

Multilingualism, Language, and Ideology across Time and Space:
Education, Migration, and Belonging of Post-Soviet Central Eurasians

By

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Abstract

In this dissertation, I consider the role of broader sociocultural, political, historical, and economic factors in shaping learners' (and speakers') experiences of becoming and being multilingual, through a focus on Central Asian multilingual communities. This primarily contributes to holistic approaches in research on multilingual learners in education by accounting for a number of intertwined aspects of multilingual lived experiences including policy, migration, education, and belonging. In this dissertation, I demonstrate that pathways to becoming and being multilingual learners, speakers, and users are socially constructed, multiscale decisions, which are not decisions only about language, but also about moral, civic, and transnational identities that participants co-construct in dialogue with the larger sociopolitical, historical and economic trends. The analysis of larger social context in the narratives of learning adds to a further theorization of the situated nature of identity and language showing how multilinguals constantly re-appropriate their attitudes towards their languages according to times, spaces, places, and people they invoke in their narrative event. I show that only by attending to these various aspects of the narrative can we fully comprehend the narrative inconsistencies. For instance, I demonstrate that an attention to unconscious aspects of participant discourses is useful in distinguishing between the ways participants construct their linguistic repertoire as native or non-native when orienting to national and international norms, or hybrid when invoking stories of daily language use.

This work is ethnographic and my data come from over 80 hours of audio recordings of loosely and semi-structured individual and focus group interviews with Central Asian multilinguals, casual conversations between them, their friends and family, along with participant observation at social events. Across these different contexts, I examine the use of

evaluative and affective language, modalization, voicing, deictics, unconscious elements of experience, narrating and narrated events, and participant metacommentary about particular languages, educational spaces, and events in their lives, to show how these multilinguals discursively (re)imagine moral norms for behavior, deficit in language education, agency and individual investment, linguistic (in)security and ownership, as well as nativeness and non-nativeness by orienting to the past, present and future in their narratives of lived experience.

In Chapter 5, I argue that for Central Asian multilinguals, the decision about language education is also a decision based on moral values. In doing so, I analyze the discursive construction of moral behavioral scripts in participants' stories of family language policy and planning. Additionally, I show that stories of becoming multilingual are also stories of lost language learning opportunities and that investment in language learning is closely linked to the notion of agency.

In Chapter 6, I present a comparative analysis of multilingual students' ideologies of and attitudes to English in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. I show how multilingual students from Kazakhstan claim linguistic ownership of English by orienting toward state discourses of trilingual nation-branding, which is strikingly different from the narratives of students in a neighboring country, Uzbekistan, who project an opportunistic and insecure attitudes toward English.

In Chapter 7, I demonstrate how transnational multilinguals blur the lines between nativeness and non-nativeness through scaling and (re)scaling their stories of language attitudes and language use in everyday life. I introduce discourses of habit as a new useful term in accounting for the unconscious aspects of these participants' discourses of daily language practices.

In addition to describing the linguistic situation of understudied communities, this work informs a multilingual turn in applied linguistics by focusing on multilinguals in their home countries and those multilinguals who have moved abroad, as well as attending to multiple languages in participants' linguistics repertoires. Theoretically, this work demonstrates that identities should be studied within the spatiotemporal configurations of the contexts in which they are constructed and that an attention to (un)conscious habits of daily language use can challenge the native/non-native dichotomy. I also re-visit the concepts of linguistic ownership, nation-branding, and post-Soviet brain drain to re-conceptualize multilingual speakers' stories of becoming and being multilingual. With regard to applied implications, this research offers a number of instructional suggestions for the second and foreign language classrooms, in which knowledge of moral values held by students' families and a metalinguistic conversation around students' daily use of languages can be informative for curriculum design and for cultivating students' linguistic confidence. Finally, this study is timely in addressing the experiences of understudied and under-theorized multilingual communities toward developing a more holistic approach to the study of multilingualism and multilingual learners in Education.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Dissertation Overview

In this dissertation¹, I consider a holistic approach to the study of multilingualism and multilingual learners at the intersection of language, education, policy and identity. In doing so, I situate these learners outside of the traditional classroom walls in order to capture a number of factors that have shaped their multilingual speakerhood in general and learning experiences in particular. In examining their ideologies, attitudes and associated linguistic identities, I situate my analysis of their lived experiences within the broader sociopolitical, historical, and (trans-)national contexts. I explore multilinguals' narrative accounts of becoming multilingual during the early post-Soviet time of the national transition in Kazakhstan, as well as their current experiences of being and becoming multilingual as multilingual English language learners in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and as transnational migrants in North America.

My interest to pursue this topic as my research inquiry has been sparked by own background as a multilingual transnational Central Asian and English language learner and teacher, along with the scholarly works in the fields of Linguistics and Education in which I

¹Parts of this dissertation have been published or are expected to appear for publication by the following publishers:

- Habitus and Imagined Ideals: Attending to (Un)consciousness in Discourses of (Non)nativeness. Madina Djuraeva & Lydia Catedral. *International Multilingual Research Journal*. Taylor & Francis Online. Copyright © 2020. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2020.1714159>
- Language ideologies and (im)moral images of personhood in multilingual family language planning. Lydia Catedral & Madina Djuraeva. *Language Policy*, 17(4), 501-522. SpringerLink. Copyright © 2018. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-018-9455-9>
- Language policy and politics of language: Re-imagining the role of language in a neoliberal society. Madina Djuraeva & Francois V. Tochon. (Eds.). Blue Mounds, WI: Deep University Press. Copyright © 2018.
- Language Policy in Uzbekistan: Formation of Uzbek National Identity. Madina Djuraeva in Francois V. Tochon (Ed.), *Language Education Policy Unlimited: Global perspectives and Local Practices*, pp. 94-113. Blue Mounds, WI: Deep University Press. Copyright © 2015.
- Linguistic opportunism, ownership and nation-branding in the narratives of multilingual students in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Madina Djuraeva. Invited publication to the special issue on Englishes in Central Asia. To appear in *World Englishes*.

often found myself relating to the study participants. However, I also often found myself wondering about the untold or unexamined aspects of multilinguals' lives, which could provide a more holistic lens in studying multilingual experiences. For instance, studies frequently approach multilingualism through the discourse of "the other" in that multilingual practices are seen as mandatory (i.e. language of the majority, created), e.g. studies that focus on bilingual education, or practices that are seen as native, e.g. studies that focus on dominant and/or minority language (Cenoz, 2013). In order to challenge notions such as "the other" or "native" I decided to look at cases in which "the other" has become "I" and lost its alienated meaning, where mixed-language schools have existed for several decades before the era of globalization, and where one may have a hard time distinguishing native from non-native². In order to fulfil this goal and address the lack of holistic approaches to the study of multilingual learners as speakers, I recruited multilinguals from two major geographical regions residing in four countries.

The research data come from an ethnographic fieldwork in Central Asia and North America, specifically, the multilingual speakers who participated in my research resided in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, USA, and Canada. To investigate these multilinguals' accounts of their lived experiences at the nexus of education, language, policy and identity, I draw from over 65 hours of loosely structured individual and group interviews; participants observations; casual conversations, which at times included their friends, family and/or teachers; follow-up written exchange messages with participants; and a fieldwork diary that I have kept for over four years. Based on my analysis of these data, I present three thematic dissertation chapters in which I provide my analysis, interpretation, and discussion of the research participants' narratives with regards to micro level family and individual decisions of language in and of education in

²According to Landau & Kellner-Heinkele (2001), certain inhabitants of Uzbekistan are equally competent in Uzbek and Tajik and unable to define their identification automatically with either nationality.

Kazakhstan, their attitudes to English vis-à-vis other locally spoken languages in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, and their social positionings in relation to their multilingual repertoires in the context of transnational migration. The significance of this dissertation research for the study of multilingualism and multilingual speakers is discussed in the following section.

Research Significance

Despite the fact that the majority of people in the world are multilingual, the rise of post-colonial nation-states in a neoliberal era have created the need for a unified characterization of these nation-states, often associated with a one language – one nation policy (Li & Moyer, 2008). At the same time, people find themselves negotiating multiple roles as multilingual students, citizens, or migrants in a globalized world. Therefore, scholars such as applied linguists started articulating the necessity for research to find ways to challenge the long-held language-related biases in relation to the speakers of multiple languages and in order to strengthen citizens' multilingual capacities (Cenoz & Genesee, 1998). This led researchers to investigate challenges of determining first, second, and third languages of multilingual speakers (Garcia, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2007), problematizing the concept of *language maintenance* due to its static nature (Dervin & Liddicoat, 2013) and substituting it with *sustaining a language*, which is characterized as having a fluid nature (Wiley & Garcia, 2016; Blommaert, 2010; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007). Additionally, a multilingual turn has led scholars to re-visit definitions of multilingualism, multilingual speakers, and multilingual practices. For instance, Li & Moyer (2008) define a multilingual individual as “anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it actively (through speaking or writing) or passively (through listening or reading) (p. 4). Cenoz (2013) calls for more attention to multilingual practices which are made up of three dimensions including multilingual speakers, their whole linguistic repertoire and the social

context. Furthermore, while some scholars have highlighted the importance of language practices in post-colonial, non-Western contexts for the study of multilingualism (Canagarajah & Liyanage, 2012; Makoni & Pennycook, 2007), others have brought attention to the added values (Cenoz, 2013; Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Hymes, 1996) of speaking different languages as “mobile resources” that are appropriated for specific purposes (Canagarajah, 2013, p. 15) in a globalized world.

On the other hand, an increasing number of scholars in the fields of applied linguistics, educational linguistics, language education and second language acquisition are calling for a holistic picture of multilingual practices as embedded in a larger social world, but also as a product and projection of one’s individual agency (Hawkins & Mori, 2018; Li, 2018; Canagarajah, 2018; Blackledge & Creese, 2010). A number of factors may shape one’s experiences of becoming multilingual including but not limited to language policies, language ideologies and beliefs around language. Scholars have shown that although multilingual speakers use their whole linguistic repertoire in a fluid and mixed ways (Canagarajah, 2013), the construction of languages with distinct names hold value for their ideologies and social participants (Karimzad & Cathedral, 2018; Lupke, 2016). Others have suggested a move away from top-down processes that influence one’s language education trajectory to emphasize the bottom-up and micro-language planning (Hornberger, 2006; Baldauf, 2006). With regard to the global spread of English, a need for studies of the role of English in multilingual communities of the Expanding Circle has also been stressed (Bolton, 2018; Mauranen, 2018; Kachru & Nelson, 2006).

³Bourdieu (1991) was the first one to coin linguistic practices as form of symbolic capital, which is a post-structural critical approach to the study of multilingualism.

This dissertation builds on the abovementioned research produced with the multilingual turn in Linguistics and Education and responds to the scholarly calls in the following ways:

Theoretically, this work contributes to post-structural approaches in the study of multilingualism by attending to the spatiotemporal categories of experience in constructing a personhood (Canagarajah, 2018; Blommaert, 2017). Specifically, I demonstrate how the theoretical notions of chronotope (Bakhtin, 1981) and personhood (Agha, 2007a) provide new insights into bottom-up language policy and planning in multilingual families. While language planning theories in general have introduced a number of categories to distinguish among different processes, goals and outcomes, such as bottom-up vs. top-down language planning (Hornberger, 2006), status vs. corpus planning (Kloss, 1969) and covert vs. overt planning (Schiffman, 1998), I show how factors across these various categories get bundled together in ways that are personally meaningful for speakers in images of personhood. I also illustrate that attention to scales (Hult, 2010; Blommaert, 2010) of discourses in the narratives of lived experiences offers a gateway in understanding how changes at global and national levels such as emigration of highly skilled workers can impact students' foreign language education experience. In this study, I respond to the scholarly call for the study of English as a means for "social mobility and an inhibitor of local development" (Ricento, 2012, p. 41) and a call to attend to macro issues such as language ideologies, along with super macro issues such as sociopolitical and historical factors (Kubota, 2018; Park & Wee, 2009). I focus on the role of English in multilingual post-Soviet communities vis-à-vis other local languages spoken by student participants through an examination of language ideologies as shaped by broader sociopolitical factors. In doing so, I contribute to the theorization of linguistic ownership as mediated by nationally branded discourses through the analysis of the study participants' discursive scaling

and re-scaling of chronotopes. Furthermore, I introduce discourses of habit as a new meaningful concept for the study of multilingual repertoires that offers a more holistic approach to the study of multilingual repertoires and to speakers' social positionings in relationship to the concept of *(non)nativeness*. My discussion of discourses of habit demonstrates how speakers' relationships to linguistic competence are often more complex than either resistance or acquiescence to the notions of an idealized native speaker. Finally, I am attentive to all of the languages addressed by participants in narrating their experiences throughout my analysis in all three thematic chapters of this dissertation, as opposed to focusing only on one language.

Empirically, this work engages with the under-researched and under-theorized, multilingual context of post-Soviet Central Asia. While there has been some scholarly engagement with issues of language planning in Central Asia (e.g. Pavlenko 2008; Fierman 1998), there has been much less work that focuses on the everyday bottom-up practices of Central Asian citizens (Catedral, 2018a; Smagulova, 2008). I find this context to be especially informative in the study of multilingual speakers at the post-colonial, national, and global levels, because of the political, social, and economic transitions faced by Central Asian countries as a move away from their socialist past (Chankseliani & Silova, 2018). A focus on multilingual experience as embedded in education is particularly productive since national policies of democratization, westernization, and globalization have been primarily circulated through education of the citizens (Chankseliani & Silova, 2018). I observe these broader changes and their impact on people's experiences in Central Asia and beyond as invoked by the study participants themselves. In particular, I address the shifting value of languages in the context of Central Asia and transnational migration to North America. I also examine participants' discourses on language and language ideologies as manifested in metapragmatic commentary on

individual repertoires and everyday practices in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and North America, as well as the kinds of images of personhood participants construct as they situate themselves within the changing environment. Another empirical value of this study is that multilingual participants of my research represent a variety of speech communities, without a restriction to the majority in terms of number or power such as Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Russians. The study participants also come from Tajik, Uyghur, Korean, Meskhetian Turkic, Ingush and Polish backgrounds.

Methodologically, the longitudinal nature of the study, a variety of collected data, and a combined lens of narrative and discourse analyses, contribute to gaining a more holistic insight into participants' lived experiences as related to education and language. For instance, I am able to show how the discursive selves participants construct in their narratives are informative about their language ideologies, which are reflective of the social world in which participants claim their belonging. While the chronotopic lens allows to locate the times, spaces, and people in the narrated events, which hold significance for the participants in constructing their stories, the attention to scales helps me identify discourses that people invoke when re-telling a meaningful event. In this way, I am not limited to studying my participants as multilingual students or learners only, but also as speakers and users. Investigation of heterogeneous domains that the study participants bring in their stories offers to situate them as social actors (Wortham, 2012) who navigate through the world utilizing their linguistic repertoires as learners, citizens and migrants (Lam et al., 2012).

Finally, this study has a number of applied implications for educational practices and heritage language maintenance programs, which are recommended to consider the possibilities of framing language maintenance programs as spaces of moral education and to create language

curriculum that is in line with the multiple moral values that may be held by parents of multilingual students. It is also suggested for teachers to exercise caution in their use of terms such as “native” vs. “non-native” and instead to engage with the dimensions of naturalness and effort that may provide another domain in which to challenge and encourage students’ attitudes towards their own proficiencies. Additionally, recommendations are given for the policy makers in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan with regard to taking certain initiatives to strengthen their citizens’ multilingual capabilities as a way to embrace societal plurilingualism toward educational and national success at a global scale.

Research Questions

The contributions of this study outlined in the preceding section have ensued from the following research problem: Studies on multilingual learners are often fragmented, i.e. a focus on classroom teaching and learning, learner agency, migrants’ language learning practices, parental ideologies, etc. Very rarely do we position learners as speakers and users, taking into account the very many facets of language learning experiences at once. In order to address this problem, I find value in learners’ self-narrated lived experiences associated with language education that occur in and beyond the classroom walls to understand what experiences and decisions shaped multilingual becoming and being. In doing so, I pose the following research questions and sub-questions that I have attempted to address:

1. In what ways do multilingual Central Asians’ narratives of becoming and being multilingual reflect wider socio-political, economic, and historical changes that form the context of their lives?
 - a) How do Central Asian multilingual students understand and construct their lived experiences of language in and of education in Central Asia?

- b) In what ways do multilingual English language learners' ideologies of and attitudes toward English converge and diverge in the context of post-Soviet Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan?
- c) How do multilingual speakers from Uzbekistan position themselves in relation to their linguistic repertoire in the context of transnational migration?

All of the sub-questions are to address the overarching research question that addresses the ways people's individual experiences enmesh with larger forces, which become meaningful in the process of narrating one's life story. While all of the questions inquire about multilingualism and multilinguals, they differ in the way multilinguals make meaning of their lived experiences as parents or children, as learners and citizens, and as transnational migrants. The attention to these different identities as relevant in constructing one's becoming and being multilingual provides yet another example for a holistic approach to the study of multilingual speakers.

Organization of the Dissertation

The remaining chapters of this dissertation are organized as follows. In Chapter 2, I review the relevant literature on language, multilingualism, ideologies and identity to present my theoretical orientation to the research inquiry. I then describe key concepts in my research including heteroglossia, chronotope, and scale that make up my theoretical toolkit. In Chapter 3, I present the sociolinguistic contexts of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan where I also discuss the gap in research with regard to the literature reviewed in the preceding chapter. Next, I describe my methodology in Chapter 4 through a discussion of my analytical lenses, as well as procedures for data collection and data analysis. I then present three thematic chapters organized around my research findings. In each of these chapters, I provide a chapter overview, a further

contextualized review of relevant literature and key concepts, analysis of representative samples, and a discussion of the main findings. Notably, in Chapter 5, I focus on multilingual students' accounts of becoming multilingual before or immediately after the collapse of the Soviet Union, thinking about how the process of the national transition have shaped their own or their parents' decisions with regard to the language of schooling. I also analyze participants' narratives with regard to the foreign language education and their relatively recent aspirations for learning certain languages. I discuss my findings of this chapter through the scholarship written on family language policy and planning, brain drain, and investment. Chapter 6 presents a comparative analysis of multilingual learners' ideologies of and attitudes toward English in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. As a result of this comparative approach, I am able to illustrate that while English is regarded as an instrumental and opportunistic language for some, it is represented as part of the civic identity for others. To account for such differences, I discuss my analysis of the micro-level data with macro and super-macro level discourses to show participants' construction of linguistic ownership or a lack thereof, as related to the processes of nation-building in each country. In Chapter 7, I look at the narratives of Central Asians in North America and show how they discursively blur the lines between perceived native and non-native languages. I complement my conceptual lens with the notion of habitus to further inform my analysis of these data and I suggest discourses of habit as a useful concept to look at metalinguistic accounts of unconscious habitual behavior that participants discursively recount when positioning themselves in relation to their linguistic repertoire. In the final chapter of this dissertation, Chapter 8, I provide a cross-chapter discussion of the research findings vis-à-vis the research questions that had guided me throughout this work. I conclude this chapter with an additional discussion of limitations, recommendations and implications for future research and practice.

Chapter 2: Multilingual Experiences as Heteroglossic, Chronotopic, and Scaled Overview

This chapter summarizes key ideas, arguments, and findings, the discussion of which reveals my theoretical orientation to language and its role in society. Specifically, I discuss a multilingual turn in applied linguistics, review relevant literature to contextualize my research, and describe the key concepts that characterize my ontological stance. In doing so, I present my theoretical framework by reviewing literature on multilingualism and multilingual practices, language ideologies and identities, heteroglossia, chronotope and scales.

Multilingualism and Multilingual Practices

While multilingualism is not a recent phenomenon, the research on multilingualism in the fields of linguistics and education is rather recent (Cenoz, 2013; Aronin & Singleton, 2008). Its primary purpose has been to challenge the monolingual orientation to the studies of language and society characterized by one language, which equals one community, one place and identity. A number of scholars have proposed various definitions of multilingualism to further strengthen the idea that linguistic diversity is a norm, rather than an exception (Canagarajah, 2013). I follow Li & Moyer's (2008) definition of a multilingual individual as "anyone who can communicate in more than one language, be it active (through speaking or writing) or passive (through listening or reading)" (p. 4). Another well-known definition of multilingualism given by the European Commission (2007) adds multiple layers, or else actors beyond the individual: "The ability of societies, institutions, groups and individuals to engage, on a regular basis, with more than one language in their day-to-day lives" (p. 6). While the term bilingualism has been more common within the US context to talk about knowledge of two or more languages (Garcia, 2014; Garcia & Flores, 2013; Blackledge & Creese, 2010), I opt for multilingualism as a generic term that

encompasses bilingualism and plurilingualism (Council of Europe, 2000), to refer to a plurality of autonomous languages, whether two (bilingual) or many (multilingual), at the individual (bilingual/plurilingual) or societal level (multilingual) (Garcia & Flores, 2013).

With a multilingual turn, there has been increased attention to the act of languaging as a dynamic process highlighting what speakers do as they interact for whom and for what purpose. The term “languaging” is thus increasingly being used today to refer to the practices of speakers that are embedded in a web of social and power relations. In order to account for its dynamicity, a number of terms have been introduced including hybridity (Bhabha, 1994), translanguaging (2009), polylinguaging (Blommaert, 2013), and translingual practice (Canagarajah, 2013). All of these terms oppose the discreteness of languages and instead, emphasize the mixed, fluid, agentic, and transformative nature of linguistic practices as a move away from static terms such as “multilingualism” (Blackledge & Creese, 2017). Other scholars have used terms such as multilingual or linguistic repertoire (Blommaert, 2017; Hammarberg, 2014) to describe speakers’ various abilities in language that may change across their lifespan. One does not need to use multiple languages in their daily life to engage in multilingual practice, because language as a symbolic system can find its manifestation in other forms (Tochon, 2014; 2009).

In this dissertation, I approach multilingualism from static and dynamic viewpoints grounding this movement on the research data. While Cenoz (2013) calls for a dynamic approach to the holistic study of multilingualism, I respond to this call by demonstrating that multilingual speakers themselves talk about their linguistic repertoires and practices as static and discreet at one time, and as fluid and dynamic at another time. Thereby, in this study, I use terms such as linguistic or multilingual repertoire, linguistic toolkit or resources, and languages as interchangeable terms. Similarly, I use interchangeably the terms as multilingual practice,

translingual practice or translanguaging where relevant. While I also believe the words we choose have deep roots in how we see the world, I, nevertheless, choose to do justice to the data I present in this dissertation by following the participants' own invocations of language as stable or fluid.

Language Ideologies

Language is not independent of our ideologies (Piller, 2016). Ideologies of language refer to people's perceptions about a certain language or language in general, the value of language, as well as prescribed knowledge about language and how it should be used (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 2006). Speakers with certain ideological positions may act in certain ways to produce a certain language (Bakhtin, 1981). Therefore, our language, actions, and values are deeply rooted in our ideologies. These ideologies in turn inform our attitudes, i.e. actions or positioning, to languages, speakers, and events (Garcia, 2014; Blommaert, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004; Bakhtin, 1981). Questions arise then with regard to the source of ideologies – as to what shapes our language beliefs and actions. Perhaps one among the major sources are neoliberal ideas, which have become increasingly important of late, because neoliberalism is no longer an idea that exclusively emphasizes the market as the fundamental mechanism for resource distribution and state power limitation (Djuraeva, 2018). It also proposes a set of systematic and complete common ideals that shape people's values and knowledge by commercializing the most sacred domains of people's lives (Van Zon, 2013). This transforms a welfare state into a post-welfare state that relegates all aspects of society to the wisdom of the market (Kubota, 2011; Brown, 2009). Thus, it has become the dominant paradigm for economic, social, and educational reforms (Williams, 2010; Hursh, 2005), which are often regarded as the products of policy. As such, language has turned into a source of politics (Djuraeva, 2018).

Ideologies of language have a major impact on language policy and planning, as well as on individual speakers' actual use of languages. They are "products of higher-level local and global social structures and processes and closely linked to the developmental trajectories of the community and individuals" (Li & Zhu, 2013, p. 10). As every country strives to establish a firm position in the world market, language becomes one of the main means to achieve this goal. As a result, language ideologies become central to language policies (Ricento, 2015). The neoliberal influence in language policies transitions to the language education (Wee, 2014), which serves the ideological purpose of further stratification, exclusion, and control in the labor market (Cameron, 2005). Furthermore, the political positioning of the local languages can also turn those languages into valued cultural capital (Heller, 2010; Bourdieu, 1984) by creating a competition among their speakers within the state. As the phenomena become more apparent, more and more studies have shown how language practices of underrepresented populations are intertwined with the power relations of macro-level social structures through the complex interrelationship among the languages in the neoliberal context (e.g., Butler, 2007; Hashimoto, 2007; Li, 2007; Sungwon, 2007). I will contribute to this aspect of examining language ideologies in relation to language policies in two of the thematic chapters in which I show how an interaction between globalization and national economy in neoliberal contexts influence the trajectory and fate of language and its speakers (Ricento, 2015).

Native vs. Non-Native dichotomy

Scholars have also problematized ideologies of native speakerism in second language research and linguistic human rights. While some scholars have questioned the appropriateness of a standard national language as an object of study (Cenoz & Gorter 2010; Canagarajah 2007), others have also challenged the notions of mother tongue, first language, and home language

(Ndlovu & Makoni, 2014; Ansaldo, 2010; Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Scholars have shown the consequences of these ideologies for multilingual speakers who are positioned as deficient (Aneja, 2016; Matsuda & Cox, 2011). Studies have also demonstrated that ideologies of (non)nativeness can affect people's beliefs about other types of national, political, and racial "ideals" (Flores, 2013; Makihara, 2009) through which multilingual speakers and marginalized communities more broadly are negatively evaluated. Thus, they have instead started to point out the fluidity and plurality of linguistic repertoires as opposed to sociopolitical constructs of autonomous languages as a powerful way to shape people's ideologies of language (Karimzad & Catedral, 2018; Hollington et al., 2016; Lupke, 2016). Following these scholars, I also investigate multilingual Central Asians' ideologies of language and belonging in relation to their discursive construction of "native" vs. "non-native". Less attention, however, has been paid to issues of habit as embodied experience in the abovementioned literature, although there have been calls to engage with these dimensions of speakers' relationships to their linguistic repertoires (e.g. Busch, 2017; Block, 2013). Davies (2004) in particular has noted that a focus on embodied experience may be able to counter strong ideologies of (non)nativeness. While there has been some use of the notions of embodied experience within sociolinguistics and a growing interest in this area (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2016 for an overview), I am not aware of empirical studies which have examined habit as embodied experience relative to issues of (non)nativeness. Thus, one of the goals of this dissertation is to engage with habit as a type of less conscious, embodied experience, that can account for ideologies of (non)nativeness.

Linguistic Marketplace

Globalization, neoliberalism, and the rise of nation-states have brought to ideologies of and attitudes toward language as not only symbolic, (Bourdieu, 1991), but also material, i.e.

commodified (Heller, 2007). Language is not only an indicator of one's identity, but also social class and education. Neoliberalism, which venerates the ideals of 'choice', 'competition', and the 'free market' (Price, 2014), is supposed to equip people equally for competition in the global market regardless of people's linguistic, ethnic, social or racial backgrounds. However, globalist ideologies link market value with language, thus turning some languages into linguistic powers, while devaluing other languages that are not seen to hold 'marketable' value (Phillipson, 2008). For example, neoliberal discourse in a knowledge economy underlies the hegemonic power of English as a language that brings an economic benefit to its speakers. This is a logic of commodities that has engulfed the whole field of education (Holborow, 2013; Ball, 2012; Collini, 2012; Heller, 2010), turning it into an enabler of human capital development. Thus, for students and parents, English proficiency is less a 'choice' than a necessity for success in education and employment (Price, 2014). I respond to these scholarly conceptualizations through the analysis of the role of English for multilingual Central Asian by showing that along with a necessity to possess English as a commodity comes a desire to see oneself as an enabler of that commodity.

