from social identity, resisting dominant discourses that might index him as a ‘bad Kazakh’ or a ‘bad person’ for choosing not to speak his ‘mother tongue’ in marked, off-stage interactions. Rather, he negotiates the kind of identity that is most meaningful to him: one of a pragmatic, multilingual agent. Even though he takes up a stance that contests the implications of the *ana tili* ideology, this ideological framework is nevertheless necessary to make his opposition meaningful.

However, it is important to remember that indexicalities of ideological and linguistic resources, like those of *ana tili* and Kazakh, are rarely simple, one-to-one relationships (Blackledge and

Creese 2014), but rather multiple, in-flux, shifting and in tension (Gal 2006, Kroskrity 2004). In Kazakhstan, these new post-independence ideologies of Kazakh language exist alongside other indexicalities with their roots in the country's Soviet past: indexical links between dominance of Kazakh in one's linguistic repertoire and a backward, poorly educated, rural poor identity still persist today, especially in elite, urban institutions like KSU. Franziskus (2016) points out that such new language ideologies do not supplant their predecessors, but that both systems can co-exist, being drawn on at different times for different purposes. Although a great deal of effort on the part of the state and individuals goes into raising the profile of Kazakh, older negative indices do persist alongside the new ideologies of Kazakh, as the language of patriotism and progress. These competing interpretations on the kind of identities indexed by use of Kazakh linguistic resources are evident in the effort and 'language work' (Heller 2010) participants devoted to negotiating between these contradictory discourses. Particularly in their meta-discursive commentary, key participants take great care in 'interactional framing' (Linell 2013:175), in order to ensure that I, their interlocuter, interpret their performance in relation to the 'right' indices, thus negotiating themselves or others as the 'right kind of Kazakh speaker'.

It is important not to overlook, however, that the *ana tili* ideology's moral implications of 'linguistic obligation' do not extend so strongly to those of other ethnicities in Kazakhstan. But at the same time, neither do many of the positive associations of being a 'good' Kazakh speaker, nor the negative connotations of speaking it badly. These kinds of indexical links are constructed as most meaningful in relation to a particular, non-negotiable ethnic identity (Miller 2003) – specifically a Kazakh one. The term 'Kazakh' is used here, instead of Kazakhstani, as morality and patriotism indexed by use of Kazakh linguistic resources is powerfully connected to Kazakh ethnic identity, rather than a broader notion of civic identity (Eagle 2010). This kind of ambiguity is clearly evidenced in my interviews with Mark, a Kazakhstani student of

European decent and Russian language background. Despite the fact that he sees his non-Kazakh ethnicity as obvious and undisputable, and being able to clearly articulate the difference between Kazakhstani and Kazakh when asked outright, he repeatedly and inconsistently refers to himself as Kazakh. Mark's data highlights how habitual conflation of these categories make it difficult for non-Kazakh Kazakhstanis to negotiate linguistic identities and take up valued stances in relation to ideas of citizenship and national belonging.

It has been argued that speaking 'good Kazakh' is an index of morality and patriotism, but if this idea of national pride entails a Kazakh ethnic identity, then what identity positions does it create for non-Kazakh would-be Kazakh speakers? The language ideologies of Kazakh fostered by the state, the media and, to a great extent by education, create a positive identity that can be assumed unproblematically, by ethnic Kazakh speakers of the language, but for those who might be proud of other ethnic backgrounds, performances in Kazakh, leave very little 'space for authoring' (Holland et al 1998) or agency in negotiating alternative identity positions that might differ from the hegemonic ones constructed by ideologies like *ana tili* or Trinity of Languages. For non-Kazakh speakers, the positive indexicalities of speaking Kazakh, lose much of their relevance as identity resources. Indeed, Mark never took up a stance towards the ideological link between language and identity one way or the other. His aim was rather to avoid the 'annoying questions' that this kind of discourse might entail, which would merely be an obstacle to him negotiating other identity positions that were more meaningful to him, such as that of a 'good Christian' or 'promising young entrepreneur'.

Tightly controlled, on-stage performances such as the Presidential Video conference or even the English club promotional video can impose, overlook or erase the on-stage identities of non-Kazakh participants, whose social, educational and artistic 'off-stage' lives are lived in Russian, but 'on-stage' there seem to be limited legitimate places for these identities, voices or

achievements. Therefore, the '*ana tili*' discourse can be one of exclusion, as the ideological resources associated with it are not equally available to all speakers as a resource for the negotiation of identity. To this end, the common-sense and, at least in KSU, widely true, ideology of 'everyone speaks Russian' could be very useful.

6.4 “Everyone speaks Russian”

Often, when I told people in Almaty that I was learning Kazakh, I received a mildly incredulous reaction. “*Why? ‘Everybody in Kazakhstan, or Almaty, speaks Russian?’*”. It is true that over 90% of people in all of Kazakhstan’s ethnic groups claim to be proficient in Russian (Agency of Statistics of the Republic of Kazakhstan 2009), and there are relatively few monolingual Kazakh speakers outside rural or immigrant, *oral man* communities. However, the taken-for-granted notion, reinforced by the claims of many academics, that Russian remains the dominant, preferred language of communication in all domains (Eagle 2010, Dave 1996, Fierman 1997) obscures the fact that Kazakh language resources are also a crucial, constitutive part of many people’s communicative repertoires, used either as a separate, bounded language or in translingual practice, and also overlooks the important role of ‘context’ in shaping people’s linguistic practices. The data from KSU community would suggest a different socio-linguistic reality: that while almost everybody in Kazakhstan *can* speak Russian, Kazakh is also an undeniable part of Kazakhstan’ language ecology and is a vital resource, both semantically and ideologically to many people.

Off-stage regions of the performance contexts analysed, as well as other evidence from everyday interactions, attest to Russian as an unmarked, everyday language of communication in the KSU community. Dariga, for example relates how she started speaking more Russian

when she joined the university, because all her friends did. Farhat also chose to claim a monolingual Russian identity he felt would better protect him from negative positioning by his peers, associated with his early life in Uzbekistan. For students of KSU, being able to claim membership of this elite, urban, institution was a valuable resource for the construction of educated, intelligent, affluent, successful and competitive identities. In everyday, off-stage interactions, fitting one's language practice to the ideology of 'everyone here speaks Russian' was understood by many, whether explicitly or implicitly, as central to this process.

However, like the ideology of *ana tili* in respect to Kazakh, the ideology of 'Everyone speaks Russian' subsumes both positive and negative stances in relation to use of Russian linguistic resources. In this respect, context is fundamentally significant. In the performance contexts analysed, Russian language resources, whilst essential as off-stage resources to the ultimate achievement of the performance, are either not performed on-stage or are performed in such a way that the pre-eminence of Kazakh is unquestionable. In post-Soviet Kazakhstan, Russian has often been constructed as the main barrier to spread of Kazakh (Smagulova 2008, Aksholakova and Ismailova 2013) and the widespread, tacit subscription to the 'everyone speaks Russian ideology' is seen as a main obstacle to Kazakh linguistic revitalisation. Therefore, in counter-point to the *ana tili* ideology that constructs use of Kazakh as morally good, the use of Russian can be interpreted as a failure to use Kazakh, either through lack of ability or will, and correspondingly is taken to index such traits as lack of patriotism or respect or even morality and cultural authenticity for ethnically Kazakh individuals.

Context was also important in shaping the kind of stances individuals took up towards their identity as Russian speakers. Although predominantly Russophone individuals often articulated an affective stance of shame towards speaking Russian in contexts where the ideology of

Kazakh as *ana tili* was made particularly visible, in other contexts they might purposefully foreground their Russian linguistic repertoires in order to lay claim to valuable identities, such as membership of the elite KSU student community, or as affluent, educated, cultured urbanites. Nevertheless, regardless of context, the ideological resources of ‘Everybody speaks Russian’ seem to become meaningful in contrast to discourses and indexicalities relating to Kazakh and in relation to the ideological framework of *ana tili*. This is an intrinsically connected, yet polarised, relationship that some participants in the study seemed to be able to exploit, using the ideology of ‘Everybody speaks Russian’ as a resource for resistance to dominant discourses on language and identity.

6.5 Kazakhstan’s English Discursive Space:

Of the three parts that constitute the Trinity of Languages, English is arguably the newest to Kazakhstan’s linguistic and ideological landscape. Originally characterised by the President as the language of ‘successful integration into the global economy’ (Nazarbayev 2007:52), this ideology is still the dominant one in relation to English, and was certainly articulated and widely reproduced by both teachers and students at KSU. However, it is important to point out that while English constituted a highly visible and potentially powerful set of linguistic resources within the university, KSU’s language ecology was relatively atypical of other social contexts in Kazakhstan. This atypicality became a valuable resource for participants in constructing identities as local elites with access to globalised opportunities. The majority of students felt considerable pride in being part of this community and of their identity as ‘KSU students’. Foregrounding either their English language competence or their access to English language resources was one way in which students laid claim to legitimate membership of the KSU

community and the indexicalities of wealth, education, privilege, internationalism or competitiveness. As authors such as Pennycook (1994, 2010) and Lee and Norton (2009) have pointed out, discourses of English are often valuable resources with which people position themselves both in relation to imagined global communities and within their local societies. Similar to the findings of Seargeant in Japan, insights from the KSU community suggest that acquisition of English language resources in this context cannot be understood simply in terms of English's perceived economic power internationally, nor as a tool for communication, but involves "*a complex negotiation of identities within a society being recast by global forces*" (2009:160).

The ideological framework that constructs essential links between language, cultural identity and territory, therefore also positioned resources of the English language as not 'belonging' to Kazakhstan and its people, but as a commodity coming from beyond its borders (See also Leppanen and Pahta 2012). For the overwhelming majority of people I encountered, it was, first and foremost defined as a 'foreign' language. The view reproduced frequently by participants, was that foreign teachers, had a different 'mentality' that they were curious to understand and which they felt might help them to better 'think in English', something seen as connected to being a legitimate 'good English speaker'. Here, the authenticity and ownership associated with native speaker identities (Kramsch 1998) was closely dependent on the power of the '*anaitili*' ideology. The ideology that posits mother tongue as dependent on national identity is discernible here, in the way that native speakers of English are seen to embody the valued resources of the language. In many staged performances, proximity to and contact with native speakers became an index of internationalism, progressiveness, privilege, social mobility, education and competitiveness and was used by individuals in laying claim to these identities. Bucholtz (2003:400) has also observed that ideas of linguistic authenticity often draw power

from such essentialist ideologies, where, by biology, or culture, some groups are seen to possess the inherent characteristics of ‘genuine’ membership of a ‘native-speaker community’. Other linguistic signs like fluency of speech and ‘native like’ pronunciation can also function as indexes of these identities by suggesting the speaker has personal access to or experience of ‘native-speaker English’.

However, even though ideologies of mastery, mono-lingualism and standardisation had a powerful role in shaping contexts of English language learning across KSU, like the other dominant discourses, while powerful, it was by no means hegemonic. Some participants took up stances of resistance toward the indexicalities of English – ones that might position them as lacking in intelligence, aptitude or potential. (Hatt 2007). Ideologies of mastery, mono-lingualism and standardisation could also have the detrimental effects of inhibiting opportunities for multilingual speakers to broaden their communicative repertoires and to negotiate the kinds of identities that are most meaningful or contextually significant to them. In many contexts of English language learning, flexible multilingual ‘language work’ often either went unrecognized or was judged negatively, thus making it more difficult for young people to negotiate ‘good student’ identities, in institutional terms. By the same account, measuring the value of foreign teachers against the extent to which they could perform the identity of a mono-lingual English speaker, embodying the cultural resources and ‘mentality’ of the language, could also frustrate the process of language learning. Contrastingly, translingual ‘transgressions’ beyond ideologically constructed language borders in educational contexts, helped make performer/audience roles and off-stage/on-stage regions more permeable, often helping to create ‘translanguaging’ spaces for creativity and criticality (Wei 2011).