Furthermore, conceptualizing language ideologies as intertwined with identity, morality and context is well established within social studies of language. Irvine (1989) describes language ideologies as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of *moral* and political interests" [emphasis added] highlighting the fact that these ideologies do not operate apart from perceptions of an ethical life or power relations (p. 255). Similarly, Bourdieu's (1991) related notions of habitus, linguistic capital, and the linguistic marketplace highlight how language attitudes, individual practice and power dynamics are all mutually reinforcing. What I add to the work that has taken up these

theories is an analysis of the structure that speakers' social imaginaries - their understanding of the social world and their place in it - take in relation to their language ideologies and ultimately, their decisions about their family language policies.

Additionally, languages have been studied as “mobile resources” that speakers' utilize for specific purposes (Canagarajah, 2013; Blommaert, 2010) embedded within social, cultural, political, and historical contexts. Anchimbe (2007) points out the need to study the speakers and contexts that form the fate of languages, especially in relation to the economic power of the language. The focus on economy, culture, power and domination remains in language studies, which shows how human language has evolved immensely from a means of communication to a powerful tool that has served to rule, control, assimilate, and cultivate the kinds of people that would carry the ideology of those in power (Canagarajah, 2013; Foucault, 1980). One such strategy comes from political economy, which introduces the idea of nation-branding, which is a strategic way to form a nation's identity as a branded commodity through discourses circulated by the state (Graan, 2016; Del Percio, 2016; Nakasis, 2012). While it has been applied to the contexts of Macedonia (Graan, 2016), Switzerland (Del Percio, 2016) and Kazakhstan (Saunders, 2008) to investigate written discursive data, I apply the concept of nation-branding to explain the ideologies of and attitudes to language as symbolic or material in my examination of the narrated discursive data of multilingual Central Asians.

To recapitulate, ideologies of language are not only about language, and therefore, hold a central role in each of the thematic chapters of this dissertation. Language has been used as the authentic device for claiming one's legacy; it is often considered not just a component of culture, but an issue of politics, economics and religion (Tochon, 2009). Thus, languages are socially

situated and tied to questions of identity and power in societies (Gal & Woolard, 1995; Woolard, 1998), which I will discuss in the following part of this literature review.

Language and Identity

Language, or languaging, is an act of identity, and therefore, identities are not only ideological, but also discursive (Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2001; Heller, 1995). With an expansion of global flows that include people, goods, and discourse, more attention is given to the link between language and (ethno-)national identity (Garcia, 2015). An inability to master the official language of the nation-state is unwelcome (Mignolo, 2012), along with an inappropriate knowledge of the global languages such as English. This, in turn, has brought scholars to protect the maintenance of minority languages, which they often refer to as mother-tongues (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson;1989; Fishman, 1980). Thus, in heterogeneous communities, people may put boundaries to protect what they find to be a characterization of who they are (Anchimbe, 2007; Svanberg, 1994). Nation is one such imagined political community (Anderson, 1983), where the majority of its people will never meet each other, “yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion” (p. 6). This makes language a unifying and a disruptive force especially in multilingual states which form the pattern most commonly found in modern and contemporary times (Spolsky, 2004). For instance, such unification attempts led to certain inhabitants of Uzbekistan be equally competent in Uzbek and Tajik and unable to define their identification automatically with either nationality (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). In Kazakhstan, the study results showed that the majority of citizens, including Kazakhs and Russians, placed language above other criteria as the marker of their national identity (Arenov & Kalmykov, 1997). Scholars agree that it is only natural that the native language of the largest ethnic group would serve as an important means of determining identity and building a nation. In

other words, language is seen not only as a medium, but as the message; not merely as the means for communication, but as a symbol as well (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012).

Multilingual speakers draw on or look for linguistic resources to enact desirable or resist undesirable identities and it is the social context that determines the availability and visibility of these resources (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Similarly, Bourdieu (1991) forefronts the role of context in accounting for differences in language practices, which are the products of politics (i.e. symbolic capital) and speakers' life trajectories (i.e. habitus). Thus, for instance, being a minority, an immigrant, or a speaker of a global language such as English may result into one's multilingualism (Cenoz, 2013; Auer & Li, 2008) and inform one's identity construction (Li & Moyer, 2008). The study of speakers' translingual or multilingual practices, therefore, can inform the ways speakers claim linguistic ownership, culture, and territorialization (Makoni & Pennycook, 2007) challenging the (non)native ideologies of languages and associated nation-state identities. For example, scholars have looked at multilingual speakers' ownership of English as characterized by legitimacy and linguistic (in)security across different nation-states (Foo & Tan, 2019; Seilhamer, 2015; Park, 2011; Ke, 2010; Sifakis & Sougari, 2005; Matsuda, 2003). While some scholars highlight the emotional factors that indicate one's identification with English (Foo & Tan, 2018; Phan, 2009), others suggest that there is a link between ownership and ideologies and policies in a given context (Seilhamer, 2015; Park, 2011). In this dissertation, I account for both arguments, paying particular attention to the role of ideologies and policies in shaping multilinguals' ownership of English. Additionally, I contribute to the existing literature by examining the role of English vis-à-vis other languages that make up participants' multilingual repertoires.

Following Bucholtz & Hall's (2005) call for the study of identity as inherent in actions, rather than individual attributes, scholars have studied the interactions in which identities are negotiated. Taking into account the context including habits, sites, and timescales has become imperative in the analysis of identity development (Karimzad, 2020; Wortham, 2012). In order to understand identities as constitutive of individual pathways and lived experiences, scholars have been engaged primarily in ethnographic studies of individual lived experiences (Catedral, 2018b; Karimzad, 2016; Wortham & Reyes 2015; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011), in which participants make meaning of their past, present, and future by re-telling certain events (i.e. constructing narratives) (Woolard, 2013). I follow this research tradition in approaching the study of individual identities through examining multilingual people's individual pathways in becoming and being multilingual. What I contribute to these works, which utilize discourse traditions in investigating ideologies and identities, is a narrative tradition by which I am able to study multilingual experiences across a lifespan. I explore my research participants' understanding of the past events that have shaped them as multilingual individuals, along with their present-day experiences as language learners and transnational migrants. Furthermore, I study their imagined and future-oriented identities through which they claim belonging.

In this dissertation, I employ a number of terms interchangeably in order to embrace the multiple aspects of being and becoming, such as belonging, identity, and positioning. I partly follow Block's (2015) views on being and becoming multilingual, in which he defines being to be about language use, while becoming to be about language learning. I appropriate these terms for my own data analysis. For instance, I examine the act of narrating as both the act of being (i.e. attention to language) and as an act of becoming (i.e. attention to identity). At the same time, I consider participants' accounts of language education as stories of becoming, while their social

positionings vis-à-vis their linguistic repertoire as stories of being. In doing so, I build on scholarly investigation of language and identity in a heteroglossic environment, paying attention to spatiotemporal categories of the narrated event, which I will discuss in greater detail below.

Heteroglossia

Language is a city to the building of which every human being brought a stone.
(Ralph Waldo Emerson)

Bakhtin's philosophy of language, which he lays out while analyzing the heteroglot world of discourse in the novel, focuses on the multivoiced nature of language and language use (Bailey, 2012). Bakhtin (1981) stresses the sociality of intellectual processes in claiming that language, for the individual consciousness, lies on the border between oneself and the other (Gomez et al. 2014; Zuengler & Miller, 2006). For Bakhtin, there is no general language, rather there are words that are always addressed to someone by someone. While one does not need to speak multiple languages to demonstrate multivocality, multilingual repertoires create complex discursive practices and multiplicity of voices due to speakers' engagement with highly diverse repertoires (Lee & Canagarajah, 2018). Bakhtin (1981) viewed language use as an appropriation of words that at one time "exist[ed] in other people's mouths" before we make them our own as cited in Todorov, 1984, p. 30). Therefore, Hall (2002) explains that an utterance "can only be understood fully by considering its history of use by other people, in other places, for other reasons" (p. 13). Bakhtin's writings on dialogism, which is the mutual participation of speakers and hearers in the construction of utterances and the connectedness of all utterances to past and future expressions, also underlie the idea of multivocality (Dore, 1995). Packaged with dialogism is Bakhtin's understanding of the inherently ideological nature of language. Every utterance we produce reveals our stance toward the interlocutors involved, signaling our social positioning within the local interaction and in response to larger sociopolitical forces (Freedman & Ball,

2004). Thus, the words we use have been used by others from different points of reference.

Every utterance is dialogic– situated within a web of other, multiple utterances (Matusov, 2007).

To speak (or write), then, is of necessity to enter into a dialogue.

Heteroglossia⁴ (“other-language-ness”) characterizes dialogic discourse, where multiple meanings (and ideologies) are present and in tension in one utterance (Tolkachev, 2013). It emphasizes the combination of existing statements or speech-genres to construct a text (Dimitriadis & Kamberelis, 2006). Thus, the underlying linguistic structures and cultural views embedded in a multilingual individual’s language repertoire add layers of complexity to intended and derived meanings. Unknown conventions or unspoken norms shape how one’s utterances are formed and reacted to and eventually become part of a repertoire of practices that shape linguistic choices in further attempts at communication. Bakhtin’s formulation of heteroglossia in the early 20th century challenged the structuralist conception of language by Saussure (Bailey, 2012) and the mentalist of Chomsky, both removing language from context of use. Therefore, a number of studies reviewed in the sections on language ideology and identity utilize a Bakhtinian conceptualization of language in context. A relatively recent term synonymous to heteroglossia is translanguaging (Garcia, 2009), which can also be considered a way of “populating” an utterance with “one’s own intention.” It is what I call a modern hybridized form of languaging.

Notions such languages status, standard language, language of power, language for international communication often create a discursive struggle, because the sociohistorical world is also characterized by heteroglossia and discursive struggle (Robinson, 2011). This is largely

⁴In his Russian texts Bakhtin uses three terms to describe various aspects of the multiplicity of language. The three terms discussed by Karine Zbinden (2002) are: mnogoyazychiye, raznoyazychiye and raznorechiye. She says that English translation of mnogoyazychiye (which is translated as polyglossia), and raznorechiye (translated as heteroglossia) is accurate. However, she points out that there is no adequate translation of raznoyazychiye (translated often as multilinguagedeness). Todorov (1984) translated correctly the term raznorechiye as heterology, saving heteroglossia for raznoyazychiye. Thus, while scholars in western literature talk about heterology, they call it heteroglossia.

due to the dialogic nature of language, in which the dominant discourse is always interrupted by other voices, because language always ultimately orients to the other (Holquist, 1990). There is ultimately no unified literary medium, but rather a plenitude of local social languages (Robinson, 2011). Furthermore, in a heteroglossic society, there is a certain process of assimilation that an individual undergoes. If one selectively assimilates to others' perspectives, then he/she is experiencing 'becoming' or maturation (Todorov, 1984). One can situate oneself socially by relating one's own perspective to those of others (Robinson, 2011). Thus, once again there is a dialogic relationship in any heteroglossic world. For Bakhtin, a mature subject should learn to reject authoritative discourse and adopt only those parts of others' perspectives that fit with her or his values and experiences (Freedman & Ball, 2011). Such a subject would have an active, independent and responsible discourse, respecting the other in its autonomy.

Heteroglossia is at the heart of my own ontological stance with regard to language, ideologies, and identities as contested phenomena. My epistemological stance to the study of multilingualism and multilingual speakers is informed by Bakhtin's notion of chronotope, which has gained a significant presence in the sociolinguistic studies of language lately (Karimzad & Catedral, 2018; Catedral, 2018b; Blommaert & Backus, 2013).

Chronotope

Although similar to Koestler's (1970) concept of holon, a perspective in biology, which essentially highlights various smaller parts that make up a larger whole, I have adopted the lens of chronotope in demonstrating my analysis of this dissertation research. The chronotope is used in literary theory and philosophy of language to describe how configurations of time and space are represented in language and discourse (Bemong & Borghart, 2010). Bakhtin describes it as a chronotope of the threshold (Todorov, 1984), which is similar to shifts that I discuss in my

description of the sociolinguistic context of Central Asia. The Russian newspaper “Izvestiya” (2010) compares the notion to eternity; that is, nothing disappears in time and the time itself turns into space through picture, sculpture, or text. Chronotope has also been taken up by sociocultural theorists to argue that in addition to time and space, chronotopes involve particular social types (Agha, 2007a) as well as “ideological and moral orders” (Blommaert, 2018), organizing various aspects of social life. For instance, Woolard’s (2013) paper applies the chronotope to the study of language attitudes, showing how specific understandings of time, place, and personhood in relation to one’s personal development can account for differences in one’s attitudes towards Catalan. I follow Woolard in using chronotopes to analyze language attitudes, but in contexts related to multilingual repertoires and associated ideologies and identities of multilingual speakers.

The study of chronotopes in participant narratives are informative of participant attitudes to processes and practices that emerge with the social change (Aydarova, 2016; Wang, 2009). In addition to the socially situated studies of linguistic behavior (e.g. Blommaert & De Fina, 2017), chronotope has also been utilized for the study of discourses as constituent of chronotopes, i.e. the connection of chronotopes to the broader discursive social context (Blommaert, 2018; Davidson, 2007). For instance, chronotopes have been relevant in the study of personhood (Agha, 2007a), moral and ideological norms (Blommaert, 2018; Dick, 2010), historicity (Wirtz, 2016), language attitudes and ethnolinguistic identity (Catedral, 2018a; Blommaert & De Fina 2017; Woolard 2013) and future-oriented discourses (Karimzad, 2016). Chronotope has also been useful in the analysis of identities as related to the nation-states and transnationalism (Rosa 2016; Wirtz 2016). In this dissertation, I use chronotopes in a number of ways. First, I apply them to differentiate between discourses of ideals and discourses of habit. While the former

defines speakers' orientation to the nation-state, the latter refers to speakers' orientation to their daily habitual activities. I also use chronotopes to study both historicity and the future in a narrative of multilingual becoming. Finally, chronotopes have also been informative in my research for a demonstration of the dialogic nature of the English language learning experience with the imagined communities (Anderson, 2011) constructed in multilingual students' narratives.

Chronotope is particularly useful in examining post-Soviet Central Asian young adults, who while have not lived for too long in the Soviet Union and yet can still have nostalgia for the past that they have not experienced (Peacock, 2012). In order to account for the shifting spatiotemporal frames and values in participant discourses of language learning and belonging, I examine their social worlds through the gates of chronotope. In this dissertation, I revisit the notion of ownership in Chapter 6 by showing how it is creatively taken up by Kazakhstan in forming the link between ownership of English with citizen's nationality, language, and identity – known as “Herderian Triad” (Risager, 2006). I, for instance, show how multilingual students in Kazakhstan challenge the marginalized notions of deficiency associated with speakers of English as a foreign language (Canagarajah, 2013) to construct new identities.

In my discussion of chronotopes above, I have signaled repeatedly that chronotopes are discursive invocations of speakers' orientation to the images of nation-state or a smaller image of a classroom whilst constructing a narrative. In order to draw these differences in participant discourses, I also examine the discursive scaling of the chronotope, which speakers employ to build, position, or justify the aspects of the narratives.

Scales

Scales are used in studies of language to understand the hierarchically ordered nature of time and space (Lemke, 2000), what Blommaert (2015) describes as the vertical ordering of various chronotopes. If chronotopes are “invocable chunks of history that organize indexical order of discourse, scale, in turn, can be seen as the scope of communicability of such invocations” (Blommaert, 2015, p. 105). Scholars have shown the power of scales to constrain discourse along with the speakers’ ability of discursive scaling of their social positionings (Catedral, 2018b; Carr & Lempert, 2016), i.e. constraining the narrative event to certain times, spaces, places, and people. Discursive scaling can be examined through attention to participants’ act of narrating and the subject of narration (Koven, 2016; Wortham, 2001), for instance, the legitimacy of language values only within the given context (i.e. event). I use the terms scale, scaled, or scaling to refer to the discursive nature of and inherent power in the term. For instance, my study participants tend to invoke higher scaled chronotopes of the Soviet Union or the nation-state to justify values and decisions they associate with their languages. The suffix “-er” in higher vs. lower is not used to demonstrate a binary; rather its purpose is to show that chronotopes discursively operate in a continuum (i.e. multiple levels of the scale). For example, in Chapters 6 and 7, I show how multilingual speakers’ discourses of linguistic ownership and (non)nateness operate on this continuum, moving between the higher end, at which institutional discourses prevail, and the lower end where discourses of lived experiences prevail, in justifying linguistic practices and attitudes.

Finally, scales contribute to the scholarship in language policy and planning, which stresses the examination of both macro and micro dimensions of language use, attitudes, and ideologies (Flowers, 2017; Hult, 2010; Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Ricento, 2000). In this dissertation, I utilize this concept to discuss more private family language policies, as well as

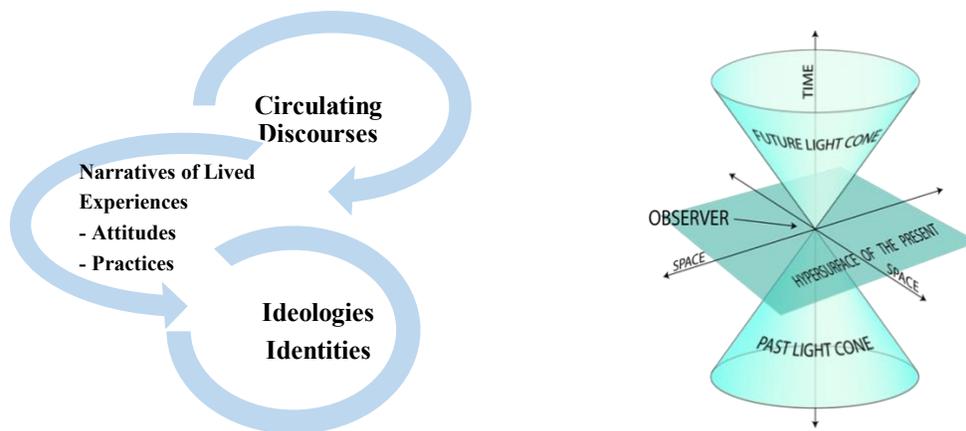
statewide policies of language as invoked in participants' narratives. Wortham (2012) has noted that in the study of anthropology of education, there has not yet been proposed a clear approach to account for processes and resources from heterogeneous scales to explain static and dynamic aspects of social life, which I attempt to tackle in this dissertation by combining chronotopes and scales in my analyses of multilingual speakers' lived experiences.

The Concept Map

Based on the above description and discussion of the key notions in my theoretical toolkit, I have created and adapted the following visualization:

Figure 1

Language/Languaging in a Social Context



The two images above represent the way I view language and speaker situated in a larger social context. While the first image to the left has been created by me, the second image to the right has been downloaded from the internet; however, I can no longer trace it back for a reference. My dissertation research examines multilinguals' narratives of lived experiences in which my participants construct and project their language attitudes and practices. These narratives are not produced in a vacuum; rather, they are informed or shaped by participants prior experiences as social actors (Bourdieu, 1991), whose views and actions are contested with

circulating discourses (Rosier, 2003) across time and space. At the same time, when constructing their narratives, my participants also construct or negotiate identities in the process of narration, which is also reflective of their ideologies. As shown, all three crescents are mutually informative and there is no top-down influence; rather, it is a circulation of discourses that inform actions, which become part of circulating discourses. All three are invoked discursively in the narrative through the gates of chronotope, which is the image to the right. In particular, my participants talk about their attitudes and practices through the invocation of spatiotemporal categories (i.e. chronotopes). Whether these attitudes and practices are primarily the reflection of “ideals” or “standards” is then informed through a higher-scaled chronotope, while examples of “everyday activity” is informed by a lower-scaled chronotope. Thus, to explore individual ideologies and identities with regard to language, education, and policy is to be mindful of the contextualization of language or language in a social world.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the main ideas that contribute to my ontology of language, ideology, and identity. While all of the abovementioned concepts play a key role in informing the research I have undertaken for the last 8 years, I complement this view with other useful concepts within each thematic chapter of the dissertation to further contextualize the arguments I make in each of those chapters. In the upcoming Chapter 3, I describe the sociolinguistic contexts of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and transnational migration from Uzbekistan to North America to provide a more holistic picture of the social contexts of my research participants.

Chapter 3: Central Asia at a Glance: Politics of Language

Overview

In this chapter, I first outline the sociolinguistic contexts of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, Central Asian post-Soviet nation-states from which my research participants come. I give an overview of major historic and current events that have shaped these countries' internal and external policies on language, identity, and education. I also bring relevant examples from the literature to demonstrate the gap in research on these communities and to highlight what local and a few international scholars have found in the studies of language in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Second, I present an overview of the context of migration of people from Uzbekistan to North America. Throughout the chapter, I show how I am going to complement and build on the available knowledge of the sociolinguistic contexts of these countries and on the issues related to the study of multilingualism and multilingual speakers.

Central Asia

The history of the Central Asian region can be characterized by long and intense contact between diverse languages and cultures, making it difficult to distinguish ethnicity and nationality. The areas of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan were previously occupied by Persian, Arab, and Mongol invaders. While Arabs brought Islam and Arabic script to Central Asia, Persians and Turks proliferated the use of their languages in the government, army, poetry, and science. Under the Russian Empire and then Soviet Union, Central Asia has faced a number of drastic changes including the increased use of Russian as a lingua franca, the unveiling of women in Uzbekistan and co-education of men and women across Central Asian countries (Kamp, 2006), the process of “korenizatsiya” (i.e. nativization) (Fierman, 1982) and the multiple changes of the script for Uzbek and Kazakh languages, particularly a change from the Persian-based Arabic script to the

Latin script and then to the Cyrillic script within a 70-year period. The purpose of reviewing these shifts is to demonstrate the long and short history of the region in which the language, identity, and education of people have been impacted by the larger forces to a great extent and at times at great cost. With the rise of the Soviet republics that were created around the largest ethnic group of the particular region, the titular languages of those groups gained more power.

Central Asia has a complex multilingual ecology, which includes many languages besides states' official languages, that creates a unique ground for education to occur (Bahry et al., 2016). Although very similar in many ways, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan chose different paths in becoming a developed country. Uzbekistan adopted a cautious, gradual approach to market reform, while Kazakhstan followed a more aggressive strategy (Alam & Banerji, 2000). This difference can also be observed in the two countries' language and education reforms. As both nation-states have been actively internationalizing their education systems, they have faced similar issues. For example, both nation-states have faced the challenges of building national unity against the Soviet past and neoliberal present (Aminov et al., 2010; Schlyter, 1997). The language has served as one of the main vehicles to reinforce national unity (Djuraeva, 2015). The former first presidents of both states emphasized the importance of the national language in the future of both nations in their various speeches (Reagan, 2015; Djuraeva, 2015). In the past 25 years, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan have adopted many reforms in relation to language policy and language education policy which influenced the education of youth (Brown, 2013).

I find the case of Central Asia to be informative in investigating ideologies of and attitudes to languages precisely because it is a densely multilingual context where it is common to speak three or four typologically distinct languages. In the following parts, I will review key events in each country that are relevant to the focus of this dissertation.

Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is perhaps best known as a former post-Soviet republic, which is rich in oil and gas that contributed to its rapid economic growth during the last decade. Kazakhstan appeared on the world map during the Soviet period when the Kazakh Soviet Socialist Republic (KSSR) was created (Marquardt, 2013; Fierman, 2009). It was not until 1991, after the collapse of the Soviet Union, that Kazakhstan became an independent Central Asian⁶ state. The Soviet past has become an important descriptor of all Central Asian states, which are often discussed in relation to their pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet histories.

Kazakhs emerged as an amalgam of nomadic Mongols and indigenous Turkic tribes in the 15th century. Being traditionally pastoral nomads, they are the second largest Turkic speaking group in Central Asia after the Uzbeks. Their language was based on the runic writing that was replaced by the Arabic script with the spread of Islam. In fact, bilingualism in Central Asia developed through contact between multiple Iranian-Turkic language varieties (Bahry, 2016; Schlyter, 2013) alongside the formal use of classical Arabic, Persian, and Chagatai Turki (Bahry et al., 2016). With increasing pressure from Chinese and Mongol tribes, Kazakhs found protection under imperial Russia, which eventually extended its rule. During those imperial times, many Russians, Ukrainians and Germans were moved to the land of Kazakhs, which led to securing the status of the Russian language as a language of interethnic communication among different ethnicities residing there (Tynyshpayev, 1998).

⁵The world's ninth largest (territory) country in the world with a relatively small population (approximately 17 million). Kazakhstan is a Muslim-majority secular state with a significant Slavic Orthodox Christian minority (Fierman, 2009).

⁶Central Asia is the core region of the Asian continent and stretches from the Caspian Sea in the west to China in the east and from Afghanistan in the south to Russia in the North. In modern contexts, all definitions of Central Asia include these five republics of the former Soviet Union: Kazakhstan (pop. 16.6 million), Kyrgyzstan (5.5 million), Tajikistan (7.6 million), Turkmenistan (5.1 million), and Uzbekistan (29.5 million), for a total population of 64.7 million as of 2012 (Ethnologue.com).

During the Soviet period, Russian played a central role in virtually all domains of life in KSSR, and the country was one of “the most linguistically russified” states of the Soviet Union (Dave & Sinnot, 2002, p. 1). The KSSR experienced a language shift from Kazakh to Russian during the Soviet era, when speaking Russian (and being educated in Russian) was both a status marker and a necessary condition for the opening of many professional and academic doors (Fierman, 2006; Dave, 1996). For example, Schatz (2000) reports that political competition was primarily centered around Russians and Kazakhs, with much of the Kazakh elite being culturally and linguistically russified. The russification policy of the USSR targeted the younger generation and was set in full motion, especially in schools in the 1940s and 1950s. In 1940, the Cyrillic alphabet was imposed, and in 1955, the teaching of Kazakh as an obligatory subject in Russian schools was terminated (Smagulova, 2008). It was no longer mandatory for children to be instructed in their “native” language, and the choice of the language of instruction was left to be made to parents. Due to the limited choices of higher education for Kazakh language graduates, approximately 700 Kazakh-medium schools were eliminated resulting in 75.3% of urban Kazakhs claiming a high proficiency in the Russian language and literacy in the “All-Union Census” conducted in 1989 (Fierman, 1998). Laitin (1998) explains this tendency as follows:

For Kazakhs, the motivation to learn Russian was to become, in Abram de Swaan’s formulation, “monopoly mediators” standing between Russian rule at the center and Kazakh society in the periphery. Those who learned Russian and developed other forms of cultural capital enabling them to earn the trust of Soviet officials were not only able to get higher education (unavailable in Kazakh) but were also able to advance to positions of local and regional authority (as cited in Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001, p. 71).