A great deal of the data from across a range of educational and social contexts suggests that the everyday English language competence of the majority of students did not match the level of

proficiency to which the university aspired. Like the Trinity of Languages policy itself, KSU as a perfectly balanced tri-lingual university was more of an idealized concept than a day-to-day reality and there is ample evidence to suggest that many students struggled with English medium courses. Perhaps partly for this reason, off-stage, flexible multilingual practices such as translation and translanguaging were not only common-place, but were critical to the achievement of goals, through aiding comprehension, encouraging inclusion of weaker learners and fostering confidence in English. For these reasons, many students tended to evaluate these off-stage practices positively, as being necessary and helpful. Often the symbolic value of English language resources outstripped their semantic meanings in everyday use (Sargeant 2009, Jaffe 2015) and in this respect, English language resources were frequently used in much the same way as Kazakh ones, more for their ideological value and for the identities and stances they indexed. As mentioned previously, this could result in carefully crafted, creative juxtapositions of English and Kazakh indexing resources, to construct a positive stance in relation to the Kazakh/English bilingualism that challenged both dominant discourses of endangerment as well as obliquely contesting the dominant ideology of ideal, separate multilingualism.

The data from KSU suggests that, rather than indexing essential notions of identity, as Kazakh and Russian practices often do, a person's use of English is often taken as an index of ability, experience or trajectory: 'what you can do and what you have done' rather than 'who you are and how good you are'. This makes the ideologically looser, discursive space of English a potentially important, pliable resource for negotiation of identities and for agency in taking up stances, particularly oppositional ones. The ideological resources of this 'English discursive space' are characterized by an inherent tension; a contradiction between reliance on established, essentialist ideologies of language and identity, yet simultaneously offering an alternative

ideological frame of ‘language as opportunity’, detachable and learnable like any other skill (Franziskus 2016, Duchene 2009, Heller 2003). It may offer a valuable set of resources for the creative and critical use of language across conventional ‘Trinity of Languages’ boundaries for the agentive negotiation of multilingual, hybrid identities and the potential transformation of existing language ideologies.

6.6 Ideologies of Languages and Linguaging in Kazakhstan. Tensions, meanings, resources.

Despite evidence of flexible multilingual practices, and the fact that many participants took up positive stances towards translanguaging, the concept of ‘Languages’ cannot be disregarded as irrelevant, either to the researcher or to the researched community (Jorgensen and Moller 2014, Blackledge and Creese 2014). This seems especially true in Kazakhstan, where traditional, essentialist ideologies of ‘Languages’ are not just extremely powerful, and socially and culturally embedded, but also of great importance to the state and individuals alike. It is in relation to sociocultural concepts called ‘Languages’ that people position themselves (Jorgensen and Moller 2014), and so it seems to be with the participants from KSU, who often relied on the ‘Language’ orientated ideologies of ‘Kazakh as *ana tili*’, ‘Everyone speaks Russian’ and ‘English as discursive space’ as resources for meaning-making and negotiating a whole spectrum of social identities. However, for these multilingual people, translanguaging across ‘official’ language boundaries could also become a ‘space for authoring’ in which to bring together different dimensions of their history, experience and to combine seemingly contradictory linguistic and ideological resources for the purposes of creative expression, critical reflection and transformation (Wei 2011).

7 CONCLUSION

7.1 Introduction

This linguistic ethnography aimed to investigate the ideological processes, practices and meanings of multilingualism in a university in Kazakhstan, and to explore how they shaped the negotiation of identities in the everyday lives of the young people in this community. In this Conclusion Chapter, I will first return to the research questions, summarising how they were addressed by the study's findings. I will then outline the research's contribution to knowledge, in relation to multilingualism and language in Kazakhstan, to research methodology and to theory, before going on to discuss the limitations of the project and to suggest possible directions for future research. Lastly, I discuss the implications the findings of this research might have for education and for policies and practices of multilingualism in Kazakhstan.

7.2 Addressing the Research Questions

1) How are language ideologies performed across contexts at a multilingual university in Kazakhstan?

As discussed at length in Chapter Six, the research conducted at KSU revealed four dominant ideologies of language that constituted particularly significant resources with which participants performed identities and stances in relation to multilingualism. The first, 'Separate Multilingualism and the Trinity of Languages', constructed on-stage performances of perfectly balanced, separate multilingualism in the bounded languages of Kazakh, English and Russian

as ‘good’ practice. Such performances not only position the speaker as a cultured and educated person, but also index an idealised notion of a Kazakhstani civic identity, in which embodiment of the Trinity of Languages by the individual is ideologically tied to wider concerns of national legitimacy, stability and development at a state level. However, it is important to note that such on-stage performances tend to privilege the linguistic and cultural resources that index an ethnic Kazakh identity, meaning that the Trinity of Languages is often performed as a separate, multilingual ideology with a distinctly ‘Kazakh face’ (Schatz 2000:490).

The second dominant language ideological resource in the KSU community, was that of ‘Kazakh as *ana tili*’, an essentialist ideology that constructed an immutable link between Kazakh language, Kazakh ethnic identity and Kazakh as mother tongue. These ideological links simultaneously construct Kazakh linguistic and cultural resources both as an entitlement and an obligation for ethnically Kazakh people. As an entitlement, this means that performance of ‘good’, separate, Kazakh language practices on-stage can allow Kazakh individuals to draw on the positive indexicalities of patriotism, morality and cultural authenticity in the negotiation of identities, but conversely, failure to do so makes the speaker vulnerable to imposed identities of being unpatriotic, lacking in morality or of ‘*shala Kazakh*’ (lacking in cultural, linguistic and ethnic legitimacy). The essential nature of this ideological link, however, means that the indexical meanings of ‘Kazakh as mother tongue’ are largely irrelevant to Kazakhstani people of other ethnicities.

For Kazakh and non-Kazakh individuals alike, the data from KSU suggests that the ideology of ‘Everyone speaks Russian’ constituted an important resource, both for negotiating identities and agency in resistance to the discourse of ‘Kazakh as *ana tili*’ and for the performance of elite identities and legitimate membership of the KSU community. Russian, with its historical and social associations to Kazakhstan’s linguistically and culturally

‘Russified’ elites can index the speaker as educated, cultured and wealthy. Unsurprisingly, it also constitutes an unmarked resource that is critical to communication in off-stage everyday contexts. Whilst there is evidence of some students at KSU employing marked use of Kazakh in off-stage contexts to purposefully construct stances of patriotism, morality and ethnic pride, for others, lack of communicative competence or confidence in Russian could be interpreted as indexing them negatively, associated with the imposed identities of rural, uneducated, poorer or less ‘cultured’ speakers.

English too, although a much more recent addition to Kazakhstan’s linguistic landscape, was also an important ideological resource at KSU for indexing the speaker as globalized, upwardly mobile, educated and modern. Participants were able to draw on these ideological links in performances of English language resources, highlighting the fact that at their elite institution, English linguistic resources and the symbolic resources of ‘foreign’, ‘native speakers’ were far more accessible than they were to the majority of Kazakhstan’s people. Moreover, juxtaposition of English and Kazakh symbols on-stage seemed to be emerging as a new stylistic resource, combining the valued indexicalities of both to index positive hybrid identities for performers. As Seargeant (2009:167) observes, in order to understand the ‘shape’ of English in a particular social context, it is necessary to see it both as an ideological concept and a communicative resource, that is dynamically constituted ‘in the relationships between English and the national language, between English and the identity of individual and in relations between English and local cultural frameworks of interpretation’.

However, while findings suggested that these separate ideologies of bounded languages were vital resources for participants at KSU, the data also demonstrates the extent to which the language ideological landscape of contemporary Kazakhstan “is characterised by social tensions” (Bakhtin 1981: 279) between old and new indexicalities, which open acts of language

to multiple, possibly conflicting interpretations (Bucholtz 2009). However, while their contested, contradictory nature could make linguistic, cultural and ideological resources ‘slippery’ and intractable on one hand, on the other, these inherent ambiguities could themselves become opportunities for negotiation of identities. Moreover, the data also revealed contexts in which linguistic and ideological resources were performed more flexibly, in which translanguaging across official language boundaries allowed “fluid discourses to flow and to give possible voice to new social realities” (Blackledge and Creese 2014:9, also Garcia 2009). However, performances of flexible multilingualism tended to occur in more peripheral, liminal or off-stage performances, with translanguaging practices generally being constructed as less valuable, less legitimate and as negatively indexing speakers in terms of morality, education or ‘cultured-ness’ in high profile staged performances. This suggests that contextualization (Bauman and Briggs 1990) of performances as more or less on/off-stage plays a vital role in shaping how ideologies of language are performed and interpreted in Kazakhstan.

2) How do multilingual individuals in this university use linguistic and ideological resources to negotiate identities?

In this shifting, in-flux language ideological landscape, it is essential to recognise that the indexicalities of languages or translanguaging rarely constituted one-to-one relationships between linguistic resources and identities. Rather, a given instance of linguistic performance could index multiple selves and social identities, some of which may be socially ambiguous, whether by accident or design (Jaffe 2009:18). It is understandable then, that the KSU data revealed many examples of the effort individuals devoted to ensuring that the linguistic and cultural resources they drew on and stances they took up were interpreted in the ways that they intended: that they ‘keyed’ the intended ideological ‘frame’ of interpretation (Goffman 1974).

This involved a great deal of ‘interactional work’ to invoke a constellation of other social identities (Jaffe 2009:8), helping the speaker to negotiate the kind of identity they desired in a given situation and/or resist being positioned in ways they did not want. Different participants made use of these ideological tensions in different ways, dependent on aspects of their history-in-person (Holland et al 1998) and in relation to the specific contextual or interactional goals they wanted to accomplish. Some pursued strategies of aligning with or drawing on established indexicalities from established, dominant discourses, while others, openly resisted dominant ideological links and contested indexicalities that would position them as certain kinds of people on the basis of their language practices. For students of non-Kazakh ethnicity in particular, interactional strategies of avoidance could be useful in ignoring circulating ideologies of language and ethnic or national identity that held little value to them a resource for identity negotiation.

In meta-discursive commentary, all the key participants took up positive stances towards separate and flexible multilingual practices to some extent. Data from other contexts at KSU chimed with their view of translanguaging, especially across Kazakh and Russian, as an unmarked practice in off-stage contexts and one that was as essential for the everyday life of the university community, as it was valuable as a space for more agentic negotiation of identities. In ‘translanguaging spaces’ (Wei 2011) participants could draw flexibly on resources from across Kazakh, Russian and English to negotiate valued and hybrid identities, resist identities imposed by dominant discourses of language and learning, build relationships and extend their multilingual communicative repertoires.

3) How is agency afforded and constrained through performances of multilingual language ideologies and identities?

Throughout the analysis of data from the KSU community, agency, as the socio-culturally and discursively mediated capacity to act (Ahearn 2001, Miller 2010), emerged as both as a significant concern for participants and as important to understanding the ways that language ideological resources were employed by these multilingual people to take up stances, position themselves and others and pursue interactional and social goals. Analysis of metacommentary by key participants provided evidence that constructing themselves as multilingual agents was often a central concern to these young people in interactions, negotiating spaces to author the kind of moral, academic, professional, gendered or ethnic identities that were most meaningful to them.

As has been mentioned above, although the inherent ambiguity in the indexical meanings of the resources they used could hamper the construction of agency, calling for great effort to be devoted to ideological ‘framing’ of these resources, in other contexts this ambiguity could render the indexicalities of dominant discourses more malleable to the ‘authoring’ of new identities and stances. Particularly in translanguaging spaces, perhaps due to their off-stage, peripheral or liminal nature, the permeability of roles and multilingual repertoires drawn on held transformative potential for the identities of individual speakers. However, just as the contextualisation of contexts as more ‘off’ than ‘on-stage’ could open up spaces for authoring, agency and translanguaging, it simultaneously positioned these spaces as at the periphery, rather than the centre of language ideological processes. Lacking the institutional power, legitimacy, authority and wider audiences of more ‘official’ onstage performances, in which ideologies of separate multilingualism are privileged, may severely limit the potential of such flexible, translingual practices to transform and afford agency in relation to more hegemonic discourses of language and identity in Kazakhstan.

7.3 Contributions of the Study

This research project has responded to the call for further research into the ways that large-scale language ideological shifts in Kazakhstan shape the lives and experiences of individual Kazakhstani people and social groups, and to acknowledge the role of agency in the process of linguistic ideological transformation (Pavlenko 2008, Smagulova 2008, Schatz 2000). The conceptual lens of heteroglossia and the linguistic ethnographic approach adopted were central to this aim, in the way that both view language as an inherently heterogeneous, complex and dynamic set of resources, the meanings of which must be understood in relation to real multilingual agents, in lived contexts of interaction. In looking at indexicalities beyond the boundaries of Kazakh, Russian and English as bounded systems, the research has shed light on the ways that their linguistic and ideological resources interact, compete, hybridise and shape the identities of young, multilingual people.

Although this fluid concept of ‘*linguaging*’ may often have run counter to the emic views of participants regarding their multilingual practices and identities, ultimately, heteroglossia and linguistic ethnography proved to be effective tools for investigating, rather than obscuring or problematising the tensions that characterised the linguistic and ideological context of the KSU community. As such, the research also addresses the issues raised by Pavlenko (2008) and by Wolczuk and Yemelianova (2008), regarding the need for research in post-Soviet and Central Asian contexts to engage with not only with local scholars, but with local frameworks of knowledge. While negotiating these ideological tensions could at times be difficult, finding ways for students and academics from the KSU community to shape the construction and interpretation of data helped the study toward deeper and more nuanced understandings of what

languages ideologies mean to Kazakhstani, multilingual people, as well as being a way of democratising the research process. (Hymes 1995:17).

The study's focus on performance, both in the everyday, interactional sense (Hymes 1996b, Coupland 2007) and in staged performances (Bell and Gibson 2011, Coupland 2007) has emphasised some important methodological and conceptual issues, in applying a performative lens to the analysis of multilingual contexts. The first is the importance of understanding processes of contextualisation (Bauman and Briggs 1990), rather than focusing analysis solely on the performance itself. My analysis of data from KSU highlights how attending to how 'performance contexts' emerge over times and spaces can shed light on the ways that some performances afford agency, becoming spaces for creativity, transformation and authoring of identities (Holland 1998), whilst others limit the power of agency and may serve only to reproduce dominant ideologies of language and to impose identities on their participants. Furthermore, analysis of these performance contexts has underlined the critical role of framing (Goffman 1974) the extent to which linguistic performances are understood to be 'on-' or 'off-stage'. The findings from KSU suggest that the contextualisation of interaction as being more or less 'on-' or 'off-' stage can be extremely powerful in shaping the kind of language ideologies, stances and identities performed by multilingual people, and the interpretations of linguistic and ideological resources by the audience or interlocutors. Liminal or peripheral spaces on the boundaries of 'staged performances', where the indexical meanings were vaguer, and where participant roles of performer and audience became blurred and permeable, emerged as particularly important spaces where the transformative potential of flexible, translanguaging practices could be taken up by participants.

7.4 Limitations and Directions for Future Research

The context of KSU, represented a valuable research context in which to gain insight into processes of language ideology and identity in Kazakhstan, as a university striving to put the Trinity of Languages policy into practice, and as a site located at the nexus between Kazakhstan's political, social and linguistic objectives and international flows and forces. It aimed to develop better understandings of the ways that these wider linguistic and ideological processes and shifts, might shape the everyday communicative practices of individual speakers, with particular identities, in particular contexts.

However, acknowledging the KSU community as belonging to an elite institution, with access to resources and opportunities that are not equally distributed throughout the population, conducting similar in-depth ethnographic studies in different Kazakhstani contexts has the potential to add further depth, scope and nuance to the findings discussed here. Furthermore, since the collection of my data in 2012-2013, I have been aware of further changes in Kazakhstan's society, particularly in its political and economic relationship with Russia and its Central Asian neighbours, that have resulted in further shifts in its linguistic and ideological landscape. Perhaps future research could investigate the implications these developments have had for how Kazakhstani people use ideological and linguistic resources and the identities they perform.

Lastly, although the focus of my study was on multilingualism, my competence in Kazakh and Russian at the time of research was still relatively limited, constraining the ease and extent to which I could engage with some of the multilingual audio data recorded by key participants. As I explained in earlier chapters, this meant that I relied heavily on interviews with the key participants in English, to explore the significance and meanings of these interactions. Whilst I

have argued that this may have constituted a more ideologically malleable discursive space, than had interviews been in Kazakh or Russian, I do feel, now that my proficiency in the local languages as developed, that in future research I would like to focus my attention on these kinds of interactional recordings in more detail.

7.5 Implications for Kazakhstan's Trinity of Languages

Doran (2004) argues that standardising ideologies, intended to foster national unity can often work against the recognition of heterogeneous, social realities and there is ample evidence that this was the case with the Trinity of Languages ideology at KSU. Although the idealised notion of perfect, separate tri-lingualism and its associated ideologies were regularly performed in 'on-stage' contexts, this concept was challenged by the more flexible, everyday multilingual practices of translanguaging on which the university relied in order to function, both as an educational institution and as a community. The 'heterogeneous social reality' was that the communicative repertoires of students and teachers varied greatly in the extent to which they included and employed linguistic resources from Kazakh, Russian and English. In this way, the Trinity of Languages policy at the 'scale' of the state and education seems to construct 'blind-spots' that silence everyday heterogeneity (Blommaert 2007b:16). However, the data from KSU shows how performances of the Trinity of Languages were only achievable through off-stage processes of translanguaging, in which multilingual speakers could "draw from across their collective linguistic repertoires to achieve the communicative aims" of a given performance (Madsen 2013:119).

Viewed through the lens of the Trinity of Languages ideology, that constructs that it is the duty of each individual Kazakhstani citizen to have full command of Kazakh, Russian and English

as discrete Language systems, this might be taken as evidence that the Trinity of Languages policy is failing, even in this elite, university context. However, taking the perspective that recognizes flexible multilingualism and translanguaging as valuable and legitimate communicative practices, suggests a different conclusion. Rather than being performed at the scale of the individual, in every-day life, the Trinity of Languages is being embodied at a communal scale, at the level of the university community. Institutionally speaking, students and staff experienced life and education multilingually, in Kazakh, Russian and English, with off-stage translingual practice providing opportunities to develop their linguistic repertoires across these three languages and on-stage performances creating contexts in which intimacy with the Trinity of Languages could be ‘scaled up’ to the collective level (Jaffe 2015:178), allowing the indexicalities of being a multilingual Kazakhstani citizen to be claimed, both by individuals and the community.

However, as previously mentioned, the majority of instances of flexible, translingual practice at KSU tended to occur in contexts constructed as ‘off-stage’, or in liminal, peripheral spaces. Such contexts represented both constraints and opportunities for participants in terms of negotiating identities and taking up stances. On one hand, in such liminal or peripheral cultural spaces, participants seemed more able to author alternative ideological links and stances in relation to the concepts of multilingualism and identity reified and reproduced in the Trinity of Languages discourse. However, these more ‘off-stage’ contexts, whilst potentially creating more ‘space for authoring’ (Holland et al 1998), also render these peripheral, liminal performances less powerful in their ability to reshape or transform indexicalities, language ideologies and social relations beyond the immediate context of performance, the aspect of performance referred to by Bauman and Briggs (1990), as the potential for recontextualization. Therefore, through processes of enregisterment (Agha 2003) authoritative, on-stage

performances, like those of the Trinity of Languages ideology, are perhaps more likely to influence wider audiences than liminal or peripheral performances of translanguaging. This may contribute to ideologies of separate multilingualism being more readily taken up and reproduced by the wider community (Coupland 2007) and thus having greater power to shape indexicalities and social change over time (Madsen 2013).

There is also widespread evidence of members of the KSU community taking up positive stances towards translanguaging practices, and using these stances as the basis on which to negotiate identities as skilled, agentive, multilingual Kazakhstanis, as well as acknowledging the value of translanguaging spaces for extending their communicative repertoires. It is my belief, that better recognition of flexible multilingualism as a legitimate and valuable practice, in educational contexts and official discourses, could move its transformative potential from the periphery into the centre, bringing with it new opportunities for language learning in Kazakh, Russian and English, for greater individual agency, and for wider social change. Moreover, I feel that it is important for policy makers and educators alike to critique the way in which the Trinity of Languages policy might privilege Kazakh language and ethnic identities above more civic notions of Kazakhstani identity, which, in some ways, constitutes a discourse of exclusion. Reproduction of essential ideological links between Kazakh language and Kazakh ethnic identities, make the positive indexicalities of both Kazakh language and the Trinity of Languages less meaningful to people of other ethnicities, as resources for the negotiation of positive social and multilingual identities.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

This thesis began with Smagulova's observation that Kazakhstan is "in the midst of a language ideology transformation process" (2008: 195). Research at KSU has sought to shed light on the ideological resources that characterise this process, and to consider how they shape and are shaped by the everyday lives, language practices and identities of multilingual, Kazakhstani people. I feel that Smagulova's term 'transformation' is also an apt one with which to characterise my study, as the insights co-constructed through the research process with the KSU community have highlighted the transformative potential of spaces in which language ideologies, linguistic resources and agency are combined. This is a transformative process that has been as true for me, as a researcher in Kazakhstan, as it is for Kazakhstan's multilingual people and society.

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Appendix 1

Full Data Inventory

1.1 Phase 1: Autumn Semester: August to December 2012

1.1.1. Participant Observation and Field-notes

Context ¹	Month	Details ²
ELD Meeting	August	Regular meeting of all English department staff. All staff. 1 hour.
1 st Year Orientation Meeting	August	Address to all first-year students by faculty Deans. 1 hour.
Presidential Lecture – Rehearsals and Live broadcast	September	One week of field notes, covering 5 rehearsals and the final broadcast to launch the new TV channel, Bilim (Knowledge). Approx. 10 hours.
ELD Department Meeting	September	Regular meeting of all English department staff. All staff. 1 hour.
Classroom Observation	October	1 st year. Academic English. Intermediate. LT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
Classroom Observation	October	4 th year Intercultural Communication. Elective Course. LT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
Music Club	October	Monthly GEM extracurricular activity. All years. 1.5 hours
Classroom Observation	October	2 nd year. Professional English for IT. Upper Intermediate. LT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
GEM Promotional Video	October	Sequence of meetings and activities with student volunteers to produce promotional video (approx. 8 hours).
ELD Department Meeting	October	Regular meeting of all English department staff. All staff. 1 hour
Classroom Observation	October	1 st year. Business English. Upper Intermediate. LT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
English League Debate Club	October	Student run extracurricular club. Regular meetings to train and practice. 1.5 hours
Classroom Observation	October	First year students. Business English. Upper Intermediate. FT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
English Club	November	Theme: Weather. GEM extracurricular activity. All years. FT. 1.5 hours
Music Club	November	Monthly GEM extracurricular activity. All years. FTs. 1.5 hours
ELD Department Meeting	November	Regular meeting of all English department staff. All staff. 1 hour
GEM Meeting	November	Meeting to discuss GEM activities. Head of Department and FTs only. 0.5 hours

¹ ELD: English Language Department

² GEM: Go English Movement,

LT: Local teacher, FT: Foreign Teacher

English Club	November	Theme: Gossip and reported Speech. GEM extracurricular activity. FT. All years. 1.5 hours
Classroom Observation	November	2 nd and 4 th years. IELTS. Elective Course LT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
ELD Department Meeting	November	Regular meeting of all English department staff. All staff. 1 hour
English Club	November	Theme: The Music of English. GEM extracurricular activity. All years. FT. 1.5 hours
English League Debate Club	November	Student run extracurricular club. Regular meetings to train and practice. 1.5 hours
First President's Day Address by the Akim of Almaty	November	Celebration (political rally?) for First President's Day. Address by Akim (mayor) to KSU students, performances, other speeches etc. 1 hour
English Club	November	Theme: St. Andrews Day Ceilidh. GEM extracurricular activity. All years. FT. 2 hours
Classroom Observation	November	1 st year. Business English. Upper Intermediate FT. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
Classroom Observation	November	1 st year. General English. Pre-Intermediate. LTs. End of Term Project Presentations on 'English Speaking Countries'. 1 hour. Post-class discussion with teacher
ELD Department Meeting	December	Regular meeting of all English department staff. All staff. 1 hour

Total: 25 participant observation (approximately 48 hours) and corresponding field-notes.