According to the results of the “All-Union Census” dated 1970, 1979, and 1989, almost 98% of Kazakhs claimed Kazakh as their native language (although the majority might not have had any literary proficiency in it) (Smagulova, 2008; Sebba, 2006). Regardless of a language shift from Kazakh into Russian, scholars of language who focus on Central Asia believe that the role of the Kazakh language as symbolic capital representing Kazakh identity remained high (Smagulova, 2008; Fierman, 2006). This, however, can be questioned in several ways. First, there is a high chance that not only ethnic Kazakhs, but also other minorities might have had inadequate literary proficiency in their languages as the alphabet script had been changed twice within a 50-year period in the KSSR. Second, Kazakhs were still a minority in 1989 and reached the majority status that is 60% of the local population only in 2008. Third, a significant number of other minority groups living in the KSSR are believed to report their national language, i.e. Kazakh language, as their native language regardless of actual use or proficiency (Bahry et al., 2017). Thus, the width and degree of the language shift has been underestimated not only among ethnic Kazakhs, but also other ethnic groups. I believe that bottom-up research investigating the role of schools and family language policies in the late Soviet and early post-Soviet periods, which is non-existent, can be insightful in understanding language ideologies among various ethnicities living on the territory. My research sheds lights on these aspects of people’s life in Chapter 5.

Post-Soviet Kazakhstan can be characterized by an ongoing period of transition in all spheres of human life. Some of these transitions are rather radical and can be described as shifts that are believed to have shaped the overall language dynamics in the country (Beisenova, 2013; Brown, 2013):

Economically once poor⁷ (or not in control of its funds), Kazakhstan is currently one of the largest exporters of crude oil, natural gas and uranium (Beachain & Kevlihan, 2011). The value of its natural resources in the global market has brought the country to a new, stronger economic level. Thus, Kazakhstan is considered to be the economically leading Central Asian country (Puhovich, 2007; Kolst, 2003), which attracts a large number of immigrant workers coming to Kazakhstan for work from other Central Asian states (Dave, 2007), as well as foreign investors. This economic turn led to Kazakhstan's entrance to the global market that brought learning of the English language to the forefront (Mingisheva, 2013). In 2007, state officials have further proposed a trilingual education, which promotes instruction in English, Russian and Kazakh languages (Mun, 2011).

A socio-political shift has primarily occurred with Kazakhstan's independence from the Russian legacy. The once highly respected Russian elite is now being replaced by a Kazakh elite due to the emigration of many Russians from the country after 1991 (Dave & Sinnot, 2002). The Nation-State's own vision of its policy both internally and externally defined a political shift in the country. Once ruled by Moscow as the center of Soviet political and economic policy, Kazakhstan now dictates its own foreign policy by looking both east and west, and targeting primarily Central Asian regions with its strong economic potential (Rumer et al., 2016; Rumer, 2015). A self-proclaimed democratic country has emerged. Despite its highly authoritarian government in the 1990s, Kazakhstan chose a path toward creating a multilingual society in the early 2000s (Vitchenko, 2017). Kazakhstan's political stance suggests its effort in keeping Russian as another official language, but at the same time pushing for Kazakh and English for

⁷Kazakhstan suffered famine in the early 1930s, causing the deaths of about two million people (Khazanov, 1995).

local and global purposes (Reagan, 2005), such as *internationalizations*. Kazakhstan aims to develop a trilingual society by 2020 with 95 % of the population proficient in Kazakh, 90 % in Russian, and 20 % in English through trilingual education (Bahry et al., 2017).

A linguistic shift has undoubtedly occurred ideologically as the status of language(s) in Kazakhstan shifted with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Since language is seen not only as a medium, but as the message, not merely as the means for communication, but as a symbol as well (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001). Once regarded as less developed and backward language of people of rural background (Dave, 2004) as well as the language “the space of which has receded more than the Aral sea” (Fireman, 2006, p. 111), Kazakh has become the mirror, at least symbolically (Fierman, 2005) following the former president Nazarbayev’s dictum on language being the mirror of its nation. In modern Kazakhstan, two major languages coexist in power – the Kazakh language, the state language of Kazakhstan; and Russian, which is an official language that has an equal status in all spheres of life (Smagulova, 2006). The ten-year state program on language policy introduced in early 1999 called for the use and learning of the state language, i.e. Kazakh (Dave & Sinnot, 2002), and knowledge of the Kazakh language became a must for the state employees, exchange students and scholars with the introduction of the Kazakh language proficiency test, KAZTest⁹ (Republic of Kazakhstan, 2010). While Kazakh was elevated to the official status as the state language, Russian language preserved its role as an official language. This is rather unusual for the majority of the post-Soviet countries, whose policies aimed at promoting local national languages (e.g., Armenian, Azeri, Estonian, Latvian,

⁸ “A process, ... a response to globalization and as including both international and local elements” (Knight & de Wit, 1999, p. 2).

⁹ There is no analogue of such test in other Central Asian states

Lithuanian, Ukrainian, Uzbek) by proclaiming them as the only state and official language in their respective countries.

Language (Education) Policies of Kazakhstan. Kazakhstan in particular is building a world-class education system that is designed to prepare learners for university-level study in English and ultimately help Kazakhstan compete internationally (Mingisheva, 2013). Since 2011, it is the only Central Asian state that is a member of the Bologna Process, which implemented international curriculum standards in its leading Nazarbayev University in 2010 (Zhumagulov, 2010). The Ministry of Education and Science has been in the process of implementing a trilingual language-in-education model, in which English is being added to the secondary and post-secondary education curriculum (Vitchenko, 2017). In addition, the Ministry brings in additional number of English-speaking teachers for secondary, vocational, and tertiary institutions through the Bolashak International Scholarship, which funds talented Kazakh students to study overseas, primarily in English-speaking universities (Republic of Kazakhstan, 2010). Scholars agree on a number of challenges for language-in-education policy in Kazakhstan which include developing Russian-language proficiency among the rural Kazakhs and Kazakh language proficiency among Russian speaking urban Kazakhs, sustaining the education of minority languages among respective groups, and providing enough support for learning English as a foreign language statewide. Thus, it has been a common practice to have two-language parallel medium schools with Russian alongside Kazakh, Tajik, Uzbek, or Kyrgyz as the languages of instruction (Aref'ev, 2012; Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012). It is crucial to draw attention to the strong presence of the Russian language, which is often one of the main languages of instruction offered in majority of schools. Furthermore, the language (of) education of minority groups living in Kazakhstan is understudied as the majority of the scholarship

investigates the tension of the two dominant languages, Kazakh and Russian, between the two dominant groups to which I aim to contribute in this dissertation by amplifying the voices of marginalizes populations.

Trinity of Languages. Fierman (2011) notes the ubiquity of trilingualism among Turkic-speaking minorities in Central Asia. This recognition of a multilingual potential of the nation as a resource in education and as a result in the global marketplace set the ground for the “Trinity of Languages.” A project initiated by the former president, which laid the foundation of a Kazakhstan model of multilingualism claiming Kazakh as the state language, Russian as the language of inter-ethnic communication and English as the language of successful integration into the global economy and community (Vitchenko, 2017, p. 102). According to Avakova et al. (2014), its objectives are targeted on three major issues:

- Promotion of the official state language (Kazakh)
- Maintenance of Kazakh-Russian bilingualism in Kazakhstan generally
- Multilingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English for the national elite, and eventually for all its citizens.

The program emphasizes that all activities stipulated by it are based on the priority of the state language development being a major factor in the strengthening of national unity and are directed at meeting spiritual, cultural and language needs of the citizens of Kazakhstan. The study by Zharkynbekova et al. (2013) reported that the majority of the respondents supported the state’s trilingual policy with over 70% of them believing that a multilingual policy will strengthen the Kazakh language while 59% of the respondents believed that it would strengthen the position of the English language. At the same time, more than half of them also showed concerns regarding the weakening position of the Kazakh language and it being replaced by

English in the future. On the other hand, a majority of the respondents indicated that it was highly unlikely for the Russian language to be replaced by English. Scholars, however, express a concern toward uncertainties with regard to the development of Kazakh language proficiency among the urban population and Russian among the rural community as trilingual education is slowly being introduced into secondary and post-secondary institutions. Furthermore, there is a concern toward the possibility of integration of other languages spoken in the country into the trilingual model. It certainly becomes a challenge to embrace societal multilingualism at a state level along with balancing Kazakh and Russian language education in the country.

Transition from Cyrillic to Latin-based Kazakh Script. After a long-term debate and stipulations around the Kazakh alphabet since its independence, the former president Nazarbayev amended a new decree confirming the transition in 2017. As another sign of internationalization, a Latin-based Kazakh script is believed to turn Kazakh into “the language of modern media” making Kazakh become ubiquitous and dominant in all spheres of national life (Avakova et al., 2014; Beisenova, 2013). It is important to note that the “Common Turkic Alphabet” used in KSSR from 1929 to 1940 was based on the Latin script but was then replaced by the Cyrillic script. In his speech on the modernization of Kazakhstan’s national identity (2017), the former president sees the alphabet transition as a first change to be made toward the nation’s future and characterizes it as driven by the specific requirements of the modern technological environment, of communications and science and education in the 21st century. Nevertheless, some scholars believe that the change of the script to the Romanized alphabet will only create more hurdles for the Russian-speaking Kazakhs to learn Kazakh language (Yergaliyeva, 2018; Zharkynbekova et al., 2017). Yergaliyeva (2018) further argues that such a transition is not only a result of modernization, outmigration of ethnic Russians, and elevation of the symbolic power of the

Kazakh language, but also former president Nazarbayev's personal interest in this linguistic transition. She speculates that all of the linguistic reforms toward building the Kazakh nation are "Nazarbayev's personal interest in being perceived as Kazakhstan's Father figure, the protector of Kazakhstan and more importantly, the Kazakh people" (p. 40). The former president's attempts to leave his personal mark on shaping a strong Kazakh oriented identity in the nation was also noted by Uli Schamiloglu, a professor Emeritus in Central Asian languages and cultures at University of Wisconsin-Madison, now professor at Nazarbayev University (Uli Schamiloglu, August 5th 2018, personal communication). Despite his cautious approach to reforms in the early 1990s, the former president's rigorous actions toward institutionalizing linguistic reforms have become a foundation for the image of the State with regard to language, nationhood, and territory. In Chapter 6, I draw specifically from this literature in order to articulate my argument in which I focus on the relationship between multilingual students' ideologies of language and nation-branding efforts of the state.

National Identity. Identity, especially civic identity, is one of the issues of concern to linguists of Kazakhstan (Avakova et al., 2014). This concern has been characterized with the rapidly changing societal and political values of the nation-state within a generation. "Mankurt" is a widely-used metaphor in Turkic languages to convey the loss of ethnic identity and native language, and has become synonymous with being Russified¹⁰ (Dave, 2007). It refers to a mythical character in a novel by Chinghiz Aitmatov (a well-known Soviet Kyrgyz writer) who could not remember his ancestry, cringed at efforts to activate his memory, and preferred a passive, secure existence devoid of any painful ethnic memories (Dave, 2007). Another widely used term by contemporary Kazakhs toward Kazakhs who do not speak Kazakh language is

¹⁰However, I would add that it is often treated as an insult and carries more negative connotation than being Russified.

Shala Kazakh, which historically was used toward Kazakhs of mixed ethnicity, but came to identify a person with an incomplete knowledge of his “native” Kazakh language (Akanova, 2018). “Nagyzy” Kazakh is, in turn, a Kazakh who knows and speaks his language fluently and follows Kazakh traditions. Akanova (2018) attributes the use of these indicators among people to nationalist language ideology that discriminates against those who are not fully proficient in Kazakh. Indeed, Kazakhstan is the only Central Asian country that went through a linguistic shift during the Soviet era (Fierman, 2005), and despite strong pressure to increase the use and status of Kazakh nowadays, the Russian language continues to play a central role in all domains of life for many people in Kazakhstan, and its role as the country’s interlanguage remains powerful (Reagan, 2014). On the other hand, some of the local scholars believe that in the long run, the mass emigration of Russophones, substantial rural-urban and south-north migration of Kazakh monolinguals, and the rise of English will weaken the status of the Russian language (Avakova et al., 2014).

In his 2017 speech on modernization of Kazakhstan’s national identity, the former president Nazarbayev introduced the “Tughan Zher” (Birthland) program that would target the cultivation of love toward the homeland and application of certain activities in reflection of that love. He emphasized the role of the national language forming national awareness, as well as the need to build social and humanitarian knowledge through translation of the world’s 100 best books into Kazakh. He explains this move by noting that for many years this knowledge was constrained by the framework of one doctrine and one worldview. One may observe that young people are the primary target group of the state’s national policies; this, in turn, replicates of the Soviet legacy directed towards the younger generation through education, mass media and parental influence (Smith et al., 1998). In fact, in the same speech, Nazarbayev noted that the

future of the Kazakh nation will be created in the classrooms, thus targeting students. In 2007, Blum reported that the majority of Kazakh youth watch, read or listen to mainly Russian-language programs, books and music, with English being the second most popular language and Kazakh being the least popular. In her recent study on language ideologies of Kazakh youths, Akanova (2018) found that a majority of youth feel ashamed of speaking improper Kazakh and as a result do not speak it at all. Furthermore, most of these young people who identified themselves as Kazakhs and their native language as Kazakh noted that such a self-identification had little to do with their actual use and proficiency in the language, but more with the environment in which they had grown up. Thus, current state efforts toward re-vitalization of national identity through the Kazakh language can be regarded as an effort to shift societal language practice towards Kazakh dominance. While the efforts toward the revival of Kazakh use in all domains of social life have started with a new millennium (Dave & Sinnot, 2002), a trilingual policy, which stresses citizens' proficiency in three languages including Kazakh, Russian and English is fairly new (Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Kazakhstan, 2011). However, few studies that were carried out among Kazakhstan's population show that the state's narrative on the "true" Kazakh image is hard to attain. Furthermore, the experiences of other minority groups, i.e. Slavic and Turkic communities, have been overlooked in the recent studies on language and identity in Kazakhstan. Moreover, the majority of the recent studies, which examine people's attitudes towards trilingualism, are limited to surveys and lack a discursive and narrative approach to the analysis of the inquiry (e.g. Zhetpisbaeva et al., 2019; Osman & Ahn, 2016; Zharkynbekova et al., 2013). I attempt to fill in this gap with my research, which utilizes narrative and discourse analyses and involves an examination of multilingual speakers' ideologies from a number of ethnic groups in Kazakhstan.

Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan has also become visible to the international world after the collapse of the Soviet Union and proclamation of its independence in 1991. The Republic of Uzbekistan is the most populous Central Asian country, with a total population of 28, 661, 000 (according to ethnologue.com), which equals, if not supersedes, the combined population of the remaining four Central Asian states. Despite its multilingual and multiethnic population and unlike neighboring Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan proclaimed Uzbek to be the only state and official language of the country. Additionally, in spite of all the efforts of Soviet officials to spread Russian in Central Asia, there was no Russian language shift observed among Uzbeks and other ethnic groups in the area of the Uzbek Soviet Socialistic Republic (SSR), which cannot be said about its neighbor, Kazakhstan (Fishman, in Kreindler, 1982, p. vii). In 1989, only 27 % of Uzbeks claimed proficiency in Russian, while an overwhelming majority (71%) claimed fluency in Uzbek. Uzbeks were quite successful in preserving their language through producing books and magazines in Uzbek; the other minorities in Uzbekistan were also proficient in Uzbek, again unlike the situation in Kazakhstan with respect to the Kazakh language (Pavlenko, 2008; Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

Language (Education) Policy

Language policy is dependent on societal support. According to Schlyter (1997), most commonly, this support is seen in connection with the notion of language attitudes. The relationship between language attitudes on the one hand, and language policy and language reform on the other, is reciprocal rather than hierarchical or unidirectional. Schlyter argues that language attitudes are dynamic phenomena and they easily change when, among other things, demographic and political changes take place in a society. Such changes occurred in multilingual

Uzbekistan, where almost 130 languages are spoken (Schlyter, 2012). The new nation-state had a different vision of its future from that of the Soviet era (Fierman, 1985).

As a new first secretary of the Communist Party in Uzbekistan (and later its President), Islom Karimov started accentuating a higher status for the Uzbek language. Eventually, Uzbek became the official language (Law on the Official Language, 1989; 1995) of the country in 1989. Language planning policies in Uzbekistan were central to both colonization and decolonization (Kreindler, 1997). The “language development” (Fierman, 2011) took place through legislation, administrative measures, education, de-Cyrillicizing the alphabet, readjusting orthography, preparing and publishing textbooks, reading materials, topographic changes, and purifying the language from Russian words. Such drastic changes were implemented after the Law on Language (1995) was adopted. According to Pavlenko (2008), Uzbekistan downgraded the status of Russian to that of other minority languages (1995), while Kazakhstan (1995) and then Kyrgyzstan (2000) elevated Russian to an official language of the country. It also implemented the transition from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet (Pavlenko, 2008) considering that alphabet selection has often been selected on political grounds, as it can be an important unifying or divisive factor (Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2001).

As a consequence, Russian-language competence has decreased, particularly among younger populations schooled after 1991, and in rural populations (Nagzibekova, 2008; Orusbaev et al., 2008). However, this tendency did not last long as in early 2000s, several surveys showed that despite losing its official status, Russian remained the language of interethnic communication for 96% of the respondents. It is also considered to be the “native” language of the majority of the non-Uzbek population (Aminov et al., 2010). In Uzbekistan, Russian remains the second language of the “intelligentsia” (i.e. highly educated people),

because the quality and diversity of Russian-language publications, including literary and scientific translations, still outpace Uzbek-language publications (Kobyl, 2007).

Despite the government's attempt to push forward English as a lingua franca, the English language is perceived as a foreign language by the majority of the population and is not used on a daily basis. Surveys conducted in 2001, 2002 and in 2006 in Uzbekistan's largest cities (Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara), among 3000 representatives of different ethnicities, showed that English played a very minor role in interethnic communication, professional language use, and in the media (Nazaryan, 2007). A survey of students, professors, and bureaucrats found that only 1% of respondents use English in their professional activities and read publications in English (Aminov et al. 2010). I will contribute to this scholarship in Chapter 6 of this dissertation in which I discuss attitudes of multilingual learners of English toward English and locally used languages in Uzbekistan.

Uzbekness – a Distinct National Identity

Language is one of the important ingredients in building the nation (Smith et al., 1998). Uzbekistan, as a nation-state, has shown how language-related reforms can raise the civic consciousness of the population (Ferrando, 2012). For example, Uzbekistan opted to create its own variety of the Latin alphabet instead of accepting Turkey's offer to share the Turkish Latin alphabet. This historical data and the data which show an "avoidance" of Turkic language borrowings to replace Russian loanwords suggests that the disuse of Turkic borrowings is another type of language planning which marks distinction between Pan-Turkic identities and Uzbek national identity (Schlyter, 2001). It was also Uzbekistan's way to differentiate itself from the Russian world (Djuraeva, 2013). Language policy played an important role in producing this hybrid identity. Landau and Kellner-Heinkele (2001) note that the Uzbek language came to be

utilized not only as a means of communication, but as an ideological symbol in and of itself. Fierman also suggests that Uzbek vocabulary was “manipulated as a symbol of identity” (1991, p. 149) both during and after the Soviet Union. Finke (2014) suggests that Uzbekistan created its own ethnonational identity, Uzbekness, as a way to connect the nation with the territory, making every character and event authentically Uzbek. Catedral (2018a) further argues that Uzbekness is highly localized; thus, people from Tashkent might interpret it differently than those in Bukhara, a predominantly Tajik speaking city. Kendzior (2014) discusses the concept of Uzbekness as synonymous to morality – “ma’naviyat” and presented as such in state discourse. This concept is at the heart of being Uzbek and it is distinct from the Soviet or Islamic values with its emphasis on culture and traditions of the locals. In this dissertation, I will discuss this concept in my analysis of transnational migrant experiences, who discursively invoke the concepts of Uzbekness in narrating their lived experiences.

Uzbeks¹¹ in North America

While there is no recent scholarship on Uzbeks in Canada, who based on my knowledge, move to Canada as skilled workers or students, Uzbeks are reported to come to the United States in two waves (Catedral, 2018a). Uzbeks from Afghanistan who moved to the States during the Soviet invasion comprised the first wave, and the second wave consists of Uzbek immigrants from Uzbekistan who moved to the United States after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The majority of the second-wave migrants came to the States through the Diversity Visa program or education exchange programs. All participants that I focus on in Chapter 7 came to North America for educational purposes. Imamova (2016) argues that there is no Uzbek diaspora in the United States despite a large number of immigrants living in New York, California,

¹¹People from Uzbekistan

Pennsylvania, and Ohio. Therefore, I do not situate my study participants in Chapter 7 as part of a bigger wave; rather, I look at their individual experiences and connect them to the larger context based on their own accounts of that context. The only other study that examines discourses of Uzbek migrants was conducted by Catedral (2018a), who explores the ways in which transnational Uzbek women talk about citizenship and belonging. In this dissertation, I look at men and women who identify as ethnically Uzbek or Tajik and examine their narratives through the concept of (non)nativeness, paying particular attention to their metalinguistic accounts of what they believe about the languages they speak and what they report doing with those language in their everyday transnational lives.

In Chapter 7 I take into account the following linguistic environment of my participants, who have migrated to North America. Uzbek is currently the only official and state language of Uzbekistan (Pavlenko, 2008). Because of Russian's association with Soviet rule in Uzbekistan, it is often disassociated from national identity in contemporary state discourses (Fierman, 2009). At the same time, Russian is still considered a language of education and prestige, a language of interethnic communication, and for some speakers, a language with which to communicate in the home with family. Tajik is a minority language in Uzbekistan, although it is the titular and official language of neighboring Tajikistan. Certain cities and regions of Uzbekistan have both a long history of Tajik language use and a much higher number of Tajik speaking people. In these contexts, the distinction between being Uzbek and being Tajik may not always be clear and many people in these regions speak both languages in addition to Russian. It is common to grow up speaking and mixing all three languages at home and in public. English is the main compulsory foreign language, and is taught in all schools (Hasanova, 2007). Thus, in my analysis of the data presented in Chapter 7, I take into account this linguistic environment in which my

participants were raised as well as the fact that they have experienced transnational migration, and have therefore encountered new contexts and new linguistic requirements (Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Hall, 2014).

Conclusion

The goal of this chapter was to contextualize the upcoming thematic chapters in relation to the sociolinguistic contexts of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and migration from Uzbekistan to North America. I outlined major aspects of transition that shaped each country's pathway to be recognized as a nation-state, including a historical and linguistic account of the region's past before the Russian empire, language-based changes during the Soviet era, and policies related to language, education, and national identity during the post-Soviet period. These past and present events are central to understanding multilingual Central Asians' narratives of becoming and being multilingual as a way to capture the various chronotopes they invoke in their storytelling.

Additionally, I have outlined differences between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan with regard to their politics of diversity and noted the ways in which this dissertation builds on the current scholarship, which is still scarce. For instance, I pointed to the limited number of studies that are carried out through fieldwork and research that explores the emic perspectives of Central Asian multilinguals. While there are a number of scholars who examine the language situation in Kazakhstan, including the revival of the Kazakh language and the adoption of the trilingual policy at all educational levels, there is no recent empirical work on language education and politics in Uzbekistan.

Since my main research question concerns the broader sociopolitical, historical, and economic factors that shape the context of multilingual people's lives, it was crucial to outline the background context of my research. I find greater value in foregrounding the context

(Karimzad, 2020) in my analysis of multilingualism and in the discussion of language education policies (Tochon, 2017). For example, it is important to understand the post-colonial history of these regions when examining the language- (education-) related ideologies expressed by the multilingual study participants. It is also informative in drawing connections between the individual language-learning experiences and the events of a larger scale, such as the lack of foreign language learning opportunities at K-12 schools following the collapse of the Soviet Union. One has to know that such loss of learning opportunities was in certain cases the result of a large emigration of a highly skilled workers. Additionally, understanding the context and local values that informed behavior help me analyze the family language planning or language maintenance and issues of belonging as a result of migration. Since the data were collected from a diverse ethnolinguistic population of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, a thorough contextual account aids in understanding the experiences of diverse multilingual speech communities to a certain extent as well.

In the following chapter of this dissertation, I will outline my methodological lens on data collection and analysis, and provide details about my sites, participants, types of data, my positionality as a researcher, as well as various analytic strategies I employed in examining participants' narratives.

Chapter 4: Lived Stories-As-Told

Overview

I consider methodology to be a crucial part of my research study, which shows how I address my research questions, how it links to my ontological stance, and the whole process of conducting the study. In this chapter, I describe my ethnographically grounded narrative and discourse analytic approach to data collection and analysis. First, I review the main ideas that have contributed to my methodological frame. Next, I describe the data collection procedure of this dissertation research including my own positionality as a researcher. Moving forward, I outline a number of strategies utilized for analyzing my research data.

The Lens: Lived Stories-As-Told

My research is ethnographically grounded, because I incorporate my observations and knowledge of sociocultural and situational factors into analysis of narrative accounts to understand my participants' experiences and discursive practices of becoming and being multilingual. Learning about people's lived experiences of becoming multilingual is what has driven me to pursue this research firsthand. Therefore, examining people's stories with regard to language education, use, and practice was at heart of my scholarly enquiry, because my primary interest lies in my participants' own understanding of their perceptions and negotiations of the multilingual self .

An overarching question of my study was to understand how broader factors shape the contexts of multilingual people's lives. Narratives have the potential to reveal these broader factors as they cannot be constructed nor examined in isolation from the social context in which they are performed (De Fina & Johnstone, 2015; Sikes, 2006; Burke, 1950). They are a form of social action (Schiffrin, 1996) or social practice (Koven, 2013), which have an audience

(Polonyai, 1985), and shows speakers' reactions to their life stories (Andriansen, 2012).

Narratives in the form of life histories also reveal the patterns of different life stories in relation to wider historical and socio-political contexts (Goodson & Sikes, 2001; Cole & Knowles, 2001).

While Riessman (2008) distinguishes between a story as a narrative and a habitual or hypothetical narrative, and draws a difference between personal and institutional narratives, she nevertheless uses story and narrative interchangeably in discussing her work. I, too, use these terms interchangeably in this dissertation; however, in my own analysis of narratives, I consider the story as a reflection and/or orientation to institutional and other broader forms of narratives. I see narratives as co-constructed (Johnstone & De Fina, 2015; Salmon, 2013; Riessman, 2008).

The study participants co-construct and project their identities and environment in their interactions with me, and this co-construction and interpretation of their experiences is situated in discourse, history, politics, and culture (Riessman, 2008). This approach to the study of narratives fits well with my theoretical orientation of heteroglossia and chronotope that similar to narratives, or else stories, have sequential or temporal ordering and at times unexpected course of events (Salmon, 2013; Clandinin & Huber, 2010), which can nevertheless be interpreted within the larger social realm.

Narrated life histories are not necessarily duplications of what happened, but they are recollections of what participants believe they have experienced in their lives (Clandinin, 2013). Through stories, people not only share their experiences of the past, the present, and orientations towards the future, but also, their sense of self in relations to these experiences (Bamberg, 2013; Blommaert, 2005; Eakin, 1999), which is another aspect of my inquiry in addition to participants' experiences related to language education. This focus on speakers' emic perspectives as the ways in which they construct and claim identities has been voiced by many

(Chase, 2008; Burck, 2005; Pavlenko, 2001; Riessman, 2001), which also shifted the view of identity-as-a-product to identity-as-a-process (cf. De Fina 2015; Kraus, 2006; Gee, 1990). Similarly, this view of identity in the studies of narratives echoes my ontological lens of identities as processes that are negotiated by the speakers, i.e. identities are narrative embodiment of lives told (Daiute & Lightfoot, 2004). The storytelling “I” is always located in place, space, and time, which influence the meaning making process of the told events (Andrews, 2014; Gomez & White, 2010). This view of identity as a process is grounded on the co-constructed nature of narratives and entextualization, which are social and require an analysis of discourse (De Fina et al., 2006; Kroskrity, 2000; Wood & Kroger, 2000; Hall, 1996; Bauman & Briggs, 1990; Zimmerman & Wieder, 1970).