1.1.2. Interviews

Month	Type	Participant(s) ³	Details
Group	September	9 SEG participants. 1 st -4 th year. FIT, FOG and IE. All female	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. (1 hour)
Group	October	2 SEG participants. 1: Female, 3 rd year, IT 2: Female, 4 th year, IT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. Data. (2 hours)
Group	October	4 SEG participants 1: Female, 3 rd year, IT 2: Male, 2 nd year, IT 3: Female, 1 st year, IT 4: Male, 4 th year, IT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. Culture, society and politics in Kazakhstan. Data. (2 hours)
Group	November	7 Conversational English students. All 4 th year IT. 2 female, 5 male.	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. Culture, society and politics in Kazakhstan. Data. (1 hour)
Group	November	2 SEG participants 1: Female, 1 st year, IT 2: Male, 2 nd year, IT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. (2 hours)
Individual	November	Female, 3 rd year, IE	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English.

³ **Faculties:** IT: Information Technology, FOG: Faculty of Oil and Gas, IE: International Economics (**SEG:** Student Ethnography Group)

			GEM participation. Culture and society Kazakhstan. Future trajectories. (1 hour)
Individual	November	Dean	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Working at KSU. The ELD department. GEM. Future ambitions (1 hour)
Group	November	4 SEG participants 1: Female, 1 st year, IT 2: Female, 4 th year, IT 3: Female, 4 th year, IT 4: Female, 3 rd year, IE 5: Female, 4 th year, IT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. GEM participation. Data (2 hours)
Individual	November	Male, 4 th year, FIT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. GEM participation. Culture and society Kazakhstan. Future trajectories. (1 hour)
Individual	November	Female, 4 th year, IT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. GEM participation Future trajectories (1 hour)
Individual	November	Female, 4 th year, IT	Language backgrounds, use and attitudes. Studying at KSU. Experiences of education. English. GEM participation. Future trajectories (1 hour)

Total Interviews: 15 hours with contributions from 20 participants.

1.1.3. Documents and artefacts

Context	Month	Documents and artefacts
ELD Meeting	August	Emails, KSU brochure, Trinity of Languages Conference materials
Presidential Lecture – Rehearsals and Live broadcast	September	Emails, Recording of final broadcast
ELD Department Meeting	September	Emails, agenda
Classroom Observation	October	Intranet files, syllabus, copies of textbook pages, toastmaster handouts
Classroom Observation	October	Intranet files, syllabus, class worksheets, Power point presentations
Music Club	October	Poster, intranet posts, emails, songs, modified song, handouts, plan
Classroom Observation	October	Intranet files, syllabus, Textbook page, Intranet files, jigsaw text
ELD Department Meeting	October	Emails, agenda
GEM Promotional Video	October	Video
Classroom Observation	October	Syllabus and materials on intranet, textbook pages, role cards, word lists
English League Debate Club	October	Intranet announcement, power point presentation
Classroom Observation	October	Syllabus and materials on intranet, 20 interview questions handout, copies of textbook pages, demo lesson plan, demo lesson evaluation form
English Club	November	Intranet announcement, poster and lesson plan

Music Club	November	Intranet announcement, emails, song videos, handouts, plan, modified song lyrics
ELD Department Meeting	November	Emails, agenda
English Club	November	Handouts
Classroom Observation	November	Syllabus and materials on intranet, power point presentation, copies of textbook pages, demo lesson plan
ELD Department Meeting	November	Emails, agenda
English Club	November	Handouts
English League Debate Club	November	Poster, lesson plan, handouts
English Club	November	Intranet post and poster, power point presentation, photos
Classroom Observation	November	Syllabus and materials on intranet
Classroom Observation	November	Syllabus and materials on intranet, power point presentation
ELD Department Meeting	December	Emails, agenda

1.2. Phase 2: Spring Semester: February to May 2013

1.2.1. Participant Observation and Field-notes:

Context	Month	Details
ELD Roundtable discussion of Nazarbayev's New Year address	February	Required by State and Ministry of Education. LTs presented on aspects of address. Whole department discussion of how to put the Presidents ideas into practice (1 hour)
GEM planning meeting with new foreign teachers	February	With head of ELD, 3 existing foreign teachers and two new foreign teachers (1 hour)
Valentine's day English club	February	Speed dating and blind date activities. FT. (1.5 hours)
English league debate club	February	Led by student and attended by 4 students, myself and a new FT. (1.5 hours)
Music Club Open mic night	February	New format for music club. Led by FTs and student, with students and Head of Department in attendance. (2 hours)
Creative Writing Club	February	New club under GEM umbrella. Led by foreign teacher with students and 4 teachers in attendance. (1 hour)
KSU International Conference	March	Annual international conference, held at the university. Theme of 'Problems of Innovative Development of the Oil and Gas Industry'. Three languages. Student and staff presentations. (4 hours)
English league debate club	March	First under new 'Go English' format. Led by foreign teacher with students, head of department and IDC team in attendance. (2 hours)
Creative Writing Club	March	Theme of 'Developing Characters' (1.5 hours)
Island of Creativity English club	March	English club with creative writing theme, led by foreign teacher. (1 hour)
ELD Department Meeting	April	Monthly departmental meeting. (1 hour)
Comedy Improv English Club	April	Whose Line is it Anyway style comedy skit activities and performances (1.5 hours)
Academic English Classroom observation	April	Of new foreign teacher – for peer observation purposes. (1 hour)

Weather English Club	April	Language games and songs. Led by 2 foreign teachers. (1.5 hours)
ELD Department Meeting	April	Monthly departmental meeting. (1 hour)
Dormitory Nawrus Celebration	April	Organised by student committee. Traditional games, performances and food. Students and specially invited staff. (1 hour)
Changing World English Club	April	Language focus and discussion, with time lapse video. Led by foreign teacher. (1.5 hours)

Total: Approximately 25 hours in 17 contexts

1.2.2. Key Participant Audio Recordings:

Dariga:

	Week	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
IT Classes	80 mins (6 tracks)	60 mins (1 track)	198 mins (3 tracks)	93 minutes (3 tracks)	208 minutes (3 tracks)
ELD Classes	10 mins (1 track)		12 mins (1 track)		
GEM		12 mins (1 track)		14 mins (2 tracks)	
Other	14 mins	12 minutes	13 mins		23 mins
Details of 'other'	Comedy show and competition (3 tracks)		Shopping with mother (2 tracks)		Part time job (2 tracks)
	Homework with friend (1 track)				
Total: 12.3 hours approx.					

Farhat:

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
IT Classes	7 mins (2 tracks)	125 mins (6 tracks)		25 mins (3 tracks)	
ELD Classes	45 mins (1 track)				
GEM					
Other	12 mins	39 mins	1 min	17 mins	
Details of 'other'	Meeting with Uzbek bakers (3 tracks)	Helping 2 foreign lecturers find a new flat (4 tracks)	Talking about my study to friends (1 track)	Statistics class (1 track)	
	Maths class (2 tracks)	Office hour chat (1 track)		On the bus (1 track)	
Total: 4.5 hours approx.					

Meiram:

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4	Week 5
FIT Classes					
ELD Classes	22 mins (2 tracks)			30 mins (2 tracks)	
GEM					
Other	40 mins			12 mins	40 mins
'Other' Details	Kazakh History class (1 track)			Kazakh history class (1 track)	Kazakh debate (1 track)
	Kazakh Language class (1 track)			Music Interview for Kazakh newspaper project (1 track)	In the car with friends (1 track)
	At home with family (1 track)				
Total: 2.4 hours approx					

Mark:

	Week 1	Week 2	Week 3	Week 4 to 5	
IT Classes			98 mins (1 track)		
ELD Classes			20 mins (1 track)		
GEM					
Other	23 mins			78 minutes (3 tracks)	
'Other' Details	Interview for Intercult- ural Comm – unication course (1 track)			Church Youth Meeting activities (2 tracks)	
				In the taxi (1 track)	
Total: 3.7 hours approx					

Total interactional audio data: 23.7 hours

1.2.3. Interviews with Key Participants

	Interview 1	Interview 2	Interview 3
KP1	30 minutes	1 hour	1 hour
KP2	30 minutes	1 hour	Joint
KP3	30 minutes	1 hour	1 hour
KP4	30 minutes	1 hour	30 minutes
Total interviews: 8.5 hours			

1.2.4. Collection of documents and artefacts

I also continued to collect documentary evidence and photographs which I thought might help to further contextualise the other data on an ad hoc basis

1.3. Summary of Data Set:

Duration of field work and data collection period: September 2012 – May 2013

Semester 1	
Type of Data	Total Duration (aprox)
Participant observation and field notes	48 hours
Interviews: Group	10 hours
Individual	5 hours
Documents, artefacts and photos	4 months (Ad hoc August to December)
Research Log	5 months (August to December)
Semester 2	
Participant observation and field notes	25 hours
Key Participant Audio recordings (Selected 'key recordings')	24 hours (9 hours)
Key Participant Interviews (recorded)	8.5 hours
Documents, artefacts and photos	4 months (Ad hoc February to May)
Research Log	5 months (February to June)

Appendix 2

Phase 1 Participant Information and Consent Forms

Contents of Appendix 2:

- 1) English Language Project Outline for Teachers*
- 2) English Language Project Outline for Students*
- 3) English Language Consent Form*
- 4) Kazakh Language Student Project Outline and Consent Form*
- 5) Russian Language Student Project Outline and Consent Form*

As has been discussed in the thesis, in Phase Two of the research project, my focus shifted from English language to multilingualism. This shift in focus was communicated to those who had participated in Phase One and their consent was confirmed at this point. Although participants were given the opportunity to withdraw their data, none chose to do so.

In the following documents, the name of the Kazakhstani University has been changed to preserve the anonymity of participants.



Teachers' Project Outline

*My name is Louise Wheeler and I am currently studying for a PhD at the University Of Birmingham School Of Education, in the UK. My thesis will focus on **Language Ideologies and Identities in English language education in Kazakhstan** and I hope to carry out research at KSU. I would greatly appreciate the participation of you and your students in this project.*

Research Topic and Aims:

The research aims to investigate the language practices of Kazakhstani students and teachers in relation to English language learning. The study is interested in what students and teachers do with English, but also in what they *think* and *feel* about English language learning and how this might shape their lives within and beyond the university. The study aims to gain a better understanding of what the English language *means* for Kazakhstani people today and how this is related to other aspects of social and cultural life. The study is **not** concerned with evaluating the professional or academic performance of teachers and students.

Methodology:

In order to explore what people do and think in relation to English language learning, I hope to build a detailed picture of daily life in the English department at KSU. With your permission, I would like to attend some of your English classes and take notes about what I observe. I may also ask for copies of worksheets, lesson plans or student work. Later in the project, I would also like to make audio recordings of your classes. I may also make some notes about other activities in the English departments: e.g. English clubs, conversations in the hallways of teachers' offices.

Later in the project I may also ask to interview you about your experience and opinions of language teaching. With your permission, I would also like record these interviews.

Data:

I intend to collect data over the next 9 months. In the first stage of the project (from September to December) I plan to visit 2-3 lessons per week and make field-notes. In the data I collect, all names will be changed so that individuals cannot be identified. Data will be stored securely and will only be used for research purposes (In accordance with the UK Data Protection Act). You can contact me throughout the project if you have any particular concerns and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

Will the project be disruptive?

The project is interested in the everyday routines of English language learning and so, I would not expect you to change what you normally do in class. I will always get your permission before I attend any of your classes and give you advance notice of any interviews. Your participation in any of these activities will always be voluntary. You will have access to any data about you (field-notes, transcripts etc.).

Benefits of the Project

I am very grateful to the students and staff of KSU for their support in carrying out this project and hope that the research findings may be of interest to those involved in English language teaching within and beyond the university. As well as keeping you updated throughout the research, I will provide a written report to the department at the end of the project and would be more than willing to return to the university and discuss my findings with you. I also hope that the unique perspective of Kazakhstani teachers and learners may contribute generally to deeper understanding of what 'English as an international language' means to its users.

Thank you very much for your time. I hope that you will consider participating in this project. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at

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Useful Links:

University of Birmingham, School of Education: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>

UK Data Protection Act: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/>

[Contents](#)

Supervisors:

Professor Angela Creese: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/creese-angela.aspx>

Professor Adrian Blackledge

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/blackledge-adrian.aspx>



Students' Project Outline

My name is Louise Wheeler and I am currently studying for a PhD at the University of Birmingham School Of Education, in the UK. My thesis will focus on English language education in Kazakhstan and I hope to carry out research in the English department at KSU. I would greatly appreciate your participation in this project.

Research Topic and Aims:

The research aims to investigate the language practices of Kazakhstani students and teachers in relation to English language learning. The study is interested in what students and teachers do with English, but also in what they *think* and *feel* about English language learning and how this might shape their lives within and beyond the university. The study aims to gain a better understanding of what the English language *means* for Kazakhstani people today and how this is related to other aspects of social and cultural life. The study is **not** concerned with your grades or academic performance.

Methodology:

To find out about what people do and think in relation to English language learning, I hope to build a detailed picture of daily life in the English department at KSU. With your permission, I would like to attend some of your English classes or clubs and take notes about what I observe. I may also ask for copies of your written work. I might also ask to interview you about your experience and opinions of language learning. With your permission, I would also like record these interviews.

Data:

I intend to collect data over the next 9 months and would plan to visit your class once or twice a week. In the data I collect, all names will be changed so that individuals cannot be identified. The data will not be used for purposes other than those related to the study and will be stored securely (Data will be stored in accordance with the UK Data Protection Act). You can contact me throughout the

project if you have any particular concerns and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time.

Will the project be disruptive?

The project is interested in the everyday routines of English language learning and so, I would not expect you to change what you normally do in class in any way. I will always get your permission before I attend any of your classes and give you advance notice of any interviews. Your participation in any of these activities will always be voluntary.

Benefits of the Project

I am very grateful to the students and staff of KSU for their support in carrying out this project and hope that the research findings may be useful to learners and teachers of English within and beyond the university. As well as keeping you updated throughout the research, I will provide a written report to the department at the end of the project and would be more than willing to return to the university and discuss my findings with you. I also hope that unique perspective of Kazakhstani teachers and learners may contribute generally to deeper understanding of what 'English as an international language' means to its users.

Thank you very much for your time. I hope that you will consider participating in this project. If you have any further questions, please do not hesitate to contact me at

Useful Links:

University of Birmingham, School of Education: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>

UK Data Protection Act: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>



Language Ideologies and Identities in English Language Learning in Kazakhstan

Phase 1 Consent Form

By signing this consent form you are agreeing that

- I have read and understand the project information leaflet for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.
- I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.
- I understand that the researcher will not tell anyone that I have participated in this study and that information collected will remain anonymous.

I _____ (name) agree to take part in this research.

Signature _____

Date _____

Your contact details _____



Жоба жоспары

Менің атым Луиз Уилер. Қазір мен Бирмингем университетінің білім беру факультетінің аспирантымын. Менің докторлық диссертациямда мен тілдік дағдылары әртүрлі адамдардың ағылшын тілін үйренуін зерттеймін. Мен осы жұмысты ағылшын тілі кафедрасында орындаймын. Маған көмек берсеңіздер өте риза болар едім.

Зерттеу тақырыбы және мақсаты:

Зерттеудің мақсаты Қазақстанда ағылшын тілі қалай оқытылады және қалай игеріледі. Оқушылар ағылшын тілі туралы не ойлайды және ол тілді білуі өмірлеріне қалай әсер етеді. Зерттеуде біз ағылшын тілі қазақстандықтардың өмірін қалай өзгертетінін анықтаймыз. Біздің зерттеуіміз мұғалімдер мен студенттердің білімін бағалауды мақсат етпейді.

Әдістемесі:

Менің мақсатым КСУдың күнделікті өмірін көрсету. Мен кейбір сабақтарға қатысып, көргенімді сипаттауды жоспарлап отырман. Сіздердің рұқсаттарыңызбен кейбір дәптерлеріңізді және сабақ жоспарларыңызды көріп зертеу ойында бар. Ағылшын кафедрасының басқа жұмыстары туралы жазып алсам деймін. Олар ағылшын клубы, басқа жиналыстар және отырыстар.

Келесі кезеңде мен сұқбат алуға рұқсат сұраймын.

Мәліметтер:

Мен келесі 9 айда информация жинаймын: сабақтарға қатысамын және көргенім туралы жазып аламын. Менің материалдарымда мен аттарды өзгертемін, сондықтан ешкімнің аты диссертацияда шықпайды. Жиналған материал ғылыми мақсатқа құна пайдаланады. Мені ағылшын кафедрасынан тауып сурақтарыңыз болса сөйлесе аласыздар. Осы проекттен шығам десеніздер өзіңіз оны шешесіз.

Осы жобаға қатысудан бас тартамын десеңіздер, яғни жобадан шығамын десеңіздер кез келген уақытта мүмкіндіктеріңіз болады.

Жоба сіздің көп уақытыңызды алмайды:

Бұл жоба ҚСУ-да ағылшын тіл қалай оқытылатынын бақылайды. Бұл жобаға қатысу барысында сіздің күнделікті істеп жүрген жұмысыңызға ешқандай кедергі болмайды. Мен әрқашан сіздің сабағыңызға өз рұқсатыңызбен кіремін және сұхбат жүргізетін болсам алдын ала ескертемін. Жоба жұмыстарына өз еркіңізбен қатыса аласыз. Жоба барысында сізге қатысты барлық мәліметтерді (ескертпелер, сұхбат мәтіндері) сіз оқып, біле аласыз.

Жобаның маңызы:

Мен ҚСУ студенттерінің және оқытушыларының осы жобама қолдау көрсетіп, көмектескендеріне өте ризамын. Зерттеудің нәтижелері осындағы және басқа оқу орындарындағы оқытушыларға пайдалы болады деп үміттенемін. Мен жобаның қалай жүріп жатқандығы туралы үнемі хабарлап отырамын, жобаның соңында ағылшын тілі кафедрасына

толық есеп беремін. Докторлық жұмысымды аяқтаған соң жобаның нәтижелерін талқылау үшін Қазақстанға қайта келемін деп үміттенемін. Сонымен бірге Қазақстанның оқытушылары мен студенттерінің керемет тәжірибесі тіл үйренушілерге ағылшын тілінің халықаралық тіл ретіндегі маңызын сезінуге үлес қосады.

Жобаға бөлген уақытыңыз үшін Сізге көп рахмет. Сізді осы Жобаға қатысады деп үміттенемін. Сұрақтарыңыз болса төмендегі e-mail мекен жай және телефондар бойынша хабарласыңыздыр.

Қажетті сайттар:

- **University of Birmingham, School of Education:** <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>
- **UK Data Protection Act:** <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/contents>

Менің жетекшілерім:

- **Professor Angela Creese:**
<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/creese-angela.aspx>
- **Professor Adrian Blackledge**
<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/blackledge-adrian.aspx>



UNIVERSITY OF
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Жобаға қатысуға келісім

Төмендегі үлгіге қол қою арқылы Сіз келесі бөлімдерге келісесіз:

-Мен жоба туралы түсінік хатты оқыдым және түсіндім. Маған сұрақ қоюыма мүмкіндік берілді және қойған сұрақтарыма толық жауап алдым.

-Мен жобаға өз еркіммен қатысамын және кез келген уақытта жобадан ешқандай түсінік берусіз шығып кете аламын. Жобадан шығып кеткен жағдайда, менің тарапымнан берілген мәліметтер жойылатынын түсінемін.

-Өзім жайлы жеке мәліметтер 1998 жылы шыққан Мәліметтерді Қорғау Акты бойынша өңделетінін түсінемін.

-Зерттеуші менің осы жобаға қатысқаным жөнінде ешкімге айппайды және менің берген мәліметтерімді авторы көрсетілмейтіндігін түсінемін.

Мен _____ осы жобаға қатысуға келісемін

Қолы _____

Датасы _____

Сіздің байланыс мәліметтеріңіз _____



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

О Проекте

Меня зовут Луиза Уилер, в настоящее время я учусь в докторантуре Бирмингемского Университета, в Великобритании. Моя докторская диссертация посвящена изучению языковых идеологий и сходств в обучении английскому языку в Республике Казахстан, в дальнейшем я планирую провести исследование на кафедре английского языка КСУ. Буду весьма признательна Вам и Вашим студентам за участие в этом проекте.

Цель и задачи исследования:

Целью исследования является изучение языковой практики казахстанских студентов и преподавателей и степень владения ими английским языком. Настоящее исследование представляет особый интерес, поскольку направлено на изучение того, о чем студенты и преподаватели думают, когда речь идет об изучении английского языка и как английский язык может сформировать их жизнь внутри и за пределами университета. Цель исследования заключается в том, чтобы лучше понять значимость английского языка для казахстанского народа и его взаимосвязь с другими аспектами социальной и культурной жизни. Данное исследование не связано с оценкой профессиональной или академической успеваемости преподавателей и студентов.

Методы исследования:

С целью исследования того, что люди думают об изучении английского языка, я надеюсь составить более детальную картину о жизни преподавателей кафедры английского языка КСУ. С вашего позволения, я бы хотела посетить некоторые занятия английского языка и сделать некоторые заметки согласно своим наблюдениям. Я также могу попросить копии раздаточных материалов, планы уроков или работы студентов. В ходе проведения исследования я бы хотела также сделать аудиозаписи о Ваших занятиях и о других мероприятиях, проводимых на кафедре английского языка, таких как, например, клубы английского языка, беседа преподавателей в кабинетах.

В дальнейшем я планирую провести интервью с Вами о Вашем мнении и опыте преподавания английского языка. Я бы хотела также записать Ваше интервью с Вашего согласия.

Материалы:

Я намерена собирать материалы в течение последующих 9-ти месяцев. На первом этапе проекта (с сентября по декабрь) я планирую посетить по 2-3 занятия в неделю и сделать некоторые пометки. В материалах, которые я собираю, все имена будут изменены, таким образом, имена участников проекта не будут идентифицированы. Данные будут использоваться только в научных целях (в соответствии с Законом Великобритании о защите данных). Вы можете связаться со мной в любое время. Если у Вас возникнут проблемы или непредвиденные обстоятельства, то Вы имеете право выйти из исследования в любое время.

Является ли проект деструктивным?

Я всегда буду спрашивать Вашего разрешения перед тем, как посетить Ваше занятие, и предварительно уведомлять Вас об интервью, которое я буду проводить с Вами. Ваше участие в любом из этих мероприятий всегда будет добровольным, и Вы будете иметь доступ к любой информации, которая касается Вас (заметки на полях, записи и др.)

Перспективы проекта:

Я очень благодарна студентам и сотрудникам КСУ за их поддержку в осуществлении данного проекта и надеюсь, что результаты исследования могут представлять интерес для тех, кто преподает английский язык в университете и за его пределами. Я буду держать Вас в курсе на протяжении всего исследования, на завершающем этапе работы над проектом я представлю кафедре письменный отчет о проделанной работе и буду готова обсудить с Вами результаты своего исследования. Я также надеюсь, что уникальные перспективы казахстанских преподавателей и учащихся, в целом, могут способствовать более глубокому пониманию того, что «английский как международный язык» представляет для своих пользователей.