Andrews et al. (2013) highlight the need to look at narrative as a kind of language which, according to her, despite being a common definition of narrative, is often overlooked by narrative researchers who view language as secondary. There have nevertheless been a number of methodological advancements. The analytic tradition of narratives from fixed analysis of “texts” (Labov, 1972) has shifted towards the analysis of “contexts” (De Fina & Johnstone, 2015; Gimenez, 2009), and scholars have started to pay more attention not only to the “what”, but also to the “how” of the narrative (Koven, 2013; Burck, 2005; Hardin & Whiteside, 2009; Gee, 1999); this has largely been a result of viewing the stories and identities within them as-a-process in-the-moment (Higgins & Stoker, 2011; De Fina, Schiffirin, & Bamberg, 2007; Bamberg, 2006). Focusing on what people “do” through narrative, Koven (2013) suggests to examine “how people describe, comment upon, and perform there-and-then events, perspectives and identities in the here-and-now” (p. 151), which brings forward the notion of discourse (i.e. language-in-use) in the analysis of narratives. This method of analysis stood out for me, because

an act of “linguaging” (Taylor, 2017) was a meaningful tool in my study of multilingual speakers reflecting on their experiences becoming multilingual through learning and acquiring languages.

A number of poststructuralist or postmodern researchers highlight the role of language of the narrative, and a central role of discourse in the analysis and interpretation of the narratives (Andrews, 2014; Leggo, 2008; Tochon, 2006; Wetherell, 2001). Leggo (2008) notes that discourse and discursive structures are the only ways to apprehend reality as the ordering we impose on narratives is not intrinsic, but discursive. Tochon (2006) also views language of the narrative as an ultimate realization of the collectively constructed events. Gee (1999) highlights the aspects of “acting” and “being” through the language in addition to giving information. On the other hand, Gimenez (2009, p. 213) expressed a caution when examining narratives “as isolated discursive realizations, failing to make a link between the local, sometimes personal, issues and their broader sociolinguistic context.” In my work, I integrate both narrative and discourse traditions to approach my research data as only by doing so, I can capture the complexity of the lived events-as-told. For me a narrative in a form of life history is a lived event-as-told. Time, personhood, and place form a narrative space (Leggo, 2008; Rapp et al., 2006; Clandinin & Connelly, 2000) and any form of narrative is mediated through language, and this act of communicating one’s story is an act of discoursing, which is also contested by spatiotemporal characteristics of society, history, and people (Crowhurst & Emslie, 2018; Gee, 1990).

To conclude, I view a narrative as a lived-story-as-told, which is also a co-constructed talk infused with time, space and/or place, beliefs, and kinds of people. People express their accounts of events and their relationship to those events in the form of a narrative, which is

meaningful only within its infused aforementioned categories. In order to examine multiplicity of voices and the ways these voices are appropriated in narratives, the analysis of discourses comes handy, because narratives are constructed through speakers' discursive practices, which are indicative of speakers' ideologies, beliefs, and positionings vis-à-vis the events, people, things, and ideas told in the narratives (Crowhurst & Emslie, 2018). These narrative and discursive practices are constitutive and reflective of a larger social context. Thereby, just as voice is important in narratives (Connelly & Clandinin, 1990), elements of narratives need to be carefully considered in the discussion of discourses (Leggo, 2008), along with context, which is instrumental in the communication of one's lived experiences (Karimzad, 2020).

Data collection

The data analyzed for this research have been collected over the course of 7 years. In the following paragraphs, I will outline the sites of data collection, participant demographics and recruitment procedures, the kinds of data collected, my own positionality as a researcher, and strategies of data analysis.

Sites

I have been interested in language and identity of multilingual Central Asians since my M.A. studies in Applied English Linguistics. My pilot study which preceded my doctoral research inquired about language use and identity of multilingual students from Uzbekistan who had moved to North America for educational purposes. This first experience of collecting research data was conducted online through Skype, which was also a natural way of interaction with my study participants. They were my friends or acquaintances; thus, Skype was a common social and interactive space for us. These participants were located in North America, specifically Canada and the United States, and we all migrated to North America to attend

graduate school. I carried along this research interest to my doctoral studies, when I became more curious about multilingual speakers living in their countries of origin, who had not had the experience of living elsewhere for a long period of time. Thus, the next sites of the research included 3-month fieldwork in Kazakhstan and 2-year fieldwork in Uzbekistan with occasional visits to and interactions with other Central Asian regions.

While in Kazakhstan, I was a visiting researcher at a well-known English medium institution in Almaty. Through my own networks and new connections that I built within the first week in the country, I was able to access a number of multilingual students who came from different parts of Kazakhstan to pursue higher education degrees. The interactions with the participants took place in the locations chosen by the participants themselves, public places where we socialized as a group, participants' homes where I was invited as a guest. I also kept a diary of my fieldwork observations and my own experiences as a multilingual Central Asian and an American researcher while in Kazakhstan. Although I collected all the fieldwork data in Kazakhstan's two largest metropolitan cities, my study participants represented a variety of regions of the country. Following my departure from the country, I kept a connection with my research participants through social networks and messaging, in which they wrote me about the changes in their educational, personal, and professional lives as related to language and identity.

The data in Uzbekistan were collected in a similar manner. I recruited participants through a snowball sampling (Goodman, 1961) and data were collected in places chosen by participants themselves. In addition to the research specific activities, I complemented my fieldwork observations while serving as a lecturer at an English medium university in a major city of Uzbekistan. There, I was able to observe a great number of changes happening at the institutional and national levels in the state, and the ways they were taken up by my students and

colleagues. I have also been keeping in touch with my study participants from Uzbekistan to date.

Data

Across a 7-year span, I have been able to collect a large variety of data including audio-recorded individual and focus group interviews, recordings of casual conversations, participant observations, fieldwork notes, and copies of national news and policies related to language and education in Central Asia in general, and Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in particular.

The data collected in North America involved individual Skype conversations that lasted up to two hours and my observation of participants during other interactions through Skype or in person. The data collected in Central Asia (i.e. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan) included face-to-face individual and focus group interviews, casual conversations that occurred during lunch, dinner and other social gatherings involving myself, participant(s), their teachers or family members. I was also able to record data while visiting participants' homes where I was invited almost every day because of the holy month of Ramadan for Muslims that overlapped with my visit. Such gatherings often included a large number of people; therefore, my presence there was rather unnoticeable. When conducting the focus group interview, I explained to the participants that the diversity in their lived experiences and opinions is much appreciated and welcome in our conversation. I also made sure that each individual in the group had an opportunity to answer the questions. Overall, the audio recordings provide over 80 hours of recorded data, while the noted observations and a diary provide over ten pages of the written data.

The tools for data collection included video chatting platforms such as Skype, social networks such as Facebook, e-mail exchanges, an audio recorder, a diary, and the linguistic landscapes of my fieldwork sites.

Participants

As mentioned above, participants were recruited through a snowball sampling. While I was acquainted with a number of my initial participants, I then had a chance to recruit their friends, siblings, or use other networks to meet multilingual students. Following the IRB procedures, I presented my research overview to the potential participants and walked them through all the steps of the IRB documents including my interview protocol, which was created based on the themes rather than questions. I should note that my topic was usually of interest to the potential participants and people overall seemed to enjoy sharing their lived experiences with regard to multilingualism.

Participants themselves were female and male undergraduate and graduate multilingual students in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and North America although one of my North American participants had finished his schooling by the time of the interview. They were between the ages of 20 – 34, which means that they were born in the early 1980s or early 90s, thus, right before the collapse of the Soviet Union or right after it. The study participants' multilingual repertoire and educational experiences, as well as their Central Asian background, is what unified all of them, and us. My participants self-identified as being ethnically Uzbek, Kazakh, Russian, Korean, Tajik, Uyghur, Polish, Meskhetian Turk, Ingush, with a number identifying themselves with more than one ethnic group. The languages shared by my participants in North America and Uzbekistan were Uzbek, sometimes Tajik, Russian and English; common languages shared by my participants in Kazakhstan included Kazakh, Russian, and English.

I have repeatedly stressed the student status of my participants in this dissertation, because I believe that education is a powerful institutionalized tool in creating the kinds of people, but also a space where these people can enact agency. My participants in North America

migrated for educational purposes as exchange program students or through their own means. They majored in Higher Educational Administration, Business Administration, Engineering, and TESOL. The students I recruited in Central Asia also represented a variety of disciplines including language studies, economics, history, tourism and hospitality, and others. I did not intentionally control these variables unless otherwise noted in the thematic chapters of this dissertation. More detailed information on the participants is provided in the chapter in which I present my analysis of data pertaining to a specific participant.

Researcher's background and Positionality

As a Central Asian scholar who has no memories of Soviet life, but who has been surrounded by Soviet and Uzbek national discourses, and who has been exposed to different kinds of stories about the past, present, and future of our Central Asian countries, I position myself more as an insider. However, I also realize that my research involved examining people's lived experiences, which may be different from my own (Andrews, 2007) in a post-Soviet nation-state. My personal background and ongoing questions about my identity and the impact of the languages I speak on the way I represent and perceive myself have led me to conduct this research. Therefore, by sharing some of the languages with my participants and having gained insights on my attitude of and in each language, I realize that a careful approach, such as not mixing personal biases into the narratives of my participants, must be taken into account (Creese, 2012).

Finlay (2002) says that in qualitative research, the researcher is a central figure who influences the collection, selection, and interpretation of data. She claims that the researcher's behavior will always affect participants' responses, thereby influencing the direction of findings. As meanings are seen to be negotiated between researcher and researched within a particular

social context, another researcher in a different relationship will unfold a different story.

Therefore, according to Finlay (2002), the research is a joint product of the participants, the researcher, and their relationship. It is co-constituted. Beer (1997) points out the potential of the qualitative research process itself to transform the very phenomenon of being studied:

“Interviews augment experience, rather than simply reflecting it. They alter meaning, instead of delineating it. They change people.” (p. 127). Finlay (2002) proposes using reflexivity as a tool to engage in an explicit, self-aware meta-analysis of the research process, therefore I made a daily entry into my diary during the fieldwork in Central Asia.

Johnson Lachuk and Gomez (2013) note that during interaction with one another, we look beyond our own thoughts towards complex views of each other. They draw on the unique perspective and position each of us has and occupies. Hornberger (1992) says that it is not enough to enter community simply by residing in it; rather, one enters it by establishing social relationships with its members, which I had accomplished through getting to know my study participants closer beyond the interview settings. Since narrative is a co-constructed process between the speaker and the researcher, I found myself to be an active listener (Bakhtin, 1984) during individual and focus group interviews through interjections, reactions to participants' stories, gaze, and gestures. Following Andrews (2007), I was often reminded of my bigger research question, “How does the individual with whom I am speaking reflect wider social and historical changes that form the context of his or her life?” (in Clandinin, 2007, p.225). As a researcher, I also found the ethical part of my work, notably, moral and political aspects to be important. Since there were many times when I socialized with my study participants following the individual interviews, I put an effort not to refer to what has been told during those interviews unless participants themselves shared a certain aspect of their life. My questions to

participants were often limited to language and education stories rather than politics; however, politics would often come up in their stories. Additionally, to accommodate my research participants, I offered to choose the language of the individual interviews, since I shared a linguistic background with the majority of them. They were also welcome to translanguage. My purpose was to create an environment that would be closer to their natural interactional environment. In social gatherings, however, the default language of interactions was often Russian, as *lingua franca* among Central Asian peoples.

Last but not least, I would like to reflect on issues of power. I realize that in many cases I was first positioned as a visiting researcher and a doctoral student from an American university. I was also viewed as a fellow Central Asian who either had no age gap or a relatively small age gap with the participants, and who was able to migrate to the United States as a student. These two aspects of my identity were usually regarded as favorable and positioned me as someone who could share the “wisdom” of “succeeding” abroad. To minimize the status-related difference, I spent much time getting to know my study participants and becoming friends with them.

Analysis of Data

In this dissertation, I inquire about the multilingual Central Asian’s narratives of becoming and being multilingual as situated within the larger social realm examining their ideologies and identities vis-à-vis their linguistic repertoires. Both narrative and discourse analyses offer me the lenses to examine how my participants construct and relate to their social worlds, where the former emphasizes the orderly way of telling life stories and the latter underscores the language-in-use (Burck, 2005). My research is concerned with the decisions and choices my participants had to make with regard to their language of/in education, their attitudes

to global and local languages, and their social positionings to their linguistic repertoires. Since people understand their lives in terms of narratives, employing a narrative thinking in understanding my study participants was helpful (Pinnegar & Daynes, 2007; Clandinin, 2007), whereas attention to how these narratives were told and what speakers did as part of the narrated event and in response to had been informed by discourse analysis (Crowhurst & Emslie, 2018).

Stories mold their narrators into who they are (De Fina, 2015) and languaging melds with bodies and things as socio-historically embedded discourses (Gee, 1999), which for me resonate with Hacking's (1986) kinds of people. Thus, identity for me, is not seen as a fixed entity, and instead, it is negotiated through discourses that make up a narrative. Informed by Bakhtin's notions of dialogism, heteroglossia, and chronotope, I analyze the language and identity as dynamic, co-constructed, contested, temporal, spatial, and fractal. I consider all of my data to be a narrative of some kind, be it a big story or a small story (Bamberg, 2010). These stories may emphasize personhood, motivations, goals, outcomes, emotions, and values (Nelson & Fivush, 2004), which are part of a "narrative web" (Brockmeier, 2015, p.180). My study participants' narratives are simultaneously external (i.e. social) and internal (i.e. self-defining) (Grysmann and Mansfield, 2015), in which "self" is best understood through the analysis of discursive positioning (Korobov, 2015). Through the concept of "positioning" (Davies and Harré, 1990), I analyze how identities are shaped, produced, and negotiated. Specifically, I am attentive to the ways my participants align or oppose particular people or discourses, and how they position themselves and are positioned in and through language.

In this dissertation, I rely primarily on the data coming from the loosely or semi-structured interviews, which are considered to be a central tool of data collection and analysis within social sciences (De Fina, 2009). These data were transcribed using a simplified

conversation analytic transcription method¹² (c.f. Atkinson & Heritage, 1984) and translated into English when participants chose to speak in a language other than English or switched to a language other than English during the conversation. In order to identify the plot lines first within each narrative and then across the interviews, I used qualitative data analysis software Dedoose, which allowed me to observe the points in the stories where storyline were disrupted by some participants (Burck, 2005). Dedoose is a secure online data analysis software with a number of functions that support textual data, including coding, counting the number of assigned codes, analysis of codes with descriptors such as based on age, region, linguistic repertoire and more. While it was very useful in pointing out the emerging salient themes across all of the participants, I, nevertheless, also utilized conventional method of narrative analysis on the paper with a pen in order to examine each story at a deeper level. I highlighted significance, value, and intention in participants' narratives through an attention to the past, the present, and the future (Carr, 1986). Thus, in analyzing my research data, I pay particular attention to the deixis of time, but also, space and personhood, along with a discursive scale of these invocations. In doing so, I pay attention not only to the actual mentions of time, space, place or personhood, but also those which are intrinsically connected in the oral narrative, and which can be inferred from the indexed words such as childhood, middle school, be a good daughter, etc.

Drawing from Tannen's (1989) definition of interaction, I analyze narratives as multivocal (Bakhtin, 1986) and intertextual (Kristeva, 1980), i.e. we voice other people when interacting with someone. To analyze participants' voicing, I examine reported speech as

¹² Transcription conventions

<u>Underline</u>	emphasis
CAP	louder speech
...	text has been omitted
(())	nonlinguistic features

imbued with ideology (Voloshinov, 1973), which also allows me to focus on the heteroglossic dimensions of discursive practice. Furthermore, I focus on metalinguistic commentary in the narratives for the analysis of moral, social, and civic positionings that participants discursively construct (Andrews, 2014; Agha, 2007b). By looking at signs of history (e.g. a name, era) and in history (historicity) (Peacock, 2011), I interpret the meaning making purpose of the narrative. I am also attentive to participants' orientation to time and place (Bell, 2013; Mishler, 1986; Silverstein, 1976), modalization (De Fina et al., 2006), pronouns, unconscious elements of experience (Craib, 2004), and the narrating and narrated events (Wortham, 2001). Finally, I also examine the points of laughter (Koven, 2002) or evaluation to analyze my participants' attitudes to the event as *here* and *now* on what happened *there* and *then* (Catedral, 2018b).

Conclusion

The aim of this chapter on methodology was to present my methodological lens of ethnographically grounded narrative and discourse analysis, i.e. lived events-as-told. This hermeneutic approach to the analysis of the multilingual lives offers a discursively constructed narrative events, which in turn unfold multiple facets of a multilingual lived experience. In this chapter, I have also shared the main concepts and approaches in discursively analyzing language and identity as imbued with ideologies. I have described the data collection procedure, which included research sites, tools, data, participants, and my own positionality as a researcher. Additionally, I describe the data analysis procedure of this research comprised of a number of strategies for narrative and discourse analysis. For instance, I explain how I analyze discursively invoked chronotopes, which serve as my main analytic tool, through drawing on temporal and spatial categories of the narrative. To understand what events, people, or ideas are narrated as central to the multilingual lives of my participants, I attend to the evaluative language, reported

speech, voicing and other strategies participants employ when telling their stories of language learning. A contribution of my methodological approach in studying multilingual lived experiences of learning, migration, and belong is in its ability to amplify multilingual voices through the closer focus on the life stories, which provide greater insights into the many factors that shape one's multilingual becoming and being, thus making this approach more holistic. Additionally, a chronotopic and scaled analyses, which are used increasingly in sociolinguistic and language policy research, allow for a more contextualized analysis of the multilingual learner identities across time and space accounting for educational and migrant experiences of my participants. Last but not least, I interpret the scaled chronotopes as ways to analyze both ideologies, but also every day experiences or practices, showing how my multilingual participants construct language, becoming and being multilingual, learner, or migrant, as embodied.

In the next three chapters, I will present the thematic topics ensued from the data analysis discussed in this chapter, by presenting additional analytical definitions and/or explanations in each chapter depending on the data specific relevancy of these commentaries.

Chapter 5: Family Language Planning, Brain drain, and Investment in the Narratives of Becoming Multilingual

Overview

In this chapter of my dissertation, I discuss stories from the research corpus which are representative of the cross-case themes that have emerged based on my analyses of participant narratives collected in Central Asia. These cross-case themes reveal lived experiences of acquiring and learning languages as related to the process of becoming multilingual in Kazakhstan. First, I present my operationalization of the notions of acquisition, learning and becoming drawn from the relevant literature. Next, I review the scholarship to situate the findings related to the cross-case themes: a) ideologies and family language planning, b) brain-drain and foreign language education, c) investment. I then follow with my analysis of representative narrative data and conclude this chapter with the discussion of each cross-case theme.

Operationalization of Acquisition, Learning and Becoming

While Blommaert and Backus (2013) argue for ‘learning’ instead of ‘acquisition’ in discussing one’s linguistic repertoire, I use both of the terms in the analysis and discussion of my data, because participants themselves make the distinction between the two. For instance, in their work on superdiverse repertoires, the authors conclude that ‘acquisition’ leads to an enduring disposition in language, which suggests that the knowledge of the linguistic resources cannot be forgotten or unlearned. For my participants, however, language learning happens in two main ways: a formal conscious learning of a language and an informal subconscious acquisition of a language, which resonates with Krashen’s (1982) second language hypothesis. This does not suggest that learned linguistic resources can be forgotten and that those acquired subconsciously

cannot. In Chapter 7, which re-visits the concept of linguistic competence, it will be apparent that depending on the context of their lived experience, both forms of language learning and language acquisition can be durable or forgotten. It is important to make this distinction in this chapter too, as it is specifically devoted to the stories of acquisition and learning, which are also stories of becoming multilingual. I follow Bakhtin's (as in Holquist, 1990) definition of becoming as continuous and dialogic; thus, it is a process that does not end and that is multi-voiced. When analyzing participants' stories of learning and acquiring languages, I therefore pay particular attention to those events that participants find important in their narratives of becoming multilingual and participants' discursive invocations of those events as a way to analyze the process of becoming as a discursive phenomenon.

Cross-case Themes

The analysis of individual interviews with multilingual students in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan revealed that there are three main topics that had been articulated by the study participants when constructing their stories of becoming multilingual. Since all of the participants were born between the early 80s and the early 90s, each of the findings in this chapter is interpreted through the Soviet or post-Soviet chronotopes invoked by participants themselves. Specifically, I present three stories shared by one study participant, which touch upon his language education trajectory. I contextualize the study findings with regard to multilingual becoming through the scholarship on family language planning, brain drain, and investment.

Family Language Planning

One aspect of bottom-up language planning that has received attention from scholars is “family language policy”—or the familial practices, ideologies, goals and outcomes related to

language use (King et al. 2008). Parental ideologies and parental decisions regarding their children's language education are seen to play an important role in determining family language policies (e.g. Piller, 2001). Some scholars present a more direct and causal relationship between parental language attitudes, intervention and the resulting language development of their children (e.g. De Houwer, 1999). Others, however, have argued that ideologies and behaviors do not always align neatly, and that an analysis of parental language attitudes as they relate to language planning must attend to their socially situated nature and to their connection to a broader system of beliefs (King, 2000). Scholars have attempted to respond to these calls for a deeper investigation of parental language attitudes in a variety of ways. As an example, some have used quantitative analysis of sociocultural variables, linking parents' sociocultural backgrounds and language attitudes to their decisions about whether or not to send their children to bilingual schools (Schwartz et al., 2013; Moin et al., 2013). On the other hand, other scholars have focused more on issues of subjectivity and have investigated the ways in which parents justify their decisions by appealing to ethnolinguistic identity (Bezioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2017) or to culturally mediated notions of what counts as 'good' or 'bad' parenting (King & Fogle, 2006). There have also been calls for a deeper investigation into the influences on parental language attitudes, as well as the ways in which these processes are impacted by globalization (King et al., 2008). Curdt-Christiansen (2016) responds to this call, focusing on the Singaporean context, and demonstrates that family language policies are not decontextualized, but rather result from contested interactions between familial ideologies, national policies and global forces.

Similar to these works, I will demonstrate how my participant discursively justifies his parents' decision regarding his language education and his own decisions regarding his children's language education. I will illustrate that these decisions are morally laden and

reflective of both micro and macro factors. I conceptualize morality as an ideological and social phenomenon, or as a type of cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1991) that may shift depending on the space and time made relevant by participants. I utilize the notion of chronotope to unpack linguistic and non-linguistic behavior enacted and evaluated with respect to time-space frames (Blommaert, 2010), which I call a moral personhood (i.e. an idealized social type (Agha, 2007a)). One of the relevant time–space frames for these images of moral personhood are schools. A number of studies show how educational spaces can become moral when “models of conduct are applied to models of personhood” (Lo, 2009, p. 9) or when cultural models such as hospitality are invoked by teachers (Karrebæk & Ghandchi, 2017). In her study of Tanzanian women, Billings (2013) highlights how educational spaces play a key role in cultivating particular gendered models of morality that encompass both linguistic and non-linguistic behavior, while Moore (2016) examines how religious educational spaces are conceptualized in relation to family beliefs and the value of language learning—bringing together these issues of moral education and family language policy. Another time–space frame relevant to these moral scripts is the nation state. National identity has become more salient in the era of globalization (Catedral, 2018b; Castells, 2010) and in certain cases national discourse has promoted particular moral images of national identity.

Kenzior (2014) for instance, demonstrates how in Uzbekistan the concept of ‘ma’naviyat’, which roughly translates as ‘morality’ is presented in state discourse as something which is neither Soviet nor Islamic, and is at the heart of what it means to be “acceptably authentically Uzbek” (p. 225). This morality may manifest through a variety of semiotic factors such as speaking modestly and deferentially, or dressing appropriately. Additionally, throughout Central Asia, the notion of “moral education”— or education that goes beyond head knowledge

to encompass ethno-national identity and moral behaviors—is strongly emphasized in national discourse (Kozhakhmetova, 2013). For example, in Kazakhstan, the goal of raising children to be hard workers, patriots and multi-faceted moral people who share the values thoughts and aspirations of their people is attributed to national hero and philosopher Abai Kunanbaev. National identity is also often linked to language, as images of national personhood emphasize monolingualism in attempts to portray the nation as unified (Karimzad & Cathedral, 2018). Thus, through my analysis of the upcoming narrative, I will attempt to uncover how language ideologies are mediated by national identity and their corresponding moral norms by focusing on the particular case of a multilingual student in Kazakhstan.

Brain drain

Another theme that has emerged in a number of participants' narratives with regard to their learning and acquiring languages during the early stages of their lives had to do with the times when my participants did not have a chance to learn a foreign language at school during the early post-Soviet period, because many educated individuals and especially those of minority groups started emigrating elsewhere. This period of Central Asian history has been characterized by changes occurring in sociopolitical spheres of the post-Soviet states. The concept that describes this process well is 'brain drain', which appeared for the first time in 1963 in describing the emigration of British scientists to the United States (Ilic & Milosavljević, 2017). Brain drain is the international transfer of resources in the form of human capital and migration of highly skilled individuals from developing to developed countries (Ilic & Milosavljević, 2017; Beine al., 2008). I turn to the relevant scholarship on this phenomenon to situate the lost language learning opportunities of a number of my study participants.

Since the collapse of the Soviet Union was a turning point in the history of many countries around the world, but especially so for the states that were part of it, a number of scholars have turned their attention to studying consequences of migration, which was brought with the sociopolitical changes. For instance, Hess (2016) describes the challenges faced by ethnic Germans migrating from the Soviet Union and their adaptation in Germany and continuous links to the former Soviet Union. Other scholars examine the effect of the emigration of a large number of intellectuals and its impact on the formation of human capital locally (Ganguli, 2014; Graham & Dezhina, 2008). Ganguli (2014) discusses the case of the drop in PhDs in early post-Soviet era following the emigration of many scientists from Russia and its consequences in the formation of a new human capital. Ganguli notes that this shift was especially noticeable in peripheral states. Similarly, Silova (2002) also claims that the periphery faced the dramatic consequences of the collapse for the educational sphere.

With regard to the most recent scholarship that examines the notion of brain drain in post-Soviet countries, Chankseliani (2016) highlights the lack of employment and limited tertiary educational opportunities in post-Soviet countries as the most common reasons for migration elsewhere. Vieira (2019) examines migration as a driver of literacy learning among family members of Latvian labor migrants in Western Europe. Language and its role for migrants have been highlighted by these and other scholars, who note the knowledge of a foreign language to be crucial in the experiences of the migrants (Ilic & Milosavljević, 2017). In their research on the effects of immigration on Greeks to Canada, Aravossitas and Sugiman (2019) note that migrant and highly skilled educated individuals contributed to the community's education system as they could serve as teachers in heritage language programs. In the case of my area of research, Kazakhstan, there is one mention about the connection of the collapse with the language

education system. Abdygapparova et al. (2018) in their discussion of the state of the English language in Kazakhstan note that the collapse of the Soviet Union has dramatically affected the educational sphere in Kazakhstan and that major educational reforms including the development of foreign language education happen much later, toward the end of 2000.

I build on this literature that applies the concept of brain drain to places that experience a high amount of emigration of highly skilled individuals, following Vieira (2019) and Ganguli (2014), who explore the consequences of this outward migration for the people left behind. What I add through my analyses below is that the participants whom while not related to those who emigrated, tells the story of lost opportunities with regard to foreign language education in connection to mass migration from post-Soviet Kazakhstan.

Investment

Except Kazakh, Uzbek and Russian, and languages spoken at home, my participants learned other languages in formal institutional settings. Interestingly, for many English was a compulsory foreign language, and they had instrumental motivations to learn it, such as for educational and career prospects. However, the other foreign languages that my participants learned through private tutors and/or at the university were chosen by the study participants themselves because of their personal attraction to those languages. Therefore, a review of scholarship on language learning investment is due.

The concept of ‘investment’ has been taken up by many scholars in the field of applied linguistics, second language acquisition, and education since the term was coined by Norton in 1995. Norton positions language learning within the larger sociohistorical context, in which investment is closely connected to one’s process of becoming, because with the investment in language learning comes increased cultural and social capital and power, which shape learners’

reception of themselves and orientation toward the future. Norton differentiates between an invested and a motivated learner, where an invested learner can be motivated, but a motivated learner does not necessarily want to invest in a set of language practices. Through her study on bilingual learners, Potowski (2004) adds that language learning investment is also an identity investment, which takes place only if there is an expectation set by the learner for a return on the investment. Constructs such as capital, identity, and ideology have been discussed as informative in the examination of language investment of multilinguals who engage in fluid multilingual language use as a form of capital in various social spaces (Babino & Stewart, 2019; Darwin & Norton, 2015). However, while there is an increasing number of studies that look at language investment in immigrant communities with regard to English or another dominant or post-colonial language (Babino & Stewart, 2019; Dawson, 2017; Kim, 2017; Ballinger, 2017; De Jong, 2016; Potowski, 2004), I am not aware of any studies that utilize the concept of investment in examining learners' motivations to learn a foreign language, which is neither English, dominant, or post-colonial for their given context. In my analysis below, I will demonstrate the intersection of agency, moral values, and identity in forming one's investment in language learning.

Analysis

This section of the chapter presents my analysis of the interview data when the study participants were asked to talk about how they had come to know the languages in which they had reported to have a linguistic competence. While a variety of events were invoked in these narratives, the cross-case analysis revealed three major themes that were the most salient in majority of the narrative accounts collected in Central Asia. Below, I analyze these three stories in relation to family language planning, brain drain, and investment through a focus on one big

narrative by Daler, which is representative of the corpus data, because it captures all of the three salient cross-case themes.

Daler is a 32-year-old man who has just graduated with his M.A. in Arabic Studies. His multilingual repertoire consists of four languages including Russian, Kazakh, Arabic and English. A father of two children (5 and 2 years old), he comes from the southern rural area of Kazakhstan and identifies himself as Kazakh. He grew up with two brothers. His mother happened to be born in neighboring Uzbekistan, but she was raised in Kazakhstan. He mentions that his parents are related and notes, “You know, we have this tradition if there are relatives who have drifted apart, they try to bring them close back again through marriage.” While from Central Asia, and neighboring Uzbekistan, I was not familiar with this tradition, however, I was familiar with another Kazakh tradition that dictates not to marry anyone within the ‘ruh’ (i.e. ‘clan’ or ‘tribe’) if there is any genetic connection among the last seven generations. When asked about this rule, Daler noted that the ‘ruh’ he belongs to is actually very strict about it and they are ethnic Kazakhs. Additionally, when describing his hometown, Daler stresses its very diverse ethnolinguistic make up, e.g. Russians, Dungans, Germans, Koreans and invokes a chronotope of the Soviet collapse after which many of his primarily Russian and Korean neighbors left for cities such as Orenburg and Omsk. Daler says that those who left behind and/or returned adapted to life in a new country by learning to speak “clear Kazakh” or they understood everything in Kazakh, but “stayed loyal, and continued speaking Russian.”

In the following excerpt translated from the original Russian, I demonstrate that when Daler invokes memories of how and why his parents selected certain schools over others, and when he shares his plans for his own children’s education, he discusses the importance of linguistic spaces in cultivating a sense of morality. Within Daler’s narratives he raises the issues

of morality in education and various desired images of personhood. Daler highlights the polynomic character of morality. In other words, his narrative shows how multiple images of moral personhood have been relevant to his life and how they change depending on what is considered to be symbolic capital within a particular context. These moral images also influence how he portrays his own decisions regarding the choice of language school for his children.

1. Daler: ...I think my parents sent me to the Russian school as a tradition since every generation in our family went to the Russian school, except for my little brother. He went to an experimental Kazakh class in the same school. Even though Land my elder brother insisted on him going to the Russian class...Because we thought we'd be more educated, and there was a difference between those who went to Russian schools and Kazakh schools. And also, it was prestigious....
2. Madina: You said you had children. Do they go to school already?
3. Daler: Not yet. But I want them to go to Kazakh school...I have friends, patriots, who studied and grew up with Kazakh language, history, and literature. In my case, I studied everything through the Russian prism. I don't think like a true patriot, a pure Kazakh. I think I need to pass that morality to my children, without fanaticism of course... I notice negative tendencies in Russian schools, such as alcohol, smoking, immoral topics, which are not spread in Kazakh schools to that degree. In terms of behavior and ethics, Kazakh schools are certainly better. And of course I don't want them to have a vacuum in thinking like not patriots. I want my kids to be polylingual but with a Kazakh foundation....We have to teach our children to be independent, make their own decisions, choose their major for themselves, not for their parents. Parents should guide but not put pressure. I

changed my thinking about this after watching the English movie “Stars”...From my language teaching experience I know that here it’s considered that a true Kazakh should speak Kazakh. I agree with it, but only partially. There are people who speak Kazakh perfectly, but they steal from others. I know Russians who are not learning Kazakh but they are honest people who love their country (referring to Kazakhstan). Language is not a key factor, although it's an important one.

With respect to parental choice of educational institution the main tension for Daler is between the moral images associated with Russian vs. Kazakh schools; however, there is also a secondary moral image related to global and western notions of individual choice that emerges as relevant. The moral image associated with Russian school involves prestige and education (line 1). Based on other participants’ references throughout my data, I claim that in linking Russian schools to “being educated” and being “prestigious” Daler is not only invoking notions of social status, but also a type of personhood characterized by moral norms and related to hard work, intelligence, appropriate social behavior, enlightened thinking and comportment. Daler also mentions that the majority of his family members had gone to Russian school. This linkage between an educated family and (Soviet) Russian school also contributes to the image of morality associated with this particular place and time and plays directly into Daler’s earlier thoughts that his brother should attend Russian school (line 1).

When talking about education for his children, however, Daler gives his preference to Kazakh schools, noting that he wants his children to be more patriotic than he was, and believes that attendance at a Kazakh school will achieve this (line 3). This decision on Daler’s part points to shifts in cultural and linguistic capital in Kazakhstan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Now in independent Kazakhstan, Daler feels that one needs to be and to think like a patriot. He

invokes the moral personhood of his friends who enact their patriotic morality through language, but also through knowledge of Kazakh history and literature. It is this image of moral Kazakh personhood, and its strong association with Kazakh school, that leads Daler to the decision that he should enroll his children in Kazakh school - assuming that being in this environment will make them true patriots. Furthermore, his image of Russian schools in the contemporary moment has also shifted, and the behaviors he associates with these spaces are undesirable: smoking, drinking and talking about immoral topics (line 3). Daler's shift from seeing Russian schools as places of morality and prestige through education to places of immoral behavior and a lack of patriotism may be in part his response to national discourses which have promoted a particular type of Kazakh patriot who knows and speaks his language, and understands the cultural capital relevant to the current chronotope of the nation-state.

It should be noted, however, that Daler does not limit his understanding of moral personhood to national images. For instance, he expresses a desire for his children to be polylingual. I also see the impact of supranational discourses when he talks about the English movie "Stars" through which he learned about 'other values' related to individual choice and raising independent children (line 3). Thus, while Daler justifies his previous opinion that his brother should attend Russian school through Soviet chronotopes of morality and prestigious education, and justifies his own decisions about his children's' language of education through chronotopes of national patriotic morality, he also leaves room for the possibility of his children making decisions for themselves on the basis of a different image of morality, which emphasizes individual choice. These examples from Daler point to the fact that moralized behavioral scripts are always polynomic - with multiple moral images operating simultaneously in decisions about school.

Throughout the excerpt Daler links morality and language: linking Russian to images of morality through prestige, and Kazakh to images of national morality. However, at the end of the excerpt Daler states that while speaking the language is important, being honest and loving one's country are more important. In this way, I see how although images of morality determine language choice, other moral behaviors may take precedence over linguistic competence. This acts as a reminder that as scholars of language in social life, we should not always assume that language is the most salient factor in parental decisions about child language acquisition, but rather investigate the other factors that together with language create certain strongly held ideals.

Daler then talks about his language learning experience at school and says the following about learning a foreign language:

Daler: Additionally, I learned French at school. We learned it for a couple of years. Then, our teacher migrated to Russia, and we had a problem with learning a foreign language. It was an issue to find a foreign language teacher, because many left Kazakhstan after the collapse. Plus, it was a rural area. So, we moved here (to the metropolitan city) with this issue (lack of foreign language skills).

In my participant observation notes, I wrote that Daler seemed to feel especially bitter when talking about lost language learning opportunities. During our interactions, he often referred to his background coming from a rural southern part of the country, and that southern people are stereotyped by the city dwellers as less educated and lacking manners. In this regard, Daler, along with the other study participants who went to school in suburban or rural areas and who were born before the collapse, expressed the regret of not having opportunities to learn a language. This loss of opportunity is constructed through the chronotope of Soviet collapse that followed mass emigration. In the above narrative, Daler invokes this discourse by saying how the

emigration of one teacher to Russia affected schoolchildren's access to foreign language education. He also raises the discourse of deficit, which is perhaps the first word that comes to mind when thinking about the 90s. Although my own encounters with deficit had primarily to do with food and clothing, Daler and his schoolmates experienced it in learning, which I might not have experience as someone born and raised in the city. The issue becomes even harder to solve given the large number of emigres and that Daler lived in a rural area. For Daler, this event had continuous repercussions as he moved to the city without the knowledge of a foreign language. It is unclear whether Daler would construct it as a lost opportunity if he were to stay in his hometown. What is clear is that the chronotope of post-Soviet emigration gains importance in his story through re-scaling the context to that of the city.

Although a brief narrative, this story reflects a number of broader factors that shaped one's individual experience. Throughout my interactions with Daler, I observed that despite having lived in the city for over a decade, Daler often contrasted this experience with rural life. For instance, elsewhere in the interview he talks about not being welcomed by his Russian neighbors and being positioned as an outsider, because he and his wife were the first Kazakh speakers to live in their apartment building. Similarly, in the narrative above, he links the lost opportunity to learn a foreign language as an issue that carried over to city life. He induces a chronotope of post-Soviet emigration among the intelligentsia (i.e. those who were highly skilled, for instance, who knew a foreign language) and connects it to discourse of deficit, which he experienced in school. He also discursively reinforces ideologies of rural life, which is a periphery within the periphery, where the emigration of the French language teacher left Daler and his classmates without the opportunity to learn another language until after graduating from school. This serves as a vivid example of how brain drain in the first decade of independent

Kazakhstan was a chain reaction that affected people who stayed in the country. It is also an example of not becoming multilingual due to forces operating at multiple scales that determine one's lack of access to linguistic resources.

In discussing his language learning experience after moving to the city, Daler constructs the following narrative:

Daler: I started learning Arabic since 2006. I started practicing and becoming more interested in religion. And my curiosity for Arabic rose naturally. I started taking tutoring courses, but since that's not very serious, I started thinking how I could learn it in a more systematic way. And a university friend suggested that I apply for a newly opened Egyptian university. And you know, good education can be received only through a systematic approach to it, and that's only offered at the university, and not at some tutoring courses, because once a course is over, everyone drifts apart and THAT'S IT. So, I was accepted to the Egyptian University, where I learned Arabic straight from native speakers, Egyptians. Education was in two languages, Kazakh and Arabic. I had to forget about Russian for 4 years except the times when I watched the news. I majored in the studies of Islam. All I wanted was to learn Arabic, but they had different majors, like a translator, philology, etc., but I chose this specialty because they had it all: English, Arabic, foundation in "Shariat", whereas the other areas didn't have such a deep education in "Shariat". And when I was graduating I still felt attracted to academia, I wanted to do something with my good language foundation, and this university has a good theoretical foundation, and to fill that gap I came here to study in the MA program.

When Daler recounts how he learned Arabic, his story starts from 2006, the time when each Central Asian country including Kazakhstan was past the deficit period and more open to

non-Soviet (i.e. non-Russian) novelty. One such novelty for that period was the education of/in Arabic, the language of the Koran. Since the practice of religion was stopped or hidden during the Soviet era, Central Asian people started to gain more interest in learning more about Islam after the collapse. Daler was no exception. As he says, he too became interested and therefore, it led to his natural interest in Arabic. This is the first time in his bigger narrative when Daler brings up his own internal motivation to learn the language that is not connected to parental or national ideologies although one could argue that this may be reflective of the growing interest in practicing Islam among Central Asians. In order to project his investment in learning the language, he evaluates his attendance to private tutoring courses, which according to Daler were not “very serious” due to their short-term nature and changing student body. Daler widens the spatial scale of studying Arabic with tutors to studying Arabic with university professors, which provides a “systematic way” to learn. The event that was key in this story is his interaction with a friend who suggests to Daler that he apply to the Egyptian University, which once again is relevant for the analysis of chronotopes. Since it was a new institution, Daler was unaware of it. At the same time, the mid-2000s were the years when Kazakhstan was establishing diplomatic relations with the rest of the world.

Daler was able to learn Arabic, which was also the language of instruction, along with Kazakh. During those 4 years at the university, he remembers using Russian only when watching the news. This further validates his earlier story about moving to the city and having a hard time adapting, because Russian is a widely spoken language in the city; however, Daler does not invoke any interactions that took place in Russian during that period. Instead, his investment in Arabic brought him to learn English and Islamic canonical law. Daler evaluates the practical linguistic knowledge received at the Egyptian university as a “good foundation”, which instilled

in him further interest in continuing his education at his current university, which offers “a good theoretical foundation”. Based on follow-up interactions with Daler, I know that he defended his doctorate in Arabic Studies and is currently teaching at the university from which he graduated.

Daler’s story of how he learned Arabic should also be analyzed along with the first two stories. For Daler, learning Arabic stands in contrast to learning Russian, because he positions himself as a decision-maker in this learning process, thus enacting higher levels of agency. Through his investment in Arabic, Daler achieves his lost opportunity of learning a foreign language, because he studies not only Arabic, but also English, and he also gains a deeper knowledge of Islamic law. Certainly, I cannot claim that Daler’s internal motivation for Arabic was not sparked by the external curiosity about Islam in his habitus. However, what I find important is that Daler himself attaches more agency in constructing this story, which eventually becomes enduring given that he pursued his career in this area. His practice of and interest in religion can also be connected to the moral values Daler invokes in the first story presented in this chapter. One possible explanation for why Kazakh schools are constructed as sites of greater morality than Russian schools may be interpreted through the fact that Russians are not typically Muslim, whereas Kazakhs are. Overall, learning Arabic becomes an essential part of his multilingual becoming as with it Daler gains the symbolic and material power as a city dweller.

Discussion

Scholars who investigate family language policy and planning have pointed to the need for better social and ideological contextualization of language attitudes, and their connection to parental intervention in child language acquisition (Curdt-Christiansen, 2009; King, 2000). In my analysis above, I showed how family decisions about linguistic education are based in part on language attitudes and how language attitudes are embedded in images of space, time and moral

personhood, i.e. as a member of a Soviet state, in a newly independent nation-state. Through the analysis of Daler's narrative I illustrate that there is never only one moral image influencing decisions, but rather that Daler is dealing with multiple and shifting chronotopes. For example, we see him move away from the language planning decisions that his parents made because of his new experiences and new understandings of moral personhood. Learning or having proficiency in a given language may be understood as one of behavioral norms, or as being associated with an (im)moral space or time, leading to various patterns in parents' language ideologies and their corresponding interventions in their children's language acquisition. In situating my analysis of Daler's language ideologies within this robust understanding of context, I am able to incorporate the many social factors—both linguistic and non-linguistic—involved in language planning, and I argue that it is these compiled images rather than solitary language attitudes that are invoked by Daler in justifying decisions related to his parents' and his children's participation in language educational spaces. Additionally, given that morality is polynomic (Blommaert, 2018), there are often multiple images of moral personhood that are relevant to these decisions. By integrating these images of moral time-space-personhood into my analysis of family language planning, I am able to decenter "language" itself and see the ways in which "language attitudes" are bound up with other broader attitudes and ideologies, thereby prioritizing emic perspectives. I emphasize that decisions about language education are often simultaneously, and perhaps more saliently, decisions about moral education (c.f. Moore, 2016).

When discussing my methodological lens, I noted that it is important to be attentive to the stories that disrupt the narrative. Daler's lost opportunity to learn French was the point of the story, because he directed my attention not only to the languages he learned or acquired, but also

to the languages he was not able to learn. Once again, analysis of the context during the period the event took place is useful in understanding how larger societal changes may have shaped Daler's experiences of language education. In particular, the post-Soviet chronotope of the 90s associated with discourses of deficit and emigration of highly skilled workers was invoked through a reference to the French teacher. This adds to Vieira's (2019) work on migration and literacy by enlarging the scale of impact of one individual beyond his/her family members.

The shifting moral values and the lost opportunity are re-visited in Daler's last narrative in which he constructs his investment in learning Arabic. The attention to discourse shows how Daler's evaluation of his parents' decision (the past) and those of his own (the future) result from his positioning during the interview (the present), which may change or transform over time. I believe that Daler's willingness to learn Arabic is also shaped by a number of events including his being positioned as an outsider by his Russian neighbors, his lost opportunity to learn a foreign language, and widespread practice of Islam, which returned to Central Asia with the independence. While he shows partial agency when talking about going to the Russian school, and no agency when talking about foreign language education at school; he exerts much greater ownership of his decision to learn Arabic. He attributes his interest and career in science to this specific experience, which also gave him an opportunity to learn English and perhaps minimize the gap in thinking as "true" Kazakh. This analysis adds to work by Zubairi & Sarudin (2009) who found that Malay students have an intrinsic motivation (Dornyei, 1994) towards learning Arabic as the language of the Koran, by showing not only motivation but also an investment in Daler's constructed identities as a multilingual Kazakh, Muslim, and scholar.

Another discussion is due in relation to the corpus of data collected in Kazakhstan. The themes of family language planning, brain drain, and investment as shown in my analysis of

Daler's narrative are the most salient codes that emerged in my corpora. While all of the Central Asian participants invoked the stories of parental and personal decisions in early and later periods of their lives, respectively, only those participants who were born in the first half of the 80s constructed their language learning experiences through the discourse of brain drain. This was especially common among those who grew up in rural areas of Kazakhstan. However, the discourse of brain drain, or else deficit, was also invoked by other study participants when they contrasted life in modern Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan with life in the Soviet Union. Additionally, during the data analysis I noticed that my own background could have had an impact on the ways in which participants talked about family language planning in particular. These accounts were short and lacked much explanation in stories of those participants who identified themselves as Slavic or Korean and whom I myself positioned to be primarily Russian speakers. Neither I nor they questioned the reason behind their parents' decisions to send them to Russian schools, nor did I follow up with a hypothetical question on the language education of their future children. This illustrates that both I and this group of participants complied with the larger ideological narrative, which is an unmarked understanding that people of Slavic or Korean ethnicities who speak primarily Russian at home have no reason to choose a different language as their language of instruction. I checked this hypothesis with my Central Asian colleagues, who also agreed with my interpretation.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I showed how broader sociopolitical, historical and cultural factors shape multilingual Central Asians' experiences of becoming multilingual. Specifically, the analysis of one participant narrative illustrated that decisions about language education are multivocal and shifting depending on the ideologies of the time and space in which they are made. The analysis

also revealed that decisions about language are often not about language itself, but the moral values ascribed to the speakers and spaces of that language. Additionally, I showed that the post-Soviet chronotope of Kazakhstan is not only about shifting linguistic and moral values, but also the lack of learning ensued by the sociopolitical changes in the region. For instance, the loss of language learning opportunities during middle and high school deprived participants of opportunities to be prepared for a university entrance exam in the capital, valuable linguistic capital in the job application process, enacting heritage ethnolinguistic identity in the diaspora, confidence in literacy skills in a particular spoken language. Finally, I demonstrated how individual agency gains greater prominence in the narrative of becoming multilingual during adulthood when one makes one's "own" decisions about language learning. When analyzed vertically in relation to participants' stories from early childhood and teenagerhood, as well as participants' orientation toward the future, this agentic investment negotiates a more holistic picture about multilinguals' process of becoming.

Chapter 6: Linguistic (In)Security and Ownership in the Narratives of Multilingual English Language Learners

Overview

This dissertation chapter presents a comparative analysis of multilingual student narratives in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan through which I examine convergences and divergences in participants' ideologies of and attitudes to English vis-à-vis their locally spoken languages. I specifically focus on English to show the different ways in which participants imagine themselves as users of English in their home countries and the role of English in their lived experiences vis-à-vis their local languages. First, I review the relevant literature on English in multilingual expanding circle communities and contextualize my argument through reviewing concepts such as linguistic (in)security, ownership, and nation-branding. I then follow with the analysis of data in which I compare the representative narratives from each country to show the findings ensued from the analysis of the whole corpus. I conclude this chapter with discussion and conclusion of the results as related to World Englishes and Applied Linguistics.

Ideologies of English, Linguistic Ownership and Nation-Branding

Scholarship from language policy and political economy has emphasized the need for the study of English as a means for “social mobility and an inhibitor of local development” (Ricento, 2015, p. 42). Other scholars of critical approaches to language studies highlighted the need for analysis of macro issues such as language ideologies, along with super macro issues such as sociopolitical and historical factors (Kubota, 2018; Park & Wee, 2009). For example, in his study of nonnative professionals of English, Kumaravadivelu (2016) notes that these professionals' self-marginalization in relation to English is difficult to change due to the limitations imposed by sociopolitical and historical factors. Through my analysis presented in this chapter, I respond to

these scholarly calls by focusing on the role of English in the multilingual post-Soviet communities vis-à-vis other local languages, identified as a gap in World Englishes (Seilhamer, 2015) through an examination of language ideologies as shaped by broader sociopolitical factors. In my analysis, I demonstrate that these super macro factors play an important role in shaping people's relation to English and other languages.

A multilingual turn in language studies (c.f. Fukuda 2017; Doerr 2009) has led scholars to re-visit Kachru's (1985) theoretical framework of World Englishes. Traditional boundaries between Inner, Outer and Expanding Circles, which were primarily based on sociohistorical factors, have been questioned through research on sociolinguistics of globalization (Blommaert, 2010) and the global spread of English (Fergusson, 2007; Hoffman, 2000). The studies on the role of English in countries of the Expanding Circle have been particularly productive in presenting a variety of factors that shape speakers' ideologies, attitudes and practices of English in a globalized environment. For instance, language users from multilingual and multicultural contexts like Sweden were reported to have higher tolerance towards different English accents (Dewaele & McCloskey, 2015; Dewaele & Wei, 2014) than those from a monolingual and homogeneous environment like South Korea (Lee et al., 2020). In their studies on the role of English in Hong Kong, which adopted the trilingual language policy, scholars have argued that due to the lack of English communication beyond the classroom walls, English continues to serve as a foreign language in Hong Kong, the outer circle country in Kachru's framework (Li, 2009; Kirkpatrick, 2007).

With regard to language ideologies, English and Spanish, were found to be dominant in multilingual Salsa communities, leading to the invisibility of other minority languages (Schneider, 2010), whereas in the minority communities of China, English was viewed as a

source of greater symbolic and economic power (Sunuodula & Feng, 2011). Ideologies of English were also investigated in the countries that share a similar historical and linguistic past with Central Asia. Cisel (2002) found that English is viewed as opportunistic in the multilingual context of Moldova and concluded that in post-communist societies the role of English is market-oriented rather than imperialistic. However, in his work on English in Turkey – another expanding circle country, Selvi (2011) shows how English is viewed as a threat to the Turkish language, but also as a pathway to modernization, which is promoted in the areas of education and business through the power bestowed to top-down state policies. Additionally, scholars have examined the changing role of English vis-à-vis identities of multilingual speakers in a globalized world.

In examining the identity of multilingual speakers of English in the Expanding Circle, scholars have been especially interested in the concept of linguistic ownership when English is viewed not only as instrumental, but also as part of identity by the speakers themselves. Linguistic ownership has been discussed with regard to the notions of legitimacy and linguistic (in)security to challenge the native/non-native dichotomy through examination of different stakeholders across different geographical regions (Foo & Tan, 2018; Seilhamer, 2015; Park, 2011; Ke, 2010; Sifakis & Sougari, 2005; Matsuda, 2003). A number of these scholars highlighted the key role of the frequency and spatial breadth of the use of English in claiming linguistic ownership (Foo & Tan, 2018; Phan, 2009) while others further linked prevalent use of language to greater linguistic confidence (Seilhamer, 2015; Nikula, 2007; Rampton, 1990). A sense of belonging in an imagined globalized community (Anderson, 1991) has also been proposed as a lens to investigate perceived ownership of English (Seilhamer, 2015; Ryan, 2005). Following Park (2011) who claims that a greater sense of linguistic ownership is inductive of

ideologies and policies in the given context, Seilhamer (2015) argues that there is a new brand of linguistic insecurity created by the state rather than the speakers themselves and that “ownership matters, because with it comes empowerment” (385).

The abovementioned studies have called for scholarly engagement in examining the changing role of English in multilingual Expanding Circle countries with particular attention to the interaction of top-down policies and linguistic (in)security as related to speakers’ ideologies and perceived linguistic identities (Seilhamer, 2015; Selvi, 2011; Park, 2011). In order to account for these multiple processes that shape one’s beliefs and identities, the notion of nation-branding (Graan, 2016; Del Percio, 2016) becomes particularly useful for the discussion of my analysis in this chapter. Nation-branding is a strategic way to form a nation’s identity as a branded commodity through discourses circulated by the state (Graan, 2016), entextualization of national image through the public and an investment into the historical presence (Del Percio, 2016) and a discursive phenomenon that cultivates appreciation for the commodified nation (Nakasis, 2012; Mazzarella, 2003). Similar to the process of *circulation* of ideas in public to form new identities (Lee, 2001; Gal, 2007; Silverstein & Urban, 1996), it is regarded to be a modern form of governmentality (Lee, 2001; Foucault, 1980) by demonstrating how imagined communities (Appadurai, 1996; Andersen, 1983) are formed through circulating tools when the voice of the individual is amalgamated with that of the state. Nation-branding has been theorized to examine how and to whom a national identity and belonging are performed in the context of North Macedonia (Graan, 2016), and it has also been applied to analyzing the process of forming national image in Kazakhstan (Saunders, 2008). Del Percio (2016) applies this concept to investigate the discursive data (e.g. policies) on branding Switzerland as a historically multilingual and multicultural state, making Swiss heterogeneity a key branding strategy. I

utilize the notion of nation-branding in investigating discursive data that come from people, who are representatives of the nation, in order to study their ideologies of and attitudes toward English and local languages, as well as their related identities.