Спасибо Вам большое за Ваше время. Я надеюсь, что Вы рассмотрите возможность участия в этом проекте. Если у Вас возникнут какие-либо вопросы, пожалуйста, свяжитесь со мной по электронной почте [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Ссылки:

University of Birmingham, School of Education: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>

UK Data Protection Act: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/>

[Contents](#)

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Professor Angela Creese:

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/creese-angela.aspx>

Professor Adrian Blackledge

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/blackledge-adrian.aspx>



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

**Языковые идеологии и сходства в изучении английского языка в Республике
Казахстан**

Стадия 1 Форма согласия

Подписывая данную форму согласия, Вы соглашаетесь с тем, что:

- Вы прочитали и поняли информацию о проведении настоящего исследования. У Вас была возможность задавать вопросы и получать на них удовлетворительные ответы.
- Вы понимаете, что Ваше участие является добровольным, и Вы имеете право выйти из проекта в любое время без объяснения причин. Если Вы выходите из проекта, то Ваши данные не будут использоваться в дальнейшем исследовании.
- Вы понимаете, что Ваши личные данные будут обрабатываться в целях, описанных выше, в соответствии с Законом о защите данных 1998 года.
- Вы понимаете, что исследователь не расскажет никому о том, что Вы принимали участие в этом исследовании, и собранная информация будет анонимной.

Я _____ (имя) согласен/согласна принять участие в этом исследовании.

Подпись _____

Дата _____

Ваши контактные данные

Appendix 3

Example Individual Interview Guide

This an example of the kind of ‘interview guide’ would prepare ahead of individual and group semi-structured interviews in Phase One of the study. These guides were informed by my previous observations and experience with the individual in question, as well as the wider context of KSU. These guides were meant to be flexible – keeping the interview anchored to the research questions, but allowing for the interviewee to take the discussion in any other directions they felt was relevant.

Example Phase One Interview Guide, with the Dean

- **Thank and check consent to make notes. Reiterate issues of confidentiality, anonymity and right to withdraw.**
- What is your history at the university? How did you become Dean?
- What does your position involve?
- What are your aims and priorities for the Languages Department?
- Do you think the university is changing?
- You said that the university is trying to ‘put the Trinity of Languages into Practice’. How so? Why? What are the challenges?
- Why did you introduce English as the new ‘working language’ of the English department?
- The Go English Movement was your idea – why did you introduce it? What is its aim? Why is it important that students are involved in organising it? Why are foreign teachers so important to this movement? Why are you considering offering students extra credit?
- Discuss plans for data collection in the Faculty in Phase Two.
- **Any questions?**
- **Thank and explain that transcript will be sent for comment**

Appendix 4

Key Participant Project Information and Consent Forms

Appendix 4 Contents:

- *Information for Key Participants (outline)*
- *Information for Key Participants (plan)*
- *Consent forms in English, Kazakh and Russian*



UNIVERSITY OF
BIRMINGHAM

Information for Key Participants⁴

My name is Louise Wheeler and I am currently studying for a PhD at the University of Birmingham School of Education, in the UK. My thesis focuses on **Language Ideologies and Identities**. This means that the study is interested in what students and teachers *do* with languages, but also in what they *think* and *the* languages they speak and how this shapes their lives within and beyond the university.

I am currently looking for a small number of students to be **key participants** in the study. I need students who can participate from **March 11th to 15th April**. This would involve:

- Recording approximately 1 hour of audio data per week in classes and in some social situations.
- Meeting with me for an interview every two weeks.
- Keep a 'language diary' for one week.

All data you collect will be anonymised and will not be shared without your permission.

Requirements:

Key participants should

- Study in Faculty of Information Technology
- Study at least one discipline in English
- Participate in some of the ELD's Clubs (this does not need to be regular)

Thank you

⁴ After having met with key participants to discuss the planned data collection and offering to produce a Kazakh and Russian version of this document, they assured me that this was not necessary. In the first meeting, the students checked understanding with each other and with me and then had around a week to speak to other teachers and family members about what the project involved.



Information for Key Participants

Thank you for considering becoming a key participant. Below is the proposed timetable for data collection.

Date	Research Activity	Time for Activity
Week 8: 4 th March	Mid-term: NO DATA COLLECTION Informal meeting to discuss data collection plans and address questions	1 hour
Week 9: 11 th March	Recording of audio data Language diary	2 hours
Week 10: 18 th March	Interview to discuss data	1 hour
Week 11: 25 th March	Recording of audio data	1 hour
Week 12: 1 st April	Recording of audio data Interview to discuss data	1 hour 1 hour
Week 13: 8 th April	Recording of audio data	1 hour
Week 14: 15 th April	Recording of audio data 1 hour	1 hour 1 hour
Week 15: 22 nd April	Recording of audio data	1 hour
		Total: 12 hours aprox.

Details of Data Collection:

Recording of audio data: The study is interested in how people use languages in real-life situations and so, capturing the details of these interactions is important. This will be done by making audio recordings with a small digital recording device. Every week, you should give me a copy of the data you have collected. You will be asked to make recordings in some of your IT and ELD classes and during some English Clubs. Also, you will sometimes be asked to make recordings outside of class, for example in the dormitory, working on projects, lunch times etc.

You do not have to speak only in English at these times. The idea is to record what happens naturally. Also, you do not need to record in all classes, just for the periods

of time outlined in the table. During interviews, we will discuss which situations might be best, but the final decision about when and what to record is yours. You should always tell people when you are recording and ask their permission to do so.

Meetings and interviews: In the meeting in Week 7 we will discuss the details of the project and I will try and answer any questions you might have. I would also like to find out a bit more about you. After that, we will meet every 2 weeks for an interview. In the interview, I will ask you about specific aspects of the audio data you have collected. We will also plan what data will be collected next and talk about any suggestions or problems you might have. These interviews may be individual or in a group and will also be recorded.

Language Diary: For the first week only, I will ask you to keep a 'language diary'. This is basically a diary of what you do each day and which languages you use. This will help me build up a picture of what your everyday university life is like.

Ethical Considerations:

- Participation is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time.
- If you withdraw from the research your data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed
- The researcher will not tell anyone that I have participated in this study and data collected will remain anonymous.
- The researcher will not share your data without your permission.
- Data will be stored safely.
- You can have for copy of any of your data.
- Data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.

I will discuss further details with you at the meeting in week 8, but if you have any questions please do not hesitate to contact me [REDACTED]

Thank you



Language Ideologies and Identifies in in Kazakhstan

Key Participant Consent Form

By signing this consent form you are agreeing that

- I have read and understand the project information leaflet for this study. I have had the opportunity to ask questions if necessary and have had these answered satisfactorily.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason. If I withdraw my data will be removed from the study and will be destroyed.
- I understand that my personal data will be processed for the purposes detailed above, in accordance with the Data Protection Act 1998.
- I understand that the researcher will not tell anyone that I have participated in this study and that information collected will remain anonymous.

I _____ (name) agree to take part in this research.

Signature _____

Date _____

Your contact details _____

Useful Links:

University of Birmingham, School of Education: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>

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Языковые идеологии и сходства в Республике Казахстан

Key Participant Форма согласия

Подписывая данную форму согласия, Вы соглашаетесь с тем, что:

- Вы прочитали и поняли информацию о проведении настоящего исследования. У Вас была возможность задавать вопросы и получать на них удовлетворительные ответы.
- Вы понимаете, что Ваше участие является добровольным, и Вы имеете право выйти из проекта в любое время без объяснения причин. Если Вы выходите из проекта, то Ваши данные не будут использоваться в дальнейшем исследовании.
- Вы понимаете, что Ваши личные данные будут обрабатываться в целях, описанных выше, в соответствии с Законом о защите данных 1998 года.
- Вы понимаете, что исследователь не расскажет никому о том, что Вы принимали участие в этом исследовании, и собранная информация будет анонимной.

Я _____ (имя) согласен/согласна принять участие в этом исследовании.

Подпись _____

Дата _____

Ваши контактные данные

Ссылки:

University of Birmingham, School of Education: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>

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Professor Adrian Blackledge

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/blackledge-adrian.aspx>



Тілдер жайлы идеология және лингвистикалық сәйкестік

Негізгі Қатысушы Жобаға қатысуға келісім

Төмендегі үлгіге қол қою арқылы Сіз келесі бөлімдерге келісесіз:

-Мен жоба туралы түсінік хатты оқыдым және түсіндім. Маған сұрақ қоюыма мүмкіндік берілді және қойған сұрақтарыма толық жауап алдым.

-Мен жобаға өз еркіммен қатысамын және кез келген уақытта жобадан ешқандай түсінік берусіз шығып кете аламын. Жобадан шығып кеткен жағдайда, менің тарапымнан берілген мәліметтер жойылатынын түсінемін.

-Өзім жайлы жеке мәліметтер 1998 жылы шыққан Мәліметтерді Қорғау Акты бойынша өңделетінін түсінемін.

-Зерттеуші менің осы жобаға қатысқаным жөнінде ешкімге айыпайды және менің берген мәліметтерімді авторы көрсетілмейтіндігін түсінемін.

Мен _____ осы жобаға қатысуға келісемін

Қолы _____

Датасы _____

Сіздің байланыс мәліметтеріңіз _____

Қажетті сайттар:

University of Birmingham, School of Education: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/schools/education/index.aspx>

UK Data Protection Act: <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/1998/29/>

[Contents](#)

Менің жетекшілерім:

Professor Angela Creese: <http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/creese-angela.aspx>

Professor Adrian Blackledge

<http://www.birmingham.ac.uk/staff/profiles/education/blackledge-adrian.aspx>

Appendix 5

Key Participant Interview Guide

This appendix gives an example of the kind of guide I would prepare for myself ahead of my interviews with key participants, based in the audio data they had collected, their language diaries, themes from previous interviews or other questions related to their language background, practices or educational experiences. As stated previously, such documents were intended as a flexible guide and key participants generally led the discussion into other areas they felt were significant.

Example Interview Guide: Farhat Interview 1

- **Thank and check consent to audio record. Reiterate issues of confidentiality, anonymity and right to withdraw.**
- No need to ask about language and educational background (Farhat is ex-Ethnography Club)
- Ask about domestic arrangements and homework (to contextualise some audio recordings)
- Ask about his audio recording of the interview with the Uzbek samsa sellers – Why? Does he have a previous relationship with them? Why does he speak to them in Kazakh? (previously he said he didn't speak Kazakh!) Why does he begin the conversation with the 'boss' in informal Kazakh register (Kalaisen, Salem)? I heard the words 'yakshi' and 'gosh'? Are these Uzbek words? Do the sellers speak in Kazakh, Uzbek or both?
- Ask about his audio recording of the maths (?) class – Is the teacher local? Is it usually in both Russian and English?
- Ask about the IELTS class recording – The teacher talks about 'Mr. GPA'. Who is this? What does this mean? Why is Farhat taking IELTS?
- **Discuss data collection – check consent procedures, any problems, questions?**
- **Thank and arrange next meeting**

Appendix 6

Example 'Reflection and Comments'

This appendix provides an example of the kind of 'Reflection and Comments' document, that I would produce from my monthly review of data during field-work. (Identifying details have been redacted)

Reflection and Comments

November 12 – 18 2012

1) Language Ecology and Mentality

Ongoing participant observation in classrooms and within the GEM continues to open up issues surrounding the language ecology of English, Kazakh and Russian in the space of English language education at KSU. However, the addition of 'interview-esque' data, coupled with ongoing reflections in my researcher journal (RJ) are beginning to shed new light on the ideologies associated with these three languages in this context. This 'interview data' has come from the SEG, but has subsequently made me aware of similar ideas being voiced by other participants in other contexts (see RJ). Perhaps the main point that has been raised in this respect, is that of 'mentality'. This is not the first time I'd heard this term since I first became interested in language in Kazakhstan, but previously, when the term was used by informants or in the literature, I had not given too much thought. Partly this was because I associated it with an essentialist view of language and culture that I was (and still am in some ways) keen to avoid in my ethnography, and partly I thought that the idea of different 'nationalities'/ethnicities having distinct mentalities and mother tongues, could be attributed to the Soviet ideological project of nation building in the early 20th century. Indeed, I still think that this particular ideological discourse may have its roots there to a great extent.