This chapter builds on previous scholarship that examines the role of English in multilingual expanding circle countries by shedding the light on the case of post-Soviet Central Asia in which the processes of nation-building and globalization have created distinct attitudes toward English in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. There have been a few studies that explore the role of English in Uzbekistan (e.g. cf. Hasanova, 2016; Nazaryan, 2007), and a number of empirical studies around the issue in Kazakhstan (e.g. Zhetpisbaev et al., 2019; Osman & Ahn, 2016; Zharkynbekova et al., 2017). What I contribute to this scholarship is relatively recent fieldwork data based on casual lunch conversations with my multilingual participants where the interaction is not limited to the context of schooling. I also contribute through a comparative analysis of multilinguals' attitudes towards shifting language values in the country. Finally, I argue that an analysis of the narratives constructed by people themselves offers a particular gateway to the study of linguistic ownership as related to the nation-branding discourses.

Application of chronotopes and scales to this chapter

Chronotope is a discursive organization of language based on spatiotemporal categories associated with personhood (Agha, 2007b), moral behavioral scripts (Catedral & Djuraeva, 2018; Blommaert, 2018), historicity (Wirtz 2016), ideologies of language and ethnicity (Djuraeva & Catedral, 2020; Woolard, 2013) and/or orientations towards the future (Karimzad, 2016). The study of chronotopes in participant narratives provides information on participant attitudes to processes and practices that emerge with the social change (Aydarova, 2016; Wang, 2009). Scale is “the vertical ordering of these various chronotopes (Blommaert, 2015), i.e. a hierarchically

ordered nature of time and space (Lemke, 2000)” (in Djuraeva & Catedral, 2020, p. 4). While narrated lived experiences are connected to certain times, spaces, and people, these categories can be discursively reconfigured at any given moment. This reconfiguration can be a matter of scaling, i.e. whether we ideologically orient to the higher scale of authority (Aydarova, 2016; Flowers, 2016) or the lower scale of real-life experiences (Djuraeva & Catedral, 2020).

Chronotopes and scales have been useful analytical tools in analyzing people’s perceptions of language policy (Flowers, 2016), ethnolinguistic identity (Karimzad & Catedral, 2018), imagined community (Karimzad, 2016), (non)nativeness (Djuraeva & Catedral, 2020), and globalization (Davidson, 2007).

In this chapter, I apply these lenses in my examination of the role of English in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. In particular, I investigate the imagined communities to which participants claim their belonging through English. Close attention to the discursive invocations of chronotopes and scales will be illustrative of multiple voices (Bakhtin, 1990) present in participant-constructed identities in relation to English. Moreover, I stress the importance of looking at the future-oriented discourses (Norton, 1997; Bakhtin, 1990) of ownership and branding in the contexts of multilingual Central Asia as opposed to the studies on linguistic ownership and nation-branding, which have looked extensively at the historical factors of legitimacy and national image.

Analysis

While majority of my study participants reported to have foreign language proficiency, English was the only foreign language used by all of my participants to various degrees. Participant accounts of the role and value of their linguistic repertoire analyzed in this section come from unstructured lunch conversations. All of the excerpts represented in this chapter are

exemplary of the study participants' ideologies of and attitudes toward English in the contexts of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In analyzing the excerpts below, I pay particular attention to the deixis of time, space, and personhood, along with a discursive scale of these invocations. While during the first round of analysis I was primarily concerned with participants' attitudes to all of their languages, during the second round of analysis I noticed that students from Kazakhstan construct their relationship with English in a similar, but also in a very different way from students in Uzbekistan. Close attention to the scale of this relationship and the imagined communities with which my participants associated themselves played an important role in making this distinction.

English as-a-pathway to mobility and economic stability: The Case of Uzbekistan

Students from Uzbekistan were eager to participate in my study and learn more about me as I was positioned as an exemplary learner of English who succeeded in pursuing education in the United States through the support of various fellowships. Their opportunistic view of English as a path to the study and work abroad characterized by an upward mobility was the most salient theme in our interactions and in my fieldnote observations. While all of the participants were multilingual speakers of at least three languages, English was the only foreign language spoken by all of them. Their daily multilingual practices involved the use of local languages such as Uzbek, Russian, Tajik, Kazakh, and/or Uyghur, and formal study of foreign languages including Korean, Chinese, and/or English. The excerpts below illustrate the role of English in students' linguistic repertoire as being prioritized in students' daily lives, which I found to be irrespective of their ethnicity, university major, age and gender. Almost all of the participants chose English as a language of their interview and the excerpt below is in the original language of the narrative.

These participants' increased level of investment in English language learning is discussed in relation to discursively constructed chronotopes of mobility and economic stability.

The narrative below comes from a lunch conversation with Otabek, a 23-year-old student of Economics who chose to speak English with me at all times as a way to practice the language. The conversation revolved essentially around our experiences as learners of English. I present two stories shared by Otabek during the conversation, which are illustrative of Otabek's attitude to English and other locally spoken languages.

Otabek: English is an international language and knowing it increases educational and professional opportunities, so for me right now it is a priority. It can open many doors. You know we have programs that give grants for study abroad like Erasmus and some grants through American embassy. Oh yeah you do! So, if I want to get one I need to show good knowledge of English, because they test your proficiency. And so, I also use Russian, Uzbek, and Tajik every day, so of course, these languages are important as I grew up with them, but they don't open many doors. Everyone here knows them...

...Well, in our country, everyone speaks Uzbek and Russian, and like in our city many people also speak Tajik. This is good, because we can communicate with other Central Asian countries and post-Soviet countries. But I need to excel in English if I want to go abroad and study. For example, my relative lives in New York, and he works there and sends money home. I want to do that too. So yeah, that is why I am taking IELTS courses, so I can get at least 6.

Otabek holds the conversational floor to express his attitude toward the English language, which he regards as "a priority". For Otabek, English is "an international language" that can lead

to his educational and career growth, because “it can open many doors.” English is defined as both symbolic and material capital that can provide access to Otabek’s imagined community, which can be understood through time – a desired imagined future, and through horizontal and vertical scaling, because English does not only take one to places, but it also offers opportunities for growth. In this way, Otabek echoes a neoliberal discourse of English as a language of opportunities. To support his statement, Otabek cites examples of actual study abroad scholarships that are available in Uzbekistan through programs administered by designated organizations such as U.S. Embassy. He considers these organizations a springboard for a desired future, in which greater level of English proficiency determines the scale of the ‘jump’. Otabek also constructs the value of English as different from the languages he grew up speaking. He views Russian, Tajik and Uzbek as tokens of the past “I grew up with them” and present “I also use Russian, Uzbek, and Tajik every day”; however, they do not have a special place in relation to the future “they don’t open many doors, because everyone here knows them”. Otabek invokes the chronotope of his immediate physical environment “here” as multilingual and common within ‘this scale’. Therefore, he treats his multilingual repertoire in these three languages as ordinary and ubiquitous, whereas English offers an opportunity to be different. In this first part of the excerpt, Otabek invokes two main discourses in reflecting on his relationship with English: a discourse of mobility and a discourse of differentness. English is seen as a pathway to mobility in his future-oriented discourse of winning a study abroad grant and as a way to be different within the linguistic marketplace of his immediate physical environment.

When asked to elaborate on the resourcefulness of his languages in Uzbekistan and abroad, the discursive scale of his narrative goes beyond the individual and an orientation to the Central Asian and post-Soviet spaces. Otabek re-scales his earlier comment on everyone speaking the

abovementioned three languages through ascribing the use of Russian and Uzbek to the whole country and Tajik to his hometown. Because he chronotopically organizes this linguistic competence within the broader post-Soviet space, knowledge of Uzbek, Russian and Tajik gains greater importance for him. Nevertheless, this role is diminished with the statement that follows, “But I need to excel in English if I want to go abroad and study,” in which he returns to his individual goals and desires of becoming mobile through a strong linguistic competence in English. Otabek then invokes a desired image he sees in his relative who works and studies in New York and “sends money to his family in Uzbekistan” by stating that he also wants to do that. Thus, Otabek creates a chronotopic image of an imagined community – an ideal life abroad, where he sees himself working and studying while also supporting his family back in Uzbekistan – when justifying his attendance of the IELTS courses. This discourse of mobility to gain economic stability by investing in English language study is representative of the whole corpus from my fieldwork in Uzbekistan.

A number of observations are due with regard to this excerpt and how it is representative of the narratives shared by other participants from Uzbekistan. Notably, ideologies of English as opportunistic and instrumental are present in Otabek’s account of the role of English in his life, which holds greater value in helping him access the desired imagined community than the knowledge of locally spoken languages. In order to construct his attitude towards his linguistic repertoire and English in particular, he differentiates between spaces ‘here’ vs. ‘abroad’, times ‘growing up’ and ‘right now’, and kinds of people ‘everyone’ vs. ‘recipients of Erasmus or other fellowships’. The discursive invocation of mobility and economic stability was also found in the narratives of participants who majored in language studies such as Korean and Chinese. They called the knowledge of Korean and Chinese to be “a nice addition” to English if they were to

study abroad in South Korea or China. A number of participants noted that “nowadays, knowing only English is not enough, because everyone is learning it”, thus indicating the value of learning other foreign languages in addition to English. All of the languages that participants labeled as foreign were viewed as a gateway to study abroad and material returns, with English topping this list.

Another observation has to do with regard to participants’ linguistic insecurity. All of the participants in Uzbekistan defined their multilingualism as common and ordinary in the context of their daily life in which English provided a certain degree of uniqueness for some and a higher rate of success when combined with another foreign language for others. Furthermore, all of my interviewees opted to speak in English during the interviews and during other interactions with me as a way to practice the language, which they rarely used beyond educational settings, but also as a way to demonstrate the hard work they had put into learning it. Nevertheless, they do not project linguistic confidence in relation to any of their languages, nor do they give a credit to their knowledge of multiple locally spoken languages nor English, in which they seemed to interact rather comfortably. This insecurity may be explained through a pressure of competition in the study abroad scholarships, as well as economic anxieties participants may have when thinking about their future careers. They are well aware of the linguistic marketplace within the scale of their immediate environment where the popularity of English is measured through the number of learners taking IELTS courses rather than its day-to-day use in the country. This competition discursively disappears in their future-oriented chronotopes of an imagined community, which is outside of Uzbekistan, where they can be students and support their families in their home country.

English as-a-constituent of civic identity: The case of Kazakhstan

During my fieldwork in Kazakhstan, I observed that country's ethnic and linguistic diversity was a popular topic in conversations between teachers, administrators, students, and their family members. Unlike their fellow students in Uzbekistan, students in Kazakhstan preferred to speak Russian during the interview, with a few opting for Kazakh and one choosing English. Another distinctive feature was that all of the students I recruited as my study participants in Kazakhstan had an experience of traveling abroad, which was not the case for students in Uzbekistan. Although multilingual students of Kazakhstan shared similar instrumental and opportunistic attitudes towards English by saying that it is a "global language", "language for global communication", "international language when abroad, better job prospects in Kazakhstan", they did not invoke discourses of competition and linguistic or economic insecurity with regard to English. For students in Kazakhstan, English was one of the foreign languages they were learning "to find a good job" in Kazakhstan and "to communicate when traveling abroad" as opposed to students in Uzbekistan who reported to be learning English to increase their chances in study abroad programs through which they can gain greater material resources. One explanation for this difference in attitudes may be the fact that students in Kazakhstan had experiences of traveling abroad with their own funds or through funding provided by their institution and/or the state. While this could be related to Kazakhstan's stronger economy and relatively smaller population in comparison to Uzbekistan, state-funded fellowships for study abroad such as Bolashak can also play a key role in creating opportunities for students in Kazakhstan. In fact, despite a noticeable gap in their economic affordances, both groups of students in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan reported to be from middle-class families.

While a utilitarian attitude towards English was shared by both groups of students, there was a major difference in the narratives of students in Kazakhstan characterized by the

ideologies of English beyond their individual goals. Consider the excerpt below by Nuriya, a 25-year-old student of history who chose to converse with me in Kazakh.

Nuriya: I think people in Kazakhstan know Russian very well, you might have noticed that everyone understands you when you go somewhere and speak Russian, right? So, that is why I think we can take Russian off the official language list, and put English instead. And instead we would have Kazakh and English languages as official, because Russian is not foreign to us, we have been exposed to it for 70 years, we all know it. So, by having Kazakh and English, the latter would help to modernize and show in the international arena, and Kazakh is our birth language.

This is the part of the narrative where Nuriya transitions from discussing the value of languages beyond her individual experiences towards discussing their sociopolitical value in Kazakhstan and for Kazakhstan. While not explicitly referring to the state's trilingual policy, Nuriya invokes discourses following the implementation of the policy that had been circulating among people at the time I was there in 2015. Her preference for English at the state level comes at the expense of Russian. Nuriya justifies her argument through a chronotopic image of Kazakhstan as a country where a foreigner such as myself can get by knowing only Russian and that Russian is the language everyone has been using for seven decades eluding to Kazakhstan's Soviet past. She says, "we all know it". In contrast to my participants in Uzbekistan who noted the widespread knowledge of Uzbek and Russian along with other minority languages in the country, Nuriya's narrative shows how Russian is considered to be the widespread language in Kazakhstan. For Nuriya, Russian is the language spoken by many, and therefore, stripping it off its official status is unlikely to affect its social presence, which suggests the enduring nature of Russian in people's habitus in Kazakhstan. Nuriya suggests to replace Russian with English by

constructing a future-oriented chronotope of modernization and internationalization for Kazakhstan. In her opinion, English should be officially recognized next to Kazakh, “our birth language”, which was found to be a representative ideology of those participants who identified themselves as ethnically Kazakh and chose Kazakh as their interview language. Elsewhere during our conversation, Nuriya among others, expressed a concern about the impurity of their “mother tongue” (i.e. Kazakh) due to code-switching with Russian and a belief that more work should be done to increase citizens’ competency of Kazakh.

Through orienting to a higher scale of the nation-state throughout the conversation, Nuriya invokes ideologies of Russian as the Soviet legacy, which had weakened the status and knowledge of her native language. Her vision of an imagined community ascribes to English the role of a powerful alternative to Russian by positioning English as a language of modernity. English operates at a larger scale than Kazakh or Russian in this narrative, because ‘it can substitute for Russian at the state level’, ‘it is not a threat to Kazakh while Russian is’, and ‘it can increase Kazakhstan’s international visibility’.

On the other hand, the majority of my study participants in Kazakhstan were in support of sustaining societal bilingualism in Kazakhstan and adding English as one of the three main languages of the country. To illustrate this viewpoint, consider the narrative below by Munisa, a 24-year-old student of Turkology (the study of Turkic languages and cultures), who chose to converse with me primarily in Russian.

Munisa: You probably know that we have been implementing Nazarbaev’s trilingual policy, right? So, that’s why we have history and some other classes in English here. You know Kazakhstan is an international state. Here, there are many different minorities, specifically nationalities. Yes, Kazakh must be the main

language, it goes without saying. And it already is. Even the word Kazakhstan already has ‘Kazakh’, and ‘-stan’, we know what it means. No problem. But we can’t equate Russian with the other languages, for instance, with English. It should be the other way around: English should come up to the level of Russian. We want international goods, we don’t want Kazakhstan to be in the shadow of the other CIS countries right?! We want it to be more at a global level. Even our state leader is trying. We are in the top 50, now we have to strive to be in the top 30. Why is it being done? For some type of a GOAL. But, it’s not going to happen, if we keep saying “no, only our own language. Everything only our own.” There are many countries, very unsuccessful, when they promote only their own language...And that’s why I think that even English has to be elevated up to the state level so that teachers could speak it, and even in governmental offices, too. For instance, I witnessed this incident: A Korean man was driving a car and he was stopped by the road patrol, because he didn’t follow the rule. But the police officer didn’t know English (laughs) and had to let him go. Because he (the Korean) said “Sorry I don’t understand you”. And he (the officer) was speaking to him in Russian, in Kazakh, but he (the Korean) didn’t understand. Therefore, I think we should improve the knowledge of English, so that the officer could tell him what he did wrong.

Munisa is one of the rare participants who could talk at length, which makes her a great narrator for the life history research. Similar to other participants, she also talked about the instrumental role of English in her education. However, above, I decided to show the part of the conversation when Munisa starts talking about the former president’s trilingual policy to further

elaborate on the role and value of languages in Kazakhstan. Like Nuriya and a majority of the participants, Munisa also articulated her thoughts regarding the discourses around the policy. In doing so, she situates Kazakhstan within the international scale as a country of great diversity where Russian holds a special place and its role should not be diminished by English. Unlike Nuriya, she stresses the status of the Kazakh language as the state language and that the country is named after Kazakhs, thus implicitly orienting against the discourse of Kazakh being the only state and official language and by noting that Russian “can’t be equated to other languages”. This may be because of Munisa’s attitude towards Russian as a language for interethnic communication, because earlier she notes Kazakhstan’s diverse population, but also it may be because of her self-identification as a Uyghur and Uzbek minority. According to Munisa, English should be elevated to the level of Russian, making Kazakhstan stand out globally among the rest of the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) countries. Although Munisa argues for a different politico-linguistics as opposed to Nuriya, she, similar to Nuriya, invokes the chronotopic image of Kazakhstan by saying “we” (citizens of Kazakhstan) “want it to be more at a global level”, thereby positioning herself against the ‘one nation one language ideology’. To support her statement, Munisa exemplifies a number of countries which faced unfortunate events due to their failure to recognizing their ethnolinguistic diversity.

Only after citing a number of examples in support of her viewpoint does Munisa return to her initial argument of elevating English to the level of Russian, for instance by making it a daily language of the government officials and public workers. Munisa does not only orient to the higher-scale chronotope of the nation state, but also supports her opinion with an anecdotal event she witnesses on the road. Within her larger narrative, Munisa retells a story of a foreign resident of Kazakhstan who when stopped by the road patrol officer did not understand how he

violated the road rules, because the officer could explain the violation only in Russian and Kazakh, but not in English. Through this example, Munisa adds to the desired international image for Kazakhstan by demonstrating its internationalized daily life making English a necessary language for the citizens of this imagined community.

The data collected in Kazakhstan reveal that multilingual students not only view English as instrumental and opportunistic for their individual gains, but also as a pathway to modernization for their country. This is strikingly different from the attitudes of students in Uzbekistan. While students in Uzbekistan showed an awareness of the competition in the linguistic marketplace of Uzbekistan, students in Kazakhstan extend the scale of this marketplace to the global by highlighting English as a key part of the state's trilingual policy. Additionally, the imagined community to which participants in Uzbekistan strive to belong by means of learning English is situated somewhere abroad, whereas research participants in Kazakhstan situate the need to learn English in their own country, which is imagined as modernized and global. While English is the language that makes students in Uzbekistan different from their multilingual compatriots, it is the language that makes Kazakhstan stand out internationally, according to students in Kazakhstan. This indicates different attitudes students from two post-Soviet countries construct towards English in which those in Kazakhstan imagine English as part of their civic identity, a citizen who speaks three languages, as opposed to viewing English only as a foreign language that they may need for traveling abroad. Finally, English is not regarded as a threat to any of the languages in Uzbekistan, nor is it viewed as a threat to Kazakh. However, English is regarded to be a threat to the official status of Russian in Kazakhstan.

A final note is due with regard to the linguistic ownership of students in Kazakhstan. Although only one participant preferred English as the language of the interview, all other

students opted for Russian and Kazakh. Nevertheless, these students did not present themselves as insecure with regard to English, while a few talked about their insecurity in Kazakh. Their relationship to English is also rather unique if we are to place Kazakhstan in Kachru's Expanding Circle. Considering that Kazakhstan does not have a colonial history with the inner Circle countries and that English is not a language for everyday communication in the country; yet the way that these participants imagine themselves as citizens of a trilingual country where English is recognized at the level of Kazakh, and where it is used as often as Russian, is what makes it different. I argue that these participants claim linguistic ownership of English, because they see themselves and others using it in their future-oriented discourses of trilingual Kazakhstan. Thus, the question might arise as to why English serves such different roles in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan.

Although Uzbekistan stresses the knowledge of foreign languages in its language policy, it has not branded the nation as plurilingual, choosing instead 'one nation one language policy'. Kazakhstan, on the other hand, has chosen a pathway to embrace societal plurilingualism in its language reforms since independence by, for instance, having two official languages and joining the Bologna Process in 2010. Participant narratives as shown above are reflective of the state-circulated discourse of branding the national image as trilingual. Thereby, I argue that this policy equipped my study participants in Kazakhstan with necessary discourse to imagine themselves and their compatriots as competent in three languages to which they themselves discursively oriented.

Discussion

In this chapter, I have responded to the call in World Englishes, in relation to the role of English in the multilingual practices of people in the Expanding Circle (Bolton, 2018; Mauranen,

2018; Kachru & Nelson, 2006) by looking at the context of Central Asia in examining multilingual students' ideologies of and attitudes to English vis-à-vis their other languages. Additionally, a comparative analysis of the data from two countries offered an opportunity to examine the similarities and differences in participant discursive self-representation in relation to their linguistic repertoire in general and English in particular. I found that although both groups of students regarded English as opportunistic, for students in Uzbekistan, English serves as a pathway to mobility and economic stability, whereas for students in Kazakhstan, English is also a constituent of their civic identity.

That is, while scholars have attempted to study the degree of linguistic ownership in the inner and outer circles (e.g. Park, 2011; Higgins, 2003), this concept has rarely been applied to the study of Englishes in the expanding circle (cf. Seilhamer, 2015) where it is assigned the role of a foreign language (Jenkins, 2009). Seilhamer (2015) concludes that although his Taiwanese participants demonstrate a high level of confidence in English, its status in Taiwan remains prescribed making it hard for students to claim the ownership of English. My analysis of data collected in Kazakhstan shows how participants exert ownership over English when situating it along with Russian and Kazakh, thus claiming their belonging to the imagined community of the trilingual Kazakhstan. These participants' construction of the chronotopic trilingual citizen demonstrates that they position themselves as legitimate speakers of English within the context of Kazakhstan, which also supports the claim that legitimacy occurs prior to ownership (Norton, 1997). This role of English can also be supported by the fact that English was often compared to Russian, a local language of power, and often characterized as a potential threat to the official status of Russian in Kazakhstan. On the other hand, students in Uzbekistan have not invoked

higher-scaled discourses and their attitudes to English were convergent with the findings of other scholars who examined the role of English in the expanding circle (Ciscel, 2011; Selvi, 2011).

The concept of nation-branding has been particularly informative in investigating sociolinguistics of language along with sociolinguistics of society in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. Through narrative and discourse analytic methods, I was able to conduct a micro-level analysis while attending to the macro-level processes taking place in these countries. For instance, narratives of students in Uzbekistan revealed a desire to study abroad and a way to earn material return that comes with English. This is reflective of the status of English as a foreign language in Uzbekistan, where it is rarely used outside of educational settings. On the other hand, students in Kazakhstan see the need for English as a language of opportunity not only for their individual goals, but also for the nation as a whole. This mirrors state-circulated discourses of the national image, which is characterized by its citizens' trilingualism in Kazakh, Russian and English. I found these students' construction of ownership to be rather unique to Kazakhstan, which can be explained by Del Percio's (2016) definition of nation-branding as creating "uniqueness" for its national past. What I contribute through my analysis of future-oriented chronotopes is that it can also create "uniqueness" for its national future. Analysis of these chronotopic identities, i.e. future-oriented discourses of imagined communities to which participants claim belonging, have been particularly helpful in drawing the differences between ideologies of English of my participants in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. Finally, my findings of data collected in Kazakhstan contradict the findings of scholars who suggest that greater linguistic security and ownership come with the frequency of and confidence in language use (Foo & Tan, 2018). Instead, I show that nationally branded discourse of trilingualism serves as a key vehicle for these students' linguistic ownership of English, which strengthens scholarly claims about the role of the state

and top-down policies in cultivating a nation's linguistic (in)security (Seilhamer, 2015; Park, 2011).

A discussion of the neoliberal ideals (Djuraeva, 2018) that venerate a competence in multiple foreign languages including English in order to be internationally competitive is further due. Both groups of participants talk about the need to learn a foreign language in order to be different. While students in Uzbekistan articulate this difference with regard to the competition for admission to study abroad programs, for students in Kazakhstan, this difference has to do with their national image as a trilingual nation-state at a global scale. The fact that students in Uzbekistan imagine their future with English outside of their country while students in Kazakhstan imagine their future within Kazakhstan may be interpreted as the lack of trilingual branding in Uzbekistan and/or a higher economic affordances of citizens in Kazakhstan. However, such interpretations should be supported by future studies which specifically look at an individual's economic status as an independent variable in examining linguistic (in)security. Additionally, the presence of traveling experience among students in Kazakhstan may also be indicative of their linguistic security in relation to English. Thus, future studies may look at how linguistic ownership of English in the Expanding Circle affects one's subjectivity and willingness to communicate.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I presented a comparative analysis of multilingual students' ideologies of and attitudes to English vis-à-vis their other locally used languages. By doing so, I fill in the research gap (Bolton, 2018; Mauranen, 2018; Kachru & Nelson, 2006) on the role of English in multilingual practices of speakers in Expanding Circle where it is often regarded as a lingua franca and a globalizing language (Seidlhofer, 2011; Chew, 2009). I have also responded to the

scholarly call in examining super-macro issues in the analysis of micro issues (Kubota, 2018). As I have shown, situating participants within the broader context becomes useful in discussing the shared similarities in the role of English in their lives as instrumental and opportunistic, but also the differences which are characterized by the absence of ownership of English among students in Uzbekistan and its presence in the narratives of students in Kazakhstan. I argued that this difference had been brought about with the adoption of the trilingual policy in Kazakhstan and the subsequent circulation of nation-branding (Graan, 2016; Del Percio, 2016) discourses among its public in contrast to Uzbekistan, which is known for its ‘one nation one language policy’. I further argued that the availability of the state level narrative on trilingualism equipped my participants with the necessary discourse to claim citizenship and belonging (Foucault, 1982). The following chapter of this dissertation will turn the focus from the multilinguals’ lived experiences in their home country to the context of transnational migration in order to provide a more holistic approach to the study of multilingual lived experiences.

Chapter 7: Attending to (Un)Consciousness in Discourses of (Non)Nativity

Overview

In this chapter, I present my analysis of participant discourses of (non)nativity in the context of translational migration. I first give an overview of the literature on ideologies of (non)nativity describing in greater detail the notions of habitus, chronotope, and scale as related to contextualization of data analysis this chapter. I then provide information about my participants followed by an in-depth analysis of three metacommentaries, demonstrating how these study participants draw on discourses of ideals and habits. I highlight the consequences of these discourses for the representation of linguistic competence in relation to (non)nativity, and in the final section, I discuss these issues in terms of their implications for the field.

Ideologies of (Non)Nativity

The “native speaker” concept gained a strong presence in linguistics scholarship following Bloomfield and Newmark (1963) and Chomsky (1965), who popularized the term by claiming the innate nature of the first language for its speakers. This was first challenged by Hymes’ (1972) notion of communicative competence as performed by speakers of any type in the real world, and then by Paikeday (1985) who called the native speaker “a myth”, as well as Firth and Wagner (1997) who brought attention to the biased view of non-native speakers as deficient. Others have put forth situated critiques of the “native speaker” in relation to language pedagogy (Aneja, 2016; Davies, 1991), multilingualism (Kramsch, 1997, 2010; Grosjean, 1982), and World Englishes (Pennycook, 1994; Kachru, 1988;). As an alternative to the “native speaker,” some scholars have advocated for a more flexible view of competency that takes into account the specific registers and genres that speakers use and/or cannot use regardless of their status as non-native speakers (Blommaert & Backus, 2013).

Alongside this growing recognition of the problems with nativeness as a theoretical concept, there has been an empirical turn towards investigating the nature of *ideologies* of (non)nativeness. This research has described the characteristics that are attributed to competence and consequently, how speakers are positioned and position themselves. Two characteristics, that of effort and naturalness, have emerged as particularly salient. One's native language may be considered natural because of its assumed primordial essence as the mother tongue, which is ingrained in the body (Woolard, 2019; Bonfiglio, 2010), or because of its Herderian association with the territoriality of the nation-state, or the ethnicity of its speakers (Errington, 1998). This dimension of 'naturalness' is associated with a type of communal inherency. However, there is another dimension of naturalness, related to individual ability and automaticity as illustrated by the ideological conflation of native speech with "fluency" (Rossiter, 2009; Davies, 2004). The idea that "native" speech should be fluent and therefore easy introduces the notion of "effort" which is a characteristic typically associated with non-nativeness. This effort can be seen, for example, in language learners' ideologies of investment in language learning with the goal of achieving idealized, native-like competence (Park, 2009; Norton, 2000). Given the ways in which ideologies of nativeness are wrapped up with ideas of naturalness and effort, I have not only taken into account speakers' explicit reference to "native" and "non-native" languages in my upcoming analysis, but also those aspects of their narrative which refer to "naturalness" and "effort" as related to their linguistic competency.

In addition to describing these characteristics of (non)nativeness, scholars have also examined their consequences, showing how these characteristics can position multilingual speakers as deficient (Aneja, 2016; Matsuda & Cox, 2011; Amin, 1999). These studies have shown that the native speaker ideal can be intertwined with, or act as a stand-in for other types of

national, political, and racial “ideals” (Flores, 2013; Makihara, 2009) through which multilingual speakers and marginalized communities more broadly are negatively evaluated. A number of other scholars, in an attempt to account for speaker agency, have highlighted the ways in which “non-native” speakers respond to these negative evaluations. Some demonstrate the internalization of these ideals by multilingual people, and their resulting anxieties (Sliwa & Johanson, 2015; Park, 2010; Doerr, 2009), while others have shown that multilingual speakers may reject these ideals and opt for alternative learning goals, such as ideal bilingualism (Choi, 2016) or “glocalized” English (Song, 2010; Chew, 2009). Thus, ideals are relevant to how multilingual speakers are positioned, and to how they position themselves, whether they internalize the notion that they cannot achieve the ideal associated with the native speaker or reject it. Less attention, however, has been paid to issues of habit as embodied experience in this literature, although there have been calls to engage with these dimensions of speakers’ relationships to their linguistic repertoires (e.g. Busch, 2017; Block, 2013). Davies (2004) in particular has noted that a focus on embodied experience may be able to counter strong ideologies of (non)nativeness. While there has been some application of the notions of embodied experience within sociolinguistics and a growing interest in this area (see Bucholtz & Hall, 2016 for an overview), I am not aware of empirical studies which have examined habit as embodied experience relative to issues of (non)nativeness. Thus, one of the goals of this chapter is to engage with habit as a type of less conscious, embodied experience, that in addition to ideals, can account for ideologies of (non)nativeness.

Habitus, Chronotope and Scales

My understanding of habit derives from Bourdieu’s notion of habitus in that it is meant to capture the durable, ingrained, habitual, and less conscious aspects of sociolinguistic behavior.

Bourdieu (1984) defines habitus as a set of individual dispositions that have been developed through an interaction with existing social structures. Through experience people acquire socially constructed dispositions related to eating, walking and speaking, which are largely determined by the cultural and social systems in which they are born. These dispositions are durable, and thus they are difficult or impossible to change. The static view of habitus has led some scholars to propose alternative terms which incorporate agency into one's experience of habit (e.g. Agha, 2007a). However, others have argued that Bourdieu's habitus can be interpreted in such a way as to make space for the possibility of both awareness and agency (e.g. Bucholtz & Hall, 2016). Empirically, scholars have shown how habitus may become conscious, and as a result may transform in unexpected situations, or over a long historical period -- for instance, in contexts of migration (Kelly & Lusic, 2006; Navarro, 2006). Thus, it is possible to conceptualize habitus as a durable, but ultimately changeable set of dispositions.

I follow other scholars who have found a distinction between different types of discourses to be a useful way of tracing the metapragmatics of habitus, such as Kang & Lo (2004) who separate the "discourse of dispositions" from the "discourse of agency." For them, the discourse of dispositions is used to refer to participant metacommentary on aspects of identity viewed as relatively permanent. In this chapter, I differentiate between "discourses of habit"-- those participant comments that emphasize, habitual, embodied, unconscious and durable, but ultimately changeable experience -- and "discourses of ideals", which emphasize idealized sociolinguistic images. I opt for the use of "habit" rather than "habitus" in order to acknowledge that habitus is a broader and more comprehensive theory, which has been taken up in a number of different ways, as shown above. Thus, while the literature on habitus and dispositions provides me with helpful theoretical framings, my use of the phrase "discourses of

habit” more narrowly defines what I observe empirically in metalinguistic commentary of my participants presented in this chapter.

In order to situate these discourses, I employ the notions of chronotope and scales. With regard to the data analysis of this chapter, chronotopes are useful analytical tools in analyzing different types of ideals: ideal pasts associated with the homeland (Eisenlohr, 2006; Dick, 2010); ideal futures in the host country (Karimzad, 2016) and idealized moralities related to family language planning (Catedral & Djuraeva, 2018). Chronotopes have also been applied to the study of everyday experience, in differentiating, for instance, between “front” and “back” regions which govern classroom behavior (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017) or “chronotopes of normalcy” which guide the (often) unnoticed norms that speakers follow with respect to their language use in multilingual contexts (Karimzad, 2019). Both “everyday experience” and “idealized images” are morally and ideologically loaded chronotopes involving particular types of personhood, and specific configurations of space and time.

However, speakers’ ideologies about these two types of chronotopes and their relation to language may differ - such that they frame chronotopes of everyday experience as being related to the times and spaces in which they use more genre-specific, embodied linguistic registers (c.f. Blommaert & Backus, 2013; Agha, 2007b), in contrast to those idealized chronotopes which they may relate more to prototypical understandings of named languages and the time and space of the nation-state (Karimzad & Catedral, 2018; Makoni & Pennycook, 2005). Given that I am attempting to describe speaker ideologies, I find a distinction between these two types of chronotopes helpful. Following the literature, which has variously described chronotopes as “higher vs. lower” (Catedral, 2018b) or “macroscopic vs. microscopic” (Blommaert & De Fina, 2017), I have decided to make use of a distinction between higher-scaled chronotopes invoked in

discourses of ideals and lower-scaled chronotopes invoked in discourses of habit. I use the term “scaled” as a past participle in order to acknowledge that these scales do not exist a priori, but have rather been constructed through institutional discourses, and the discourses of my participants (c.f. Carr & Lempert, 2016). Additionally, I do not see the distinction between higher and lower scaled chronotopes as binary, which I noted in the literature review chapter, but rather I aim to demonstrate how speakers’ discourses of (non)nativeness operate on a continuum, moving between the higher end, at which institutional discourses prevail, and the lower end, where discourses of lived experiences prevail in justifying linguistic practices and attitudes. While I acknowledge that habits and ideals are mutually constituting, I also find it useful to distinguish between the two in order to explore the consequences of this scalar movement for ideologies of (non)nativeness.

Data collection and analysis procedure

In this chapter, I focus specifically on a subset of semi-structured interviews conducted over Skype with Central Asian transnational migrants who had moved to North America, but were born and raised in Uzbekistan. Although I focus on these specific interviews, my analysis is informed by the broader ethnographic observations made over the course of my research studies as a whole. I knew all the participants outside of the research context and used Skype as my means of keeping in touch with them more generally, making it a natural medium for interaction. I asked general questions about language use and language attitudes, to which the interviewees responded at length. The interviewees were given the option of speaking in any of their languages for the interview. Typically, these interviewees interact with me in either Tajik or Russian. While Farhod (30 years old, 8 years in the U.S.) spoke in Russian, similarly to how he would typically interact with me, Maryam (24 years old, 2 years in Canada) and Zarina (34 years

old, 10 years in the U.S.) chose to speak in English. This may be because of the genre of the interview, or because they preferred speaking about these particular topics in English.

In analyzing the discourses that emerged from my interviews, I take a double hermeneutic approach. That is, I try to understand how my participants understand their social world (Smith & Osborn, 2003), as it relates to language and identity. I also recognize that by focusing on interview data, I am analyzing a particular type of communicative event that may not reflect all of the discourses these participants would employ in their daily lives (c.f. Briggs, 1986). That is, my data comes from a context in which participants were asked to consciously reflect on their linguistic repertoires. While it may appear contradictory to focus on conscious representations of linguistic ideologies in an attempt to uncover those less conscious aspects of people's perceptions of (non)nativeness, I find a focus on metacommentary useful for the following reasons. First of all, because I take the view that ideology is located both in metalinguistic commentary and in linguistic practice (Woolard, 1998), it seems crucial not to leave out metalinguistic commentary in an investigation of ideological issues. Secondly, metacommentary can make me more aware of not only my perceptions of the ideological meaning of languages, but also of participants' perceptions, by foregrounding their emic understandings. Finally, although the metacommentary is conscious, in this metacommentary I see representations of linguistic practice as both conscious and unconscious. This is what I define above as discourses of ideals and discourses of habit, which I see as one part of a more comprehensive view of ideologies of (non)nativeness.

In order to conduct a detailed linguistic analysis of participants' metacommentary, I pay particular attention to linguistic details including, but not limited to pronouns, metalinguistic commentary, affective language, and the discursive invocation of chronotopes through temporal

and spatial deictics. Notably, when I first began my analysis, I focused primarily on those sections of the interview in which participants used the terms “native” or “non-native” in their accounts without prompting. While this still made up a significant portion of the analysis below, I also realized the need to pay attention to other ways participants discussed their linguistic competence, and I became more acutely aware of their invocation of the notions of “effort” and “naturalness” in discussing language use and language attitudes. Accordingly, my analysis also includes attention to these and similar terms.

Discursive Representations of Non-nativeness

‘When one doesn’t practice the language, it becomes forgotten’

In what follows I will show how participants orient toward discourses of habit and also discourses of ideals in order to explain their relation to and experience of the languages that they use in their transnational lives. There were some participants who relied more strongly on discourses of ideals, claiming for instance that “Native is first, it’s in my blood” or that they had continued difficulty in English because they were not “native speakers”. In my analysis, however, I have chosen to focus on those cases where discourses of habit were more highlighted, given that discourses of ideals have already been discussed extensively in the literature.

Accordingly, the first metacommentary I discuss comes from Farhod, who rarely invokes the notions of “(non)nativeness” and relies instead on discourses of habit. Farhod moved to the U.S. for school, but had since become involved in business. He comes from the Surkhandaryo region of Uzbekistan, which is primarily an Uzbek-speaking region, but where a number of Tajik speakers, similar to himself, live in rural areas. This excerpt begins with Farhod’s response to my question about how he felt when using his different languages. The text presented below has been translated from the original Russian.

Excerpt 1

1. Farhod: When speaking Uzbek I don't feel comfortable, because whenever I speak with Uzbek businessmen, I don't know many work terms, so I don't feel confident as I can't express myself. I start feeling nervous. And that's not good in business. In fact, I use English a lot in business, and Uzbek at home and with friends.
2. Madina: What about your attitude towards the languages you speak? Has it changed since you moved to North America?
3. Farhod: Before when I watched TV here I never understood English. Now when I turn it on, I think, it seems to me it is in Russian, because I understand everything and only then I realize that it is in ENGLISH! In America, when I go to the store, I just speak English automatically.
4. Madina: Do you think you might face any challenges in terms of language when you visit your home country?
5. Farhod: Everywhere there are pluses and minuses. For example, in Surkhandaryo, there is no Tajik vs. Uzbek problem. So in some regions in Surkhandaryo, there are Tajiks who know no words in Uzbek. I went to a gas station once, and asked how much the oil was. And he told me to speak Uzbek since we lived in Uzbekistan. And I told him if I wanted I could speak to him in 10 different languages, right?! So, I just went to another gas station. That happens too. Yes, certainly, I will face challenges back home. When you live in the US, the terms are different. There you need to bargain. When I go here to the gas station, I know the set phrases: Change tire. My tire is flat. Can you get me help? But there, I would start pondering what the terms would be. You see, when one doesn't practice the language, it becomes forgotten. For example, when I finished Turkish, 4

years I studied at University, then at work I used mainly English, Russian or Uzbek, in the European Union. Then, I came to the US, met a Turkish person and had a hard time using it. But in 6 months I got it back. And my Turkish friend even told me if I now went to Turkey, no one would notice that I wasn't a native Turk. But what I wanted to say is that I didn't use 5-7 years the language, so I forgot it.

6. Madina: Aha

7. Farhod: So not necessarily forgot, just it got rusty. Like I understand what the person is saying, even the jokes, but can't speak. Same goes for Uzbek or Tajik; when I go home, I think it would be the same as with Turkish. Here, in the US, after using English, I started forgetting Russian; so now, I try to read the newspaper, etc. in order to keep it fresh.

Farhod's discourses of habit focus on describing a variety of lower-scaled chronotopic contexts in which he uses or has stopped using various languages. He describes how his (lack of) use of these languages in everyday contexts is ultimately what determines whether or not they require effort, or whether or not they feel natural. Thus, Farhod attributes naturalness to his various linguistic resources across the board. For instance, he notes that the ubiquity of English in his experiences of daily life in America (e.g. going to the store, or watching TV) makes it come "automatically" in his speech. Furthermore, as a passive listener, he notes that English has become natural to such an extent that he says, "it seems to me it is in Russian" (line 3) in the particular chronotope of watching TV in America. Thus, by consciously narrating his experiences of his repeated and less conscious behavior of watching TV in English, he claims automaticity as a type of naturalness for both English and Russian. In contrast, a lack of naturalness along the affective dimensions of self-expression is attributed to his use of Uzbek in particular lower-scaled chronotopes. He notes that using Uzbek in business contexts makes him

“uncomfortable”, “not confident”, and hinders self-expression (line 1) since he is used to using English in these contexts. In Farhod’s words “In fact, I use English a lot in business, and Uzbek at home and with friends” (line 1). In all of these cases, Farhod highlights the importance of lower-scaled chronotopic contexts in determining what is natural vs. unnatural, emphasizing habit as opposed to ideals in categorizing his linguistic repertoire.

His metacommentary also portrays naturalness as a type of habit, which though durable, can be lost over time if the language is not practiced within lower-scaled chronotopes. He notes that “When one doesn’t practice the language, it becomes forgotten” (line 5). When reflecting on his Turkish language competence, he says: “I didn’t use the language for five seven years...so it got rusty” (line 5-7). He defines getting “rusty” as understanding everything, but not being able to speak the language. He then makes similar claims about Uzbek, Tajik and Russian, noting, for instance, that he “started forgetting Russian now” (line 7). Using discourses of habit, he narrates how his transnational migration away from certain lower-scaled contexts in which he would use each of these languages results in a “rusting” of his earlier dispositions. This is also related to the issue of effort, as this “rusting” leads to an effort to maintain previously “stable” languages in his linguistic repertoire. For instance, he discusses how he makes an effort to read newspapers in Russian - i.e. to use Russian in a chronotopic context that would not be typical of his life in the U.S. Interestingly, he does not describe the effort that he is putting forth to sustain Uzbek and Tajik naturalness, which may be in part because the contexts in which he worries about not being able to use these languages are not re-creatable in his life in the United States. For example, he notes that he may struggle to engage in Uzbek or Tajik in the contexts of a gas station when asking for a tire to be changed, or at a market where he has to bargain (line 5). These contexts are not so easily accessible as those of reading a newspaper in Russian. Farhod’s reliance on lower-

scaled chronotopic contexts of daily life in attributing naturalness or effort to the various languages in his repertoire constitute his discourses of habit or his conscious representation of his linguistic behavior as less conscious and more habitual. This stands in contrast to those earlier mentioned cases in which participants attributed naturalness to their languages on the basis of ideals, through claiming for instance “It’s native, it’s in my blood”. Farhod’s reliance on discourses of habit thus also allows him to disregard labels of nativeness in describing his competence, as is evidenced by his infrequent use of the terms “native” and “non-native”.

The one exception is in his discussion of how his Turkish improved to the extent that a Turkish friend noted he would pass for a native Turk if in Turkey. This demonstrates that Farhod is aware of discourses of ideals and that he may invoke them when it is useful for his self-presentation. Another case where Farhod refers to discourses of ideals is in his response to the gas station employee in Uzbekistan who demanded he speak Uzbek. Farhod notes “And I told him if I wanted I could speak to him in 10 different languages, right?!” (line 5). With this response, he rejects the ideal notion that territoriality or the nation-state should determine the language spoken, while also invoking a different ideal, i.e. that having proficiency in a larger number of languages grants one greater linguistic capital. This ideal may be associated with the idea that one has acquired multiple languages in order to move flexibly in a globalized world, or with the higher levels of education, through which one has acquired these languages. All in all, although Farhod primarily relies on discourses of habit in representing his experiences, he is still aware of, and can engage with discourses of ideals as necessary. What is interesting for me is how discourses of habit allow for a more fluid attribution of naturalness and effort across the native/non-native distinction, while discourses of ideals reify or react to national images of native-speakerism.

'I try, I am, I've really become'

In the next excerpt from Maryam I examine how discourses of habit and ideals interact in relation to experiences of transnational migration. After receiving her bachelor's degree, Maryam migrated to Canada for further education. After migrating, she faced some financial hardships which led her to quit school and engage in manual labor. However, she said that because she wanted to move into more skilled work, she took note of the professions and skills that are valued in Canada, ultimately deciding to study medical administration and French. She is originally from Bukhara, a city in Uzbekistan with a large population of Tajik speakers. Maryam spoke in English throughout the interview, and the original text is reproduced below.

Excerpt 2

1. Madina: Has your attitude towards the languages you speak changed since you moved to North America?
2. Maryam: After I moved to Canada, I want to learn more languages. I respect people who know more languages, especially people who know French. I want to learn French and Arabic. I also want to learn more about my native language. We speak Tajik you know, but we don't know much about the language, Persians here don't understand Tajik. I want to be able to tell them about it. I started watching Tajik movies. I also try speak English more fluently, to sound more American, because people have some difficulty in understanding me.
3. Madina: Do you observe any changes when using different languages? For example, changes in behavior or personality or any other changes.
4. Maryam: Hmmm, for me, Uzbek and Tajik sound so natural, more soft, kind. I don't speak loud in my native language. English is not my native language, so I try to be

confident in expressing my thoughts, speak a little bit louder, be assertive. ((long pause))

When I speak English, I am too much confident and assertive, and very independent, maybe I've really become assertive and confident.

5. Madina: Do you think you might face any challenges when visiting your home country when it comes to language?
6. Maryam: I started mixing English with the other three languages, and when I talk to my mom, some English words come naturally. Hopefully, I don't sound too loud when I go back home.

I begin examining Maryam's discourses through the lens of ideals, attending in particular to the new ideals associated with the higher-scaled chronotopes of the nation-state that she encounters as a result of her transnational migration. In line 2, she indirectly invokes ideals of Canadianness through her discussion of valuing multilingualism, upholding proficiency in English and French, and wanting to be an active participant in Canadian multiculturalism (c.f. Kallen, 1982). Maryam describes her desire to respond to this image of Canadianness by changing her linguistic repertoire, by learning French and Arabic, by trying to "sound more American", and by learning more about Tajik to better represent her culture (line 2). In her discussion of these ambitions, she draws a clear distinction between her "native" language, i.e. Tajik (line 2) and her "non-native" language, i.e. English (line 4), demonstrating how discourses of Canadian nationalism come to be in dialogue with other higher-scaled chronotopes of ethnolinguistic identity.

While Maryam's commentary begins with these discourses of ideals, as she describes both the process through which she came to have these goals, and the effort she puts forward in achieving them, discourses of habit become more prominent. For instance, her desire to know

more about Tajik can be traced to her habitual encounters with other immigrants where she is unable to represent her ethnolinguistic identity (line 2). More specifically, she narrates how her encounters with Persians in Canada led her to “want to learn more about my native language” (line 2). She goes on to note that “we speak Tajik you know, but we don’t know much about the language, Persians here don’t understand Tajik. I want to be able to tell them about it” (line 2). While Persian and Tajik are closely related languages, Tajik is much less visible globally, and for Tajik speakers from Uzbekistan, it is also less visible at a national scale as a minority language. Thus, these higher-scaled issues shape Maryam’s on-the-ground experiences of knowledge about Tajik. These experiences, combined with the higher-scaled ideals of Canadianness, lead her to put forth effort which she describes in terms of lower-scaled chronotopic contexts, for instance by “watching Tajik movies” (line 2) in order to gain a greater metalinguistic awareness of the language.

With respect to English, Maryam notes that as a result of her effort to comply with ideals of Canadianness, she has brought about a change in her durable disposition that now comes into conflict with her perception of Central Asian ideals for sociolinguistic norms of behavior. She notes that a desire to sound more American and to be better understood by “native speakers” in English leads her to “try to be confident” in expressing her thoughts and to “speak a little bit louder” and “be assertive” (line 4). She discursively represents the process through which not only her language, but also she herself becomes “assertive and confident” as she moves from “I try” to “I am” to “I’ve really become” (line 4), narratively demonstrating how this linguistic practice becomes a durable disposition. The durability of this disposition becomes relevant when she contrasts it with ideals for Central Asian speech. She sets up a dichotomy between these two sets of ideals describing Uzbek and Tajik as natural, soft, and kind, in contrast to English as

confident, loud, and assertive. Thus, in response to my question about whether or not she will have difficulties communicating when she goes home, Maryam notes that “Hopefully, I don’t sound too loud when I go back home” (line 6). This indicates her anxieties about how her durable disposition as a “confident” speaker might impact her speech in Uzbek and Tajik. That is, what has become durable in Canada may not fit well in relation to another set of ideals. In addition to expressing her concern that she might speak too confidently in Uzbek and Tajik, Maryam also uses discourses of habit to note that when she speaks to her mother, English “words come naturally” and mix with her Uzbek speech (line 6). This shows how Maryam represents English as an established part of her habitus, and how she attributes “naturalness” to both her use of English words, and to her use of a confident way of speaking associated with English. Furthermore, Maryam represents speaking this way as something that has become so “natural” that she has difficulty controlling it consciously, that is in speaking only in Uzbek or Tajik, or speaking softly and kindly in these languages. Thus she presents effort as something that is required, not only to change one’s habitus in response to national ideals, but also to sustain previously established and durable dispositions related to one’s “native” languages.

While Maryam does not refer to English as one of her native languages, she attributes naturalness to it, and while she refers to Tajik as a native language, she claims that effort is required to speak it monolingually and with the appropriate affect. A note on the different, but related notions of “naturalness” in Maryam’s discourses is also in order. When discussed within the higher-scaled chronotopes of ideal ethnolinguistic personhood, the notion of “natural” as it relates to Uzbek and Tajik can be seen as a type of inherent familiarity that reifies notions of native and non-nativeness. The attribution of naturalness to English within the lower-scaled chronotopes of interacting with her mother indicates a type of automaticity that is not easily

controlled. However, these two types of naturalness are still very much connected as both automaticity and inherency can be seen as pointing to a type of personal familiarity with these ways of speaking. Thus, although naturalness is typically attributed to “native” languages, in this case, I see how naturalness may also be attributed to “non-native” languages, particularly after a prolonged use of this “non-native” language in lower-scaled contexts. Similarly, as noted above, while effort is generally associated with “non-native” languages, it may also be invoked in discourses of habit when discussing attempts to speak one’s native languages without mixing. While Maryam does overtly invoke the categories of native and non-native to divide up her linguistic repertoire, her further metalinguistic commentary ultimately subverts this dichotomy. This is significant because it demonstrates how one speaker over the course of one discussion may change how they position their linguistic resources depending on whether discourses of habit or discourses of ideals become relevant to them. Rather than a case of agentive resistance, I might categorize Maryam’s discourses of habit as an unconscious or unintentional blurring of the lines between nativeness and non-nativeness. That is, Maryam’s commentary both maintains the native speaker ideal, while also capturing some of the ways behavior is not always a result of ideals, but also a result of habit born of lower-scaled chronotopic experiences.

“I feel comfortable in Uzbek, I am myself in Tajik, I wanna express myself in English”

Zarina initially traveled to the U.S. through an educational scholarship to obtain her M.A. degree, and at the time of the interview had returned to the U.S. to complete her Ph.D. A former English teacher, she is also from the city of Bukhara. She speaks English at home where she lives with her South Asian husband and their son. The excerpt begins with Zarina responding to a question about her knowledge of different languages. Zarina spoke in English throughout the interview and the original text is reproduced below.

Excerpt 3

1. Zarina: I think I know Uzbek better than Tajik, because I went to school in Uzbek. I speak mostly Tajik to my son, I want to speak to him in Tajik. English comes automatically. When I speak Russian, I feel important, because I can speak with so many people from 15 countries...Uzbek is important, because it's an official language in Uzbekistan. I want to keep it important. I already have difficulties expressing myself in Uzbek or Tajik. Sometimes, I just wanna express myself in English. That's why I try to keep Uzbek important, read books, watch movies. Tajik is practiced when I talk to my family, and Uzbek is not as much. I wanna keep it important. We don't have books or movies in Tajik, everything is in Uzbek. I want to keep ability to speak standard language with people at home.
2. Madina: Has your attitude towards the languages you speak changed since you moved to North America?
3. Zarina: I have become more flexible since moving abroad. My English language skills improved. My Russian skills actually got a lot better. I interact with people from Russia itself and from Ukraine. They are different from people who speak Russian in Uzbekistan. The words, the phrases they use. I started thinking out of the box. I certainly started appreciating more my native languages. I want to experience my culture, and without language you cannot have culture, and without culture you cannot have language. Read literature in different languages.
4. Madina: Do you observe any changes when using different languages? For example, changes in behavior or personality or any other changes?

5. Zarina: I use a lot of hand gestures when speaking English. I feel important in Russian, because I can speak to so many people. I feel from my heart, comfortable in Uzbek, and I am myself in Tajik.

Zarina's metacommentary shows how moving transnationally makes salient discourses of ideals related to being a new immigrant. This is similar to what was observed in Maryam's discourses. In this case, these ideals include valuing and maintaining one's "native" languages (line 3), while also becoming more flexible generally and with respect to improving one's existing linguistic skills (lines 3 and 5). She defines Uzbek and Tajik as her "native languages" (line 3), implying that English and Russian do not fall into this category. Similar to Farhod and Maryam, she describes effort being required in relation to all of these languages. Zarina makes this effort in order to maintain ties with the homeland, noting that "I certainly started appreciating more my native languages. I want to experience my culture, and without language you cannot have culture, and without culture you cannot have language" (line 3). In this, she invokes the higher-scaled chronotope of the Uzbek nation state and its associated ideals as her motivation for putting forth effort to maintain her "native" languages, even while she is outside of the homeland. However, this effort is constrained by the lower-scaled chronotopes of her daily life in the U.S. She says, "I already experience difficulties expressing myself in Uzbek or Tajik. Sometimes I just wanna express myself in English" (line 1). She also mentions that she wants to speak to her son in Tajik, but that "English comes out automatically" (line 1). Because English has become habitual in lower-scaled chronotopes, the use of her "native" languages in these contexts requires effort.