However, what is becoming clear, is that this discourse of 'mentality' and 'mother tongue' as essential, is perhaps a vital resource in terms of the way in which the Kazakh(stani) students and teachers here understand their own and others language use and their place in the social world. The SEG raised the issue of its relationship with the Russian word *менталитет* and how it is an important way of explaining/creating differences between different social groups: Western, countryside, city etc. Then later in the week, other informants independently brought up the idea that mentality is related to the language someone speaks (?) That Kazakh is more associated with an Eastern way of thinking and Russian with a more European way of thinking. This could shed light on the data I have been collecting in observations regarding which languages are used in the context of English language learning, the anecdotes other informants have shared regarding what they use

different languages and why and doubtless interacts with arguments that are presented in a more practical/pragmatic light for why different languages are used at different times. (*The important thing now is to relate all this back to the data.*)

Having said all this, the ‘mentality’ discourse, potentially sits awkwardly with other discourses, such as that of ‘ana tili’ and the notion that this is irrevocably and intrinsically tied to nationality/ethnicity: i.e. if being Kazakh means that your mother tongue is Kazakh (I found out this week that this in the constitution (check) and is reinforced at schools) then does your mentality depend on which language you are dominant in/which language you were brought up in/which language you happen to be speaking at the moment (I doubt this last one is close to the mark)? Therefore, would it be fair to say that someone’s mother tongue could be Kazakh, but that their mentality is Russian/European, because that is the language they use most/know best? I really want to understand what relationship Kazakh people have to their Russian language (22/11/12 – *just realising that this might be where the mentality idea comes into play?*). Furthermore, this all begs the questions, is English seen as having any kind of ‘mentality’ associated with it? And by learning English is this acquirable? Certainly, the people I’ve spoken to so far seem to have very different motivations for and relationships with learning English, as well as having different views on whether or not Westerners have a different mentality from Kazakhs/those from PSS. But is English seen to have this language-mentality correlation? I will keep pursuing this through a combination of participant observation and interview data.

2) Classroom Observations, Memory and Bringing the Outside In

As rationalised in the previous reflection, I have dialled back the classroom observations somewhat to focus more on the GEM. However, I have continued to observe English classes – about one per week. Whilst the focus on my study is not on pedagogy and it is all too easy to slip into an ‘evaluative’, ‘teacher’ frame, I should at least note down that the classes of local teachers I have observed do seem to reveal two particular patterns. The first is the focus on ‘memory’. In all the local teacher’s classes I have observed the students are praised for being able to remember vocabulary, facts and structures and are told that being able to do this is tied up with success in the target language (see CO FNs). Also, the teachers I have observed all seem to be using activities and techniques that are familiar to me from a tradition of communicative language teaching (teamwork, pair-work, information gaps, jigsaw texts etc), but the difference between how these are used by local and foreign staff seems to be that in local classrooms, the aim of the activity is to comprehend and use the ideas and language from the material which is provided, whereas the foreign teachers tend to use these tasks as a means of getting the students to contribute their own ideas, experiences and opinions to the class.

3) Bringing Themes Together Through Data

It seems that at the moment I have two parts to my data set: one is the stuff related to the GEM and figured worlds and the second is the stuff to do with language ecology and emic ideological resources such as mentality, nationality and mother tongue. What I would really like to do, if it is possible, is to find some way of drawing these together. I feel sure that they are interconnected and that they do interact, but at the moment the data sets do not capture this.

These concerns along with an awareness that the Autumn semester (AS) will soon be drawing to a close, is prompting me to think about the future direction of the study, particularly in the Spring Semester (SS). There are a number of possibilities that I'm toying with.

- AS- interview X re: the GEM and her figuring of the ELD.
- AS- ask for volunteers from English club to interview them (see previous)
- AS – ongoing PO of GEM and classrooms
- AS – interviews with 4 ELD teachers

SS – Key participants: by following how individuals move through, into and out of the different language spaces in KSU, try to get a handle on how they fit together and how differently positioned individuals participate in, use and are shaped by these different figured worlds. Therefore, it will be necessary to consider how to select/recruit individuals, what data will be collected from them, how.

SS – IT: It occurs to me that investigating the IT faculty might be very interesting and productive for a number of reasons. It has been an interesting context in which students have expressed views regarding the relationship of other languages (Kazakh and Russian) to their speciality. Also, they have a mix of local and foreign teachers. Lastly, between one thing and another, the majority of students and non-ELD staff that I have had contact with thus far have been from IT and so, I feel I am slightly more familiar with this faculty. So again, what kind of data would I want and why? And how would I go about getting it? Regardless, I would really like to go and observe some IT classes in English.

Appendix 7

Information for Translators and Transcribers

This appendix details the information that was given to guide those who worked on transcribing and translating audio recordings in Kazakh and Russian. Translators were free to accept as much or as little work as they wanted and were paid per word, at a rate between Kazakhstan and UK averages.

Guidelines for Transcription and Translation

Thank you for offering to help with the transcription and translation of audio data for this PhD project. I really appreciate your participation. Here I will outline how the transcription and translation should be done. I am interested in the small details of what people say and how they interact, so it is VERY important that we all keep to these guidelines. If anything is unclear, or if you have any particular questions, please do not hesitate to contact me by email at any time.

Transcription:

1. Transcription of the recording in the original language(s) should be done before translation.
2. Please give the document the same name as the audio file name and indicate the date you started transcription.
3. Please label each speaker with a letter or number and indicate what these mean at the top of the page. (e.g. L: Louise, S1: Student 1. Use any codes you like). It is not necessary to know the name of each speaker, just that you show when each different person is speaking.
4. Please take a new line for each time a different speaker speaks and show who is speaking using the codes you have created.
5. I need to know every word that was said and exactly how it was said. This means that if a speaker repeats words or makes mistakes THIS is what you should write. You should NOT correct it. For example, if the speaker A says "I started started to learned English at school", you should write

A: I started started to learned English at school

NOT

A: I started to learn English at school

6. It is also important that I can see which words were said in which language. Therefore, please write Russian words in Russian, Kazakh words in Kazakh, English words in English, Uzbek words in Uzbek etc. Please use the appropriate alphabet for each language (e.g. Kazakh in Kazakh Cyrillic, Russian in Russian Cyrillic, English in Latin letters etc. Don't worry, I can read Cyrillic).
7. Please also include sounds that the speaker makes while thinking like "eh", "Mm", "так" etc and include other sounds in brackets, like (laugh), (cough) etc. These are important details!
8. If two speakers say something at the same time, use square brackets to show this. For example
A: I think that English is a difficult subject for me, [because I hate tests]

B: [Yes, I know]

This shows that "because I hate tests" and "Yes, I know", were spoken at the same time.

9. If there is a longer pause than normal, please use three dots ... to show this.
10. If the speaker says something that you can't hear or can't understand, please use (xxx?) to show this.
11. Please use Microsoft word to type the transcription and use Times New Roman, 12pt, single spacing.

Please send each transcription to me by email as a Word document attachment as soon as it is ready (rather than waiting until you have completed all the recordings). This allows me to check that the work has been done properly and to offer any advice that might be needed. I may send you some recordings in which I have already transcribed the English parts, but I will need your help with parts in other languages.

See attached for an example transcription I have done.

Translation

The second stage in the process is translation into English. You should present the translated document in the same way as the original transcription. Here again, it is important to try to show not just what the person 'meant', but EXACTLY HOW they said it. I know this is difficult, but please try your best. Feel free to use comments boxes to add any extra information you think might help me. For example, 'this word is very informal' or 'I think he means...' etc.

Please only begin work on translation after I checked the original transcription and have asked you to begin translation.

Work Load and Payment

So as not to overload you, I will not send you all the recording at once, but bit by bit. In each case I will agree the deadline for each set of recordings with you by email. For transcription, you will be paid X Tenge for each minute of original audio data. On successful completion of transcription, you will be paid an additional X Tenge per original word for translation of this text. I can pay you in cash when I return to Kazakhstan in October. If decide to withdraw from this task at any time, please inform me as soon as possible, so that I can make other arrangements.



Appendix 8

Example of Memo on Key Audio Data

This appendix gives an example of the kind of ‘memo’ made to draw out significant themes from key audio recordings, based on previous margin-notes.

KP1Photos1Wk3Data Summary

Key themes:

Kazakh for closeness and within the family – Translanguaging – What constitutes Russian/Kazakh/English indexing resource and when – performing Kazakh and bilingual identities – Framing interaction as Kazakh/Russian – Kazakhifying Russian words – Marked use of ‘good’ Kazakh – accommodation to language shifts/shifts in frame.

Memo:

In this recording, Dariga and her mother are in a shop getting passport photographs, for her application to go abroad at the summer. We hear the participants discussing the cost of the photos, the size, how long they will take to process and the photographer giving Dariga advice on how to sit and look in the photo. The transcript shows both Russian, Kazakh and translanguaging utterances, which, as in the other shoes recording, Dariga has transcribed in the according scripts.

The sales assistant accommodates the language that the customer to speaks to her – i.e. if the customer addresses her in Kazakh she uses Kazakh and so with Russian. Except for the word ‘штук’, she does not translanguaging, but the extent to which this sign could be seen as a marked Russian inclusion is debatable (I think). Out of context Kazakh speakers tell me it is a Russian word (the Kazakh is *dana*), but it is very commonly used and my own observations suggests it is not marked in most everyday interactions (especially here where the grammar works in both languages for different reasons). In this recording, the sales assistant is a stranger to Dariga and her family, so perhaps her accommodation regarding linguistic code is a language practice that shows respect to her customer and helps maintain good relations between both parties – especially at the moment in Kazakhstan where language and identity can be prickly issues (see journal and experience with tetchy taxi drivers).

Dariga speaks almost entirely in Kazakh for this recording and plays a relatively passive role in the conversation, occasionally asking in questions and responding to the utterances of others. This is a little unusual compared to her other recordings where she translanguages far more often. Perhaps the most active and assertive person in this recording is her mother who asks questions, makes decisions and give advice to her daughter predominantly in Kazakh, but some utterances in Kazakh frame contain words that would normally index Russian, such as *сорт, сразу, кросовкиді*. The word ‘cottka’ (informal, meaning mobile phone) is interesting here, because it is not only a word normally seen as Russian, but it is most often also associated with younger, urban speakers. Is the inclusion of words such as these in her speech the reason why she and her daughter both identify her as a poor speaker of Kazakh (see interview)? She does ‘Kazakhify’ the word with the suffix ‘н’ (as with *кросовкиді*),

thus keeping it in the Kazakh language frame. I suppose this kind of language mixing within signs might mark the utterance in some way. It could signal the listener not to index it directly with Russian, but demonstrates that the speaker has good knowledge of Kazakh grammar and syntax, even though he/she uses a Russian term. Perhaps in this way the ideology of ‘multilingualism as advantageous’ is foregrounded and the practice may help individuals to construct a positive multilingual identity for themselves, rather than a deficient one. (Important to remember though that such practices are often mocked – eg in the sitcom discussed in my journal or in the play Kazakh play I attended).

I also now know that this recording was the first one she made on the shopping trip. Is it possible that she was being careful with her language practices at the beginning, conscious of the Dictaphone and that I might be ‘judging’ her? Did she become more relaxed as time went on? The patterns of language use in this section are a little different from the later shoes recording. Kazakh is much more widely used and translanguaging is rarer. However, like all the other social context recordings, in the background we hear the ubiquitous English pop music from the radio.