Interestingly, Zarina uses the phrase "native languages" in the plural, referring to both Uzbek and Tajik. However, given the different positions of these languages in her life, they

require different types of effort in order to be sustained. For Zarina, Uzbek is framed as important in her discourses of ideals related to nationalism and maintaining proficiency in the “official language in Uzbekistan” (line 4). However, while Tajik is still a normal part of her lower-scaled interactions with her family back in Uzbekistan, Uzbek is not. The higher-scaled chronotopes of nationalism demand a prioritization of Uzbek. Nevertheless, in Zarina’s daily lived experience the use of English and Tajik becomes more habitual. As a result, she needs to make a more intentional effort to maintain Uzbek.

Zarina’s metacommentary on Russian also provides insight into the complex ways in which discourses of ideals interact with speaker’s perceptions of their own linguistic competence. She invokes the ideal nation state by noting that her Russian skills improved in the U.S. because she had a chance to “interact with people from Russia itself” (line 3). By using this phrase “Russia itself” she emphasizes that this interaction is different, and somehow more linguistically authentic, than her previous interactions with Russian speakers in Uzbekistan. All of these interactions, which take place at lower-scaled chronotopes are recast through the discourses of ideals. That is, this discourse draws from and reemphasizes the iconized link between titular languages and nation-states. While this is not necessarily surprising, it is interesting that she lumps together her interactions with both Russian speakers from Russia and those from Ukraine. Noting that “they” collectively are “different from people who speak Russian in Uzbekistan” in terms of their words and phrases (line 3). This could be attributed to the larger number of ethnic Russians in Ukraine, the geographical closeness between Russia and Ukraine, or closer historical, political, and religious ties between the two countries. Regardless, her narrative demonstrates that while higher-scaled nation-state chronotopes may govern what counts as “native” vs. “non-native” competence, there may be some gradient aspects to this

idealized system. That is, it appears that determining whether a language counts as “native” for speakers from a particular nation-state is not only a binary choice, but also a scalar one. Thus, in discourses of ideals we may encounter various understandings of where one falls on the native non-native spectrum in relation to the different nation states to which one must relate. For Zarina, even though Russian is not a titular language of her nation-state, she still claims some relation to it, but subjugates her connection to Russian to the connection between Ukrainians and Russian, which is idealized, even though it is not the titular language of Ukraine.

With respect to the issue of naturalness, Zarina notes on the one hand “I feel from my heart, comfortable in Uzbek, and I am myself in Tajik” (line 5), while also stating that she just wants to express herself “in English” (line 5). She attributes this affective “naturalness” to Uzbek, English and Tajik and while her different descriptions of these languages as relating to “comfort”, “herself” or “self-expression” may indicate some desire on her part to distinguish these languages into different categories, ultimately all of this points to a type of embodied inherency that is typically associated with “native” languages. Thus, in Zarina’s case I also observe a variety of discourses, which implicitly challenge the native/non-native dichotomy: (1) in her emphasis of how Uzbek, Tajik, and English are all “natural” for her in different ways (2) in how she draws from discourses of habit to show that effort is required in her attempts to maintain Uzbek and Tajik, and (3) in her comments that reflect how Russian can be “(non)native” to varying degrees. I would argue that both Maryam and Zarina’s discourses are not intended as resistance to the notion of nativeness but are simply the result of their attempts to narrate and explain their changing positionings in their transnational experiences.

Discussion

I started this chapter by noting the importance of attending to both discourses of ideals and discourses of habit in relation to speakers' positionings of themselves as (non)native. What I have shown in the analysis is how speakers' evaluations of their own linguistic competence are not static, but shifting - even for one speaker - depending on the types of discourses they use. Notably, explicit identifications of self as "native" or "non-native" are relatively stable, but the attribution of effort, or various dimensions of naturalness do shift in ways that challenge the established dichotomy between idealized nativeness and marginalized non-nativeness. At the same time, while discourses which blur the line between nativeness and non-nativeness could be seen as a means of countering inequalities related to native speakerism, I am cautious in claiming that my participants are consciously or agentively resisting notions of "nativeness".

That is, while scholars have advocated for a move away from the dichotomy of native vs. non-native, I also find useful a move away from the dichotomy of acquiescence vs. resistance to ideals of nativeness. I find the notion of "discourses of habit" to be helpful in facilitating this move. As demonstrated, participants' attribution of naturalness or effort to their various languages is expressed through discourses of habit which emphasize those less conscious and more durable aspects of sociolinguistic behavior. If they subvert the native/non-native dichotomy through their discussion of these behaviors as less conscious, then they do so somewhat unintentionally. Notably, in the case of Farhod I do see some explicit resistance to higher-scaled ideals, but this comes in the form of alternative discourses of ideals and not in the form of discourses of habit. This has implications for theoretical discussions of discursive agency in relation to linguistic marginalization more generally. While sociolinguistic scholarship has attended to how multilingual speakers assert their agency and resistance (Rudolph, 2013; Vitanova, 2005; Canagarajah, 1999), I also want to highlight that multilingual speakers discuss

their less conscious and habitual engagement with their linguistic repertoire. The fact that participants brought up examples of “unconscious” linguistic practice, even though they were asked to reflect consciously, indicates the potentially widespread nature of unconsciousness in ideologies of (non)nativeness. Thus, while it is beyond the scope of this study, there is potential for future investigations of metacommentary on (non)nativeness in communicative contexts where consciousness is less foregrounded. This type of description of the *diversity* of discourses with which multilingual speakers engage ideologies of linguistic competence can contribute to the ongoing effort of legitimating multilingualism, without portraying multilingual people as always and only agentic and creative speakers.

In discussing discourses of habit, I have also reconceptualized habitus in relation to transnational migration. As mentioned earlier, Navarro (2006) has argued that habitus should not be thought of as completely unchangeable, but rather that one can, over time, create alternative durable dispositions. Similarly, Karimzad (2019) has demonstrated how a chronotopic understanding of habitus can lead us to account for its construction and reconstruction as individuals move across time and space. My research adds to these observations yet another example of the ways in which a changeable, but still durable disposition is present in contexts of mobility. What my contribution emphasizes is how previous and reconstructed dispositions are durable in a way that counter native/non-native dichotomies. In my data I see how Maryam and Zarina put forth effort to bring about new dispositions in relation to the ideals of their host countries, and how these reconstructed dispositions are durable to such an extent that they have to exert additional effort to maintain what they define as their “native” languages. Given discussions about the instability and unpredictability of transnational migration (e.g. Hall, 2014), the durability of one’s habitus provides another crucial analytical tool in accounting for not only

the constant change that migrants experience, but also their experience of that which endures - i.e. their own linguistic habits - even as they attempt to make and remake themselves.

With regard to the rest of my research corpora, a number of the above-mentioned observations still hold true even for the contexts in which participants have not had migrated transnationally. For instance, multilingual students in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan also challenge the ideologies of (non)nativeness by shifting their positionings with regard to their linguistic repertoire. These shifts are also often characterized by the above distinctions I have made between discourses of ideals and discourses of habit. While higher-scaled chronotopes of the nation-state are more prominent in these participants' construction of linguistic metacommentary, they nevertheless invoke the notions of naturalness and effort when talking about both languages they label as native and those that they label as non-native. What the focus on transnational migration adds to this analysis is participants' ability and perhaps higher level of awareness about their changing dispositions ensued from the experience of migration. A final comment is due with regard to the gendered multilingual identities. Specifically, in the excerpts by Zarina and Miriam, I have observed gendered aspects of speaking certain languages such as being loud and assertive in English, as well as soft and kind in one's native languages. While I cannot make generalizations with regard to gender and migration of multilingual women based on my data, Catedral (2018a) specifically looks at gendered discursive moves that Central Asian migrant women employ to re-position and re-orient their identities as women, Muslim, Uzbek to justify certain linguistic behavior abroad. What the analysis of my data collected in Central Asia shows is that generally female participants from minority groups exerted higher linguistic confidence in a minority language and a higher awareness of the expectations and values associated with their minority linguistic group. This indicates that in general, multilingual Central Asian women are

expected to meet additional ethnolinguistically based criteria in comparison to men when it comes to cultural and linguistic expectations, which are interwoven with education.

Conclusion

In this chapter of my dissertation, I showed how a focus on the analysis of discourses through the notions of habit and ideals can further contribute to the existing scholarship on ideologies of (non)nativeness. In doing so, I presented my analysis and discussion of the metalinguistic discourses of multilingual speakers who have an experience of transnational migrations. I showed how the interaction between discourses of habit and discourses of ideals gives a more holistic understanding of multilingual speakers' positionings, and of the shifting and multiple ways in which they evaluate their competence.

Overview

In this chapter of my dissertation, I provide an overview of all dissertation chapters by demonstrating the goal, process, findings, and discussion of the whole dissertation as related to multilingualism and multilingual speakers. I also provide the study limitations, along with implications and future recommendations for future scholarly work, practitioners, and policy makers.

The Goal and Process

My goal in conducting this dissertation research was to investigate multilingualism and multilingual speakers through a more holistic approach. Driven by the growing number of research, which investigates multilingualism through a fragmented lens by rarely positioning them in the sociohistorical context of their lives (Cenoz, 2013), I explored the various aspects of multilingual becoming and being by situating my research study in the broader social world to which my study participants claimed their belonging. My research questions, communities of study, and data collection and analysis procedure have been informed by my goal of acquiring a multifaceted knowledge of the lived experiences of multilingual speakers.

I pursued my dissertation research through the overarching research question, in which I seek to understand the ways in which multilingual Central Asians' narratives of becoming and being multilingual reflect wider socio-political, economic, and historical changes that form the context of multilinguals' lives. In addressing this umbrella question, I demonstrated my data analysis in three thematic chapters and contextualized my discussion of each chapter to address a) participants' understanding and construction of their lived experiences of language and of education in Central Asia, b) the ways multilingual English language learners' ideologies of and attitudes to English converge and diverge in the context of post-Soviet Uzbekistan and

Kazakhstan, and c) the relationship multilingual Central Asians construct with their linguistic repertoire in the context of transnational migration.

In order to contextualize my work, I reviewed the relevant literature on multilingualism and multilingual practices, language ideologies, identity, heteroglossia, chronotope, and scales, which served as my theoretical toolkit in conceptualizing my dissertation research. Because my work places greater emphasis on the context of lived experiences, I presented an extensive background of the sociolinguistic contexts of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and transnational migration to North America through historic, sociopolitical, cultural, educational and linguistic lenses. I followed with the chapter on methodology, which illustrated my approach to data collection and analysis through narrative and discourse analysis. In this chapter, I discussed in greater detail the sites of data collection, my research participants, tools and kinds of data I examined, my positionality as a researcher, as well as the strategies I had employed in analyzing the data.

The main analytical chapter of this dissertation were presented after the methodology. Through each thematic chapter, I aimed to answer each research sub-question as related to the overarching research questions. Notably, in Chapter 5, my goal was to analyze participant narratives of becoming multilingual as situated within the larger sociohistorical and political changes in Soviet and post-Soviet Kazakhstan. In Chapter 6, I compared the narratives of multilingual English learners on the role of English vis-à-vis their locally spoken languages in Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. In Chapter 7, I showed how multilingual Central Asians discursively construct their relationship to their linguistic repertoire in the context of transnational migration. In the following section of my concluding chapter, I discuss the findings of research drawing from these three thematic chapters to show how they add to current

scholarship on multilingualism and multilingual speakers and to demonstrate how these three cases are mutually informative for the purposes of my inquiry.

Discussion

My research findings from all three thematic chapters address various aspects of ideologies and identities of multilingual speakers as constructed through their narratives of lived experiences in which they demonstrate their language attitudes and practices through orienting to different times, places, spaces, people, and events. Attention to these multi-scaled contexts in and of participants' narratives is an essential part of the holistic approach that I have been discussing throughout this dissertation. The majority of my findings are applicable to the whole data set of my research and I will discuss the ways they relate to one another below.

In this dissertation, I discussed my findings to the first research sub-question through the concepts of family language planning, brain drain, and investment. Within the scholarship on family language policy and planning (Bezcioglu-Goktolga & Yagmur, 2017; Curdt-Christiansen 2016; Schwartz et al., 2013; Moin et al., 2013; King et al. 2008; King & Fogle, 2006), I demonstrated the crucial role of *morality* in parental choices of educational linguistic spaces for their children by discussing the data with regard to the Central Asian culture of what behavioral scripts are considered moral and how they are ideologically linked in participants' narratives of their language education and the language education of their children. Through the discussion of the shifting moral norms, I showed that the moral values participants attach to their multilingual repertoire also shifts in relation to Soviet or post-Soviet national discourses.

In addition to the concept of morality, I discuss the discourse of deficit invoked in participants narratives of lost language opportunities, which emerged as a disruptive theme in the narrative as it was opposite to the purpose of the interview question. This finding is important for

the experience of becoming multilingual, because as scholars of multilingualism, we tend to employ an asset-based perspective to speakers' multilingual resources, thus missing the points in speakers' lives when those resources were not acquired. Moreover, the conceptualization of the discourse of deficit as brain drain (Vieira, 2019; Ilic & Milosavljević, 2017) in the early post-Soviet period in Central Asia adds a new perspective on the lived experiences as related to foreign (and heritage) language education. Specifically, it shows the broader effects of the emigration of a highly skilled individuals (Ganguli, 2014; Graham & Dezhina, 2008) such as language teachers from countries in the periphery such as Kazakhstan.

Additionally, I discussed language learning investment (Darwin & Noton, 2015), a third common theme in participants' narratives, with regard to agency and ownership of the decision on language choice. In the case presented in Chapter 5, I showed the participant's investment in Arabic, which is neither a dominant nor a post-colonial language in Central Asia. However, I did discuss it as having a historical and religious presence in the region demonstrating how the learning of Arabic is not only driven by the participant's intrinsic motivation for the language of the Koran (Zubairi & Sarudin, 2009), but also investment, which was narratively constructed as shaping the participant's identity, ideology, and contributing to the participant's linguistic capital.

All of the above themes have emerged in a number of narratives of becoming multilingual in which Central Asian multilingual students invoked the chronotopes of the pre-Soviet, Soviet, and post-Soviet eras, rescaling the events of various scales. Particularly, those events in which they had partial agency in deciding their language of instruction at school, events of a larger scale such as emigration of fellow citizens which they could not control, but which could control their language learning outcomes, and those language learning decisions which

were made with a greater level of agency by participants' themselves. In situating my research participants' lived experiences of becoming multilingual within the larger social context, I was able to conceptualize this experience of becoming through three themes that embrace the multi-scaled events in multilinguals' narratives.

Further, I discussed the other sets of findings as related to the current ideologies and identities that participants negotiate in discussing the role of English vis-à-vis their locally spoken languages. In particular, I employ the idea of linguistic ownership to indicate the striking distinction between the attitudes of multilingual students in Kazakhstan from those in Uzbekistan. These findings highlight once again the instrumental role of the national discourse circulated around language (education) policies in instilling the feelings of linguistic (in)security (Foo & Tan, 2018; Seilhamer, 2015; Park, 2011; Ke, 2010; Sougari, 2005; Matsuda, 2003) in their citizens. To further support my argument, I utilize the concept of the nation-branding, which is helpful in discussing the plurilingual approach of the Kazakh government in branding its citizens as trilingual, and a one language one policy approach of the Uzbek government in branding its citizens primarily as Uzbeks. I also discuss the nation-states economic potential in informing participants' imagined (Anderson, 1991) and desired communities to which they claim belonging through only English in the case of multilingual student in Uzbekistan and through all of their linguistic resources in the case of multilingual students in Kazakhstan. I discuss these differences with regard to participants' evaluation of their linguistic potential and resourcefulness for their present and future lives.

While the first thematic chapter focuses on the discussion of the past lived experiences as narrated by multilingual Central Asian participants and the second thematic chapter is devoted the examination of their current lived experiences in relation to their linguistic repertoire, the

final thematic chapter adds the context of transnational migration in addition to conceptualizing participant experiences within the post-Soviet Central Asian nation-states. I also see this chapter as an imagined continuum of the current experiences that participants share with regard English and locally spoken languages. The focus on transnational migrants from Uzbekistan, who are also students in North America, could be viewed as an imagined community that students in Uzbekistan were picturing when constructing their future-oriented discourses of mobility and social stability.

Through the North American context, I was able to combine the lens of chronotopes and scales with that of habitus to account for the shifting environments in which participants constructed different relationships with their languages. While my discussion of discourses of ideals was helpful in highlighting those parts of the narratives in which multilinguals invoked the notion of (non)nativeness, the introduction of a new concept (i.e. discourses of habit) was particularly informative to capture the points in the narrative when participants blurred the lines between the languages they labeled as native or non-native (Park, 2009; Norton, 2000). In particular, I discussed how this blurring often occurs in narrating lower-scaled daily experiences, which are often constructed as unconscious moments by participants themselves. This discussion of ideologies of (non)nativeness through an attention to discourses of habit is especially relevant for the studies of multilingualism and multilingual speakers (Aneja, 2016; Matsuda & Cox, 2011; Amin, 1999), because the ideological delineation between the linguistic constructs as separate disappears in multilinguals' metacommentary of their language practices. It becomes even more complex in the context of Central Asian communities where as I demonstrated participants believe they have more than one native language.

One more note is due in discussing the findings in the preceding paragraph. The findings with regard to the narrative representation of discrete languages and a more translingual account when referring to daily activities were also observed in my data with multilingual students in Central Asia. Thus, one does not need to migrate to project these distinctive discourses. However, I found that the study participants who were transnational migrants exerted a higher level of awareness about their changing linguistic values and presented a more complex sociolinguistic belonging because of their ties to their home country and also to their host country or for some new home country.

Limitations

The limitations of this dissertation are in the type of data analyzed, which are semi- and loosely structured interviews and casual lunch conversations. In all of these data excerpts, participants construct narratives about their lived experiences as related to their language attitudes and practices. While I am still able to examine their language ideologies and identities, these examinations lie within their metalinguistic and metapragmatic narrative accounts. For instance, a focus on a different type of data in communicative contexts where consciousness is less foregrounded may offer a potential for future investigations of metacommentary on (non)nativeness.

Additionally, there is a limitation in the focus of analysis with regards to translanguaging. While there were instances of switching between languages in interviews and other types of collected data, as well as instances of translanguaging in the metapragmatics of their narratives, I do not account for those aspects in my analysis. Additionally, the discussion of translingual and hybrid practices in the act of storytelling may offer additional insights that are useful for the holistic study of multilingual practices, to which I have not attended above.

The final limitation of this dissertation has to do with the generalizability of the findings. Given the highly contextualized nature of my analysis, the scale of generalizability of the common themes across the narratives is limited to the group of students in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan of similar age. Although I did not find a large gap among majority and minority populations other than what I discussed in the thematic chapters, there certainly many more stories of multilingual becoming and being that were not amplified in this dissertation.

Implications and Recommendations

One of the major theoretical implications of this dissertation is in foregrounding context in the studies of multilingualism and multilingual speakers through the notions of chronotope and scales. I also applied a number of concepts in discussing my findings on ideologies and identities of multilingual speakers including family language planning, brain drain, investment, linguistic ownership, nation-branding, and discourses of habit. These concepts served as umbrella terms to capture the recurring themes in cross-case analysis of my participants' narratives. Moreover, these concepts are reflective of multi-scaled narrative accounts of becoming and being multilingual, which can further be applied in studies with similar research inquiries.

In this dissertation, I respond to the scholarly call for the study of English as a means for “social mobility and an inhibitor of local development” (Ricento, 2012, p. 41) and a call to attend to macro issues such as language ideologies, along with super macro issues such as sociopolitical and historical factors (Kubota, 2018; Park & Wee, 2009). In doing so, I contribute to the field of World Englishes by examining the role of English in multilingual communities of the Expanding Circle. In particular, it has implications for the studies of sociolinguistic context of Central Asia,

an understudied and underrepresented world region in research in Linguistics and Education. Specifically, my fieldwork data is especially insightful in studying these communities due to the lack of empirical sociolinguistic data, which explores the educational contexts outside of the institution (Bahry et al., 2016; Djuraeva, 2015; Landau & Kellner-Heinkele, 2012; Fierman, 2009). Based on my discussion of the findings in Chapter 6, I recommend that policy makers in Kazakhstan create more opportunities for the use of English to further strengthen students' ownership of English in the implementation of the state's trilingual policy. The recommendation for the policymakers in Uzbekistan would be to embrace their citizens' multilingual capabilities as resources for international success.

The implications of my findings in Chapter 5 of this dissertation contribute to the scholarship on family language planning which attends to geographical areas with long histories of diverse multilingualism outside of western societies (Smith-Christmas, 2016). With regard to language ideologies, I contribute to Irvine's definition of language ideologies as "the cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests" [emphasis added] highlighting the fact that these ideologies do not operate apart from perceptions of an ethical life or power relations (1989: 255). I also build on Bourdieu's (1991) related notions of habitus, linguistic capital, and the linguistic marketplace, which demonstrate how language attitudes, individual practice and power dynamics are all mutually reinforcing. What I add to the work that has taken up these theories is an analysis of the structure that speakers' social imaginaries—their understanding of the social world and their place in it—take in relation to their language ideologies and ultimately their decisions about their family language policies.

Moreover, in the case of the multilingual families I examine, I see how they struggle to prioritize one language over another depending on contemporary state discourses, for instance. This has practical implications for educational practices and heritage language maintenance programs. Specifically, it may be worthwhile to further investigate the possibilities of framing language maintenance programs as spaces of moral education and to create language curriculum that is in line with the multiple moral values that may be held by parents. Further research is needed to investigate the ways in which the multiple, and perhaps conflicting moral values of parents versus children should be taken into account in these contexts; and, the notion of chronotope may offer a helpful theoretical approach in these further studies.

The findings presented in Chapter 7 contribute to scholarship that has examined “folk concepts” of (non)nativeness through the lens of imagined ideals of the native speaker, by proposing a framework that integrates *both* ideals and habits. Specifically, it shows how attending to both the habitual and idealized aspects of speakers’ metalinguistic commentary offers a more holistic approach to the study of multilingual repertoires and speakers’ social positionings in relationship to (non)nativeness. These findings demonstrate how identification as a “(non)native” speaker may become more or less important to participants depending on whether multilinguals orient to habits or ideals. I also show that speakers’ use of “discourses of habit”, which emphasize their less conscious linguistic behaviors, may lead to a blurring of the lines between nativeness and non-nativeness. This in turn has implications for theories of agency as resistance to linguistic marginalization, and contributes to applied issues related to language education.

That is, while discourses of ideals do play an important role in my participants’ metalinguistic commentary, so do discussions of everyday, habitual, and relatively unconscious

action. Accordingly, metacommentary which challenges the native/non-native dichotomy may not always be an instance of agentive opposition, but rather a case in which the habitual overrides the ideal. Empirically, this study contributes to an understanding of transnational migration by highlighting how durable dispositions and corresponding discourses of habit play an important role in these contexts of instability, mobility and change (Heller, 2010; Hall, 2014). By nuancing previous conceptualizations of multilingual people's ideologies of (non)nativeness, this study also provides insights for teachers engaging with notions of competence in the classroom. since criticisms of the notion of (non)nativeness have been primarily aimed at reforming language teaching.

As the empirical data in Chapter 7 show, there are a variety of ways in which multilingual speakers imagine their linguistic competencies, and we look forward to the development of pedagogical tools which engage with these various ideologies. Furthermore, while teachers may want to exercise caution in their use of terms such as “native” vs. “non-native”, the data here indicate that engagement with the dimensions of naturalness and effort may provide another domain in which to challenge and encourage students' attitudes towards their own proficiencies. For instance, engaging diverse student populations in metalinguistic talk about their comfort, confidence, automaticity, self-expression, and effort in their language use in lower-scaled chronotopes of daily life could inform language learning goals and motivations. This may allow classroom practices to take into account not only the marginalization that students experience because of explicit labels of (non)nativeness, but also the ways in which less conscious and more habitual aspects of students' language competence can be engaged.

Another important implication of this work is related to the process of not becoming multilingual. My findings show that larger national and global events and movements may

impact individuals' experiences of learning in general and language education in particular. Considering that a lot of the studies on multilingual learners have focused on learners' experiences of displacement, migration, or marginalization, I am aware of research which explores the impact of brain drain on language learners who are not directly involved in the process of emigration. This also contributes to the work on literacy and migration (Vieira, 2019), which examines the effects of brain drain on the immediate family members of the emigres by focusing on unrelated fellow citizens. This presents productive ground for research that focuses on multilingual developments across the lifespan.

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Appendices

Interview Protocol

A semi-structured interview protocol will highlight the themes around which the participants will be asked to talk about. The researcher may ask follow-up or clarification questions under those themes if necessary.

Participant self-introduction. Basic information about the participant including but not limited to family, friends, hometown, education.

Participants' linguistic repertoires: acquiring, learning and using two or more languages.

Participants' attitudes towards their languages.

Life stories around the choice and use of languages by participants.

Use of multiple languages for educational practices.

Choice and use of language in different contexts.

Past, current and future education and career choices.

Reflections on past and/or future international and internationalized experiences and the role of languages in them.

The role of multilingualism in the participants' daily lives.

Participants' self-perceptions around their identities (e.g., civic, ethnic, cultural, social) and the role of languages in shaping those identities.

Participants' self-reflections on the ways they present themselves in different contexts and their language practices in those contexts.

Participants' self-reflections about the ways they are perceived by others. Factors that shape those perceptions.

What is being observed during the casual interactions?

Participants' language choices: what languages participants choose to use when talking about certain topic, or addressing a certain person.

Participants' identity negotiations: how participants are presenting themselves and their thoughts when talking to their friends and family members; what languages they are communicating that through.

Participants' stories: the main focus on the stories will be around the topics of language, education, career. However, the observations will not contain their political views, or any other subject that may be sensitive. Rather than the detailed text of what they say, the analysis will focus on the overall content and the way it is communicated through to others.

The group members' language choices: The group members' language choices may impact on the focal participant's language choice, therefore it is being observed.

The group members' identity negotiations: The ways the group members choose to present themselves and their ideas may have an impact on the way the focal participants relays his/her self-representation and ideas, therefore it is being observed.

The group members' stories: the main focus on the stories will be around the topics of language, education, career. However, the observations will not contain their political views, or any other subject that may be sensitive. Rather than the detailed text of what they say, the analysis will focus on the overall content and the way it is communicated through to others.

The role of language, shared history, social norms in the interactions: Through observing the above features of an interaction, the study can be contextualized by analyzing the

language in and of the interactions, the contents of the interactions and social norms that may be known only to the participants.



Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB
6/30/2015

Submission ID number: [2015-0530](#)
Title: Multilingual practices and identity negotiations of university level students in post-Soviet Central Asia: past, present and future educational experiences
Principal Investigator: FRANCOIS V TOCHON
Point-of-contact: FRANCOIS V TOCHON, MADINA BAXROMOVNA DJURAEVA
IRB Staff Reviewer: LILLIAN LARSON

The convened ED/SBS IRB conducted a full review of the above-referenced initial application. The study was approved for the period of 12 months with the expiration date of 6/18/2016 .

To access the materials approved by the IRB, including any stamped consent forms, recruitment materials and the approved protocol, if applicable, please log in to your ARROW account and view the documents tab in the submission's workspace.

If you requested a HIPAA waiver of authorization, altered authorization and/or partial authorization, please log in to your ARROW account and view the history tab in the submission's workspace for approval details.

Prior to starting research activities, please review the Investigator Responsibilities guidance (<http://go.wisc.edu/m0lovn>) which includes a description of IRB requirements for submitting continuing review progress reports, changes of protocol and reportable events.

Please contact the appropriate IRB office with general questions: Health Sciences IRBs at 608-263-2362 or Education and Social/Behavioral Science IRB at 608-263-2320. For questions related to this submission, contact the assigned staff reviewer.