Appendix 9

List of Performance Contexts

Although other data also comprised elements or periods of performance, the 10 ‘performance contexts’ represent ‘staged performance contexts’: those for which I had sufficient data of the processes of contextualization, as well as of how the performance itself was constructed and interpreted.

	Performance Context	Description	Data
1	Presidential Video Conference	Rehearsals, and live TV video conference with the President to launch a New TV channel.	One week of field notes, covering 5 rehearsals and the final broadcast to launch the new TV channel, Bilim (Knowledge).
2	Go English Movement Promotional Video	Planning meetings, filming, recording and performance for promo video.	Sequence of meetings and activities with student volunteers to produce promotional video (
3	KBH Comedy Competition	A national comedy tournament, in which KSU and other universities participated.	Audio recordings of 2 different performances in the KBH comedy competition tournament, interview data with key participant about these recordings, associated entries in researcher journal.
4	English Club Comedy Improv	English Club improvised comedy event by foreign teacher in ‘Whose Line is it Anyway?’ format	Audio recording of the event, interview data with key participant about these recordings, ad hoc interview with foreign teacher, field-notes from the event.
5	M’s English Club	English Club about the Philippians – singing and food	Audio recording of the event, interview data with key participant about these recordings, ad hoc interview with foreign teacher
6	General English End-of-Term Show	Assessed student performances where groups present an English-speaking country.	Field-notes, ad hoc interview with teachers and students, department meeting field-note, researcher journal entries,
7	Debate Club	Relaunch of English League Debate Club – debate between teachers and students	Field-note. Ad hoc interviews with participants/
8	Professional English Role Play	Mock trial role play	Audio recording, interview with key participant, ad hoc interview with teacher
9	Bible Class	Christian youth club event where participants prepare bible readings and reflections	Two audio recording, interview with key participant
10	Farhat’s TV style interview	Farhat performs a TV style investigative journalist piece to the Dictaphone	3 audio recordings and interview with key participant

Appendix 10

Example Performance Context Summary

GEM Transcript: Comedy Impro: Analytical Notes for Discussion

How is the performance constructed as performance?

The presence of a stage – what is on stage and in English is supposed to be 'the legitimate, improvised performance', but actually students in the audience make use of moments for improvisations of their own (carnavalesque). Perhaps the students struggle with the idea of an unplanned performance in English (contrast with KBH and classroom practices), as well as struggling with the language element. These offstage performances are overlooked by the T, who thought it was a bad lesson. Language used is expected to be artful (Humour, portrayal of character, clear, entertaining, accurate). It will also be evaluated by the audience. Linguistic performance on stage is also accompanied by dramatic actions, sound effects etc.

We see throughout the recording that, interaction between teacher and student is normally conducted in English. On one level, this could be seen as 'on-stage' interaction, in that it is at the level of institutionally prescribed English Club discourse. However, all through the recording there is a great deal of student-student discussion in local Kazakh/Russian languages. This student-student interaction is critical to sustaining the 'on-stage' English language activity: it is where students scaffold each other, generate ideas and position themselves vis-à-vis the activity. This could be seen, in some ways, as being 'off-stage'. Indeed, the very fact that it occurs in Kazakh and/or Russian allows it to be figured by the students as 'off-stage', partly because only the English contributions are seen to 'count' in the figured world of the English club and because the teacher leading it is constructed as a '*native English speaker*' lacking in local language competence.

Is agency constructed or limited? How? Why?

The improvised performance frame was intended to provide opportunity for agency – specifically set up by the teacher, who hoped that the Go English Movement set up by the university would help foster student autonomy and creativity. However, it is an unfamiliar genre to the students, who do not know the TV show 'Whose Line is it Anyway?' and who are probably more used to pre-rehearsed, polished performances and to evaluating performances on this basis (based on my observations at KSU). This together with the fact that many of the students' English proficiency did not seem up to accomplishing this goal, set out by the teacher (funny, comedy improv) severely curtailed the capacity of many students to exercise any kind of agency in the identities they performed onstage. In fact, the majority did not perform, but were audience members throughout. However, in off-stage interactions and moments, we see students performing such acts of agency in Russian and/or Kazakh – especially S1, whose carnivalesque heckles from offstage in Russian actually seem to embody more of the creative, witty agency than the on-stage action in English.

What is the role of the audience?

The 'role' of audience is ambiguous and shifting in this context, in that any of the audience members can contribute ideas to the performance or volunteer to perform the improv on stage. The idea seems to be that, once an audience member comes on stage and performs, in character, in English, he/she is a performer. The other students are meant to watch, enjoy and quietly evaluate the skill of the improvisation. However, the context which emerges is more complicated. Firstly, the students end up talking to each other on-stage in Russian and Kazakh quite a bit, in order to plan the performance. This appears to be taken not as part of the performance, because it is the GEM and because this is not in English. Moreover, things are complicated by short carnivalesque performances in Russian from hecklers (these are artistic, open to evaluation etc). The audience members are also very noisily and actively involved in evaluating or planning the performance as it unfolds. Not much of this was what the teacher wanted in terms of audience participation, but, had he considered what was going on English, he might have appreciated it more.

In addition, student volunteers may have interpreted the T as a very specific and privileged audience, in terms of how their English would be evaluated. They are no doubt drawing on previous experiences and interpretive frameworks with which they are more familiar, in which accuracy is valued over fluency and effort. This may have deterred them from volunteering as on-stage performers.

Other performers like N, when she is physically on stage, but linguistically 'back-stage' also seems to feel insecurity about her Russian language skills in front of her peers and might worry that her perceived lack of competence in one language may affect the audiences' opinion of her skill in the other, namely English.

What vectors of reflexivity are in play?

T is concerned about his performance as a teacher, but also wants his skill at improv to be valued by the teacher. He felt afterwards that the lack of volunteers, the amount of background noise and the lack of spontaneity in English meant that the event had been unsuccessful from a GEM perspective.

Towards the end he uses Russian linguistic resources to try and get the audience on side, perhaps to value his performance more highly. Isn't this what a skilled improv performer does – manages to successfully identify and draw on shared cultural resources with his audience (contrast with GEM and having foreigners speaking Kaz). Students like S are more worried about how the Russian will be evaluated than their English. Most students are too shy to get up on stage and improvise in English in front of their peers and in front of the foreign teacher. However, the students are very actively engaged in the activity and in reflexively considering it, just off stage and in Kazakh and Russian (all the background noise). Off-stage Russian comments are given as much value by the audience as the on stage perf.

What are the on/off stage dynamics and shifts in dynamics?

Working through this transcript prompted me to think about notions of 'layers', 'nestedness' and 'off/on-stage' that frequently crop in my margin annotations as I analyse the data. Although these terms are labels that I use

mostly for my own purposes, I do think they are quite central to the language ecology and multilingual practices that typify English Club speech events.

As mentioned above, 'English Club' was created to 'develop the English language environment at KSU'. Moreover, teachers (both foreign and local) encourage their students to attend for this reason – especially in connection with 'improving their speaking skills'. Therefore, the fact that this is a context that is figured by and in English is a fundamental part of any English Club. The educational purpose and the presence of a native speaking English teacher are seen by the students to make English 'necessary; here in a way that it is not elsewhere. However, when we look at what actually happens in these speech events, they are far more multilingual than even its participants attest to when asked directly. In analysing this, I have often referred to 'off and on stage' language practices. However, just as the nature of figured worlds seems more complex than the literature might intimate, so too the off/on stage relationship in these contexts seem to be characterised by what might be called 'layers'.

What are the role of linguistic and ideological resources in these performance contexts?

As has been described above, ideologies that construct native-speaker teachers as valuable are extremely important resources in this context. On one hand, native speaker teachers are seen as valuable because they are monolingual (even when they, like the T here, actually are not). On the other hand, broader essentialist ideologies that construct a direct link between language, identity and culture are significant, in constructing the teacher as embodying linguistic skills. Cultural resources and values that can then become available to the student participants. In addition, the ways that Kazakh and Russian are drawn on flexibly by the students to support the performance task in English, reveals a lot as the identities particular individuals try to negotiate, their assumptions about the interpretations of others and their anxieties.

It is interesting to note here how the teacher and students seem to draw on different cultural resources regarding the genre of 'dramatic performance'. For the teacher, from the USA, improvisation and messiness in performance is seen as positive, as it is funny, but I think the students tend much more toward a 'rehearsed' (KBH-like) style of performance. The cultural resources of the characters chosen for the performance are also important resources in students being able to perform native-speaker-like identities on stage.

What indexicalities are drawn on in this performance? See comments above.

How do imposed/assumed/negotiated identities interact in each performance context?

See comments above and annotation notes, regarding 1) how the 'monolingual native-English speaker' identity effectively limits the teacher's ability to draw on other, local languages to overcome student resistance and inculcate in-group membership. 2) The assumptions student speakers make about how the Kazakh, Russian and translanguaging practices will be interpreted by their audience and their teacher 3) how these multilingual, young people negotiate language, institutional and moral identities on/off stage, in, through and around the 'English language' performance space.

Appendix 11

Example of Stance-taking Vignette

This appendix presents an extract from Dariga (KP1's) stance-taking vignette.

Stances towards moral indexicalities of being a Kazakh speaker

The first thing Dariga foregrounds is her mother as a Kazakh language learner – in case I judge her harshly for not being a predominant Kazakh speaker? By foregrounding this so markedly, Dariga appears to key my interpretation of in terms of the indexical link between a Kazakh linguistic identity and patriotism and morality. She also takes a moral stance herself, in aligning with this ideology that speaking Kazakh is the moral duty of Kazakh people. Elsewhere, in other interviews and her audio recordings, I have noted that Dariga constructs family ties as extremely important and so, her positive stance toward her mother's Kazakh learning as patriotic, helps extend this identity of 'good Kazakh' to herself

Stances towards multilingualism at KSU

Dariga points out that students do not just chose subjects depending on language, but also according to how well it fits in their timetable. From this point of view, multilingual students are constructed as having more choice. She talks about how all IT students have no choice but to study in English from second year, but that this causes difficulties for some students. Therefore, students support each other in English medium classes and teachers include some element of translation into Russian and sometimes Kazakh. Similarly, students can ask questions to the teacher in Kazakh and Russian too. When I ask her if this practice is considered acceptable, she answered matter-of-factly that, of course it was, as everyone there knows these languages. This suggests that use of Kazakh or Russian in an 'official English language context' would only be unacceptable if the teacher or some of the students were unable to understand the local languages. In relation to translanguaging practices within the university's academic context, Dariga generally takes up the positive stance that it is something she can do because of her multilingual skilfulness, rather than because she has no choice. She constructs agency for herself through her flexible multilingualism and also uses it to negotiate her moral identity as a helpful, supportive, intelligent student-peer.

Stances toward being a 'good' student and 'good' speaker of English.

On of Dariga's highest priorities in terms of representation of herself in interviews is as a 'good' student/speaker of English. The first of these identities is quite a contrast to KP3 and KP4 for whom

the second does not entail the first. (Indeed, they are often at pains to construct a position of agency through their resistance of institutional expectations). This strategy is much more common in boys than girls at KSU and may be linked to wider discourses and cultural beliefs around gender. Dariga also constructs a position of agency, but she does so by not identifying with the discourse of 'laziness' evidenced elsewhere. Rather she does so by emphasising her choice to take part in English language activities and to work hard. Dariga positions herself as a good student through firm assertions that, despite the fact that her course is the most demanding, or despite the fact that the teacher has a bad accent, or speaks quickly, she still does not experience any problems. Quite often she does this indirectly by talking about what other students do wrong, or what some students struggle with. By doing so she tacitly suggests that she is not part of this group. She also often combines praising teachers for their expertise or strictness with and implicitly positioning herself as a good student. Discursively she creates a symbiotic relationship that constructs a 'good' teacher and herself as a 'good' student. Elsewhere, Dariga also draws simultaneously on discourses of patriotism and internationalism to position herself as a good student.