

Russian study abroad sojourners voice trajectories

Alena Ryazanova

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Abstract

This doctoral project investigates the study abroad (SA) experiences of six Russian academic sojourners in the UK through consideration of identity, voice and ideologies. The main goal of the project is to explore the phenomena of developing voice trajectories through the lens of ideologies within migrant settings, while negotiating identities, simultaneously experiencing and using two (or more) languages and cultures, and dealing with social inequalities.

This study contributes to the existing body of work on SA, which has been criticised for its imbalance and inconsistency (Benson et al., 2013; Badwan, 2015). The practical relevance of the project is determined by the growing number of Russian-born residents in the UK and increasing popularity of SA amongst Russian people. The study therefore addresses a) the previously undocumented experiences of Russian academic sojourners, b) the lack of research on Russian migrants' voice development and identity construction in relation to their sociolinguistic activity and (language) ideologies, and c) the methodological limitations of existing studies.

The project's research data comes from seven rounds of individual and pair interviews conducted on a regular basis. While eulogising the principle of holistic enquiry, the analysis is centred around the concept of voice. Through approaching this phenomenon from a number of different theoretical perspectives (Bakhtin, 1963; Holliday, 1999; Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2010; Coudry, 2010; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2007), this study enables insights into the complex interplay of factors contributing to sojourners' ideological becoming in the context of sociocultural heterogeneity, linguistic superdiversity and cross-time-and-space mobility.

Academic Publications Arising from This Thesis

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Ryazanova, A. 2016. *Russian study abroad sojourners' voice trajectories through the lens of ideologies*. [PowerPoint Presentation]. The 49th Annual Meeting of the British Association for Applied Linguistics: Taking Stock of Applied Linguistics - Where are we now?, 1-3 September, Anglia Ruskin University

Ryazanova, A. 2016. *Russian study abroad sojourners' voice trajectories through the lens of ideologies*. [PowerPoint Presentation]. BAAL/Routledge workshop on international students in UK HE, 16 September, Manchester Metropolitan University

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Table of Contents

Intellectual Property Statements.....	ii
Acknowledgements.....	iii
Abstract.....	iv
Academic Publications Arising from This Thesis	v
Table of Contents	vii
List of Tables	xii
List of Figures	xiii
Preface	xiv
Chapter 1: Background and rationale	1
1.1 Prologue.....	1
1.2 Background and rationale: framing the issues	1
1.2.1 Theoretical arguments: research on SA.....	2
1.2.2 Professional arguments: internationalisation of HE	7
1.2.3 Approaching the rationale from the axiological perspective: my own story.....	10
1.3 Conceptual framework of the thesis	11
1.3.1 Intersectionality	12
1.3.2 Why voice matters?.....	15
1.4 Thesis overview	17
Chapter 2: The context of the study	20
Introduction	20
2.1 Russia’s sociolinguistic landscapes and educational profile.....	20
2.2 Internationalisation of UK HE	23
Chapter 3: Guiding literature.....	28
Introduction	28
3.1 The philosophy of dialogism: dialogue as a theory of everything.....	29
3.1.1 Individuation, internalisation and ideological becoming.....	36
3.1.2 Voice and identity	45
3.1.4 Ideological becoming and voice: a solid foundation for the inquiry?.....	49
3.2 Culture and voice	50

3.2.1 Culture as learned	51
3.2.2 Culture as shared	53
3.2.3 Culture as relative	54
3.2.4 Culture as dynamic and mediated	56
3.2.5 Culture as individual, fragmentary and imaginary	57
3.2.6 Culture as contested	59
3.2.7 Culture as communication	59
3.2.8 Large vs small culture	61
3.2.9 Voice and culture	64
3.3 Language, voice and inequalities	65
3.3.1 Language ideologies	69
3.3.2 Sociolinguistic scales	71
3.4 Metaphysics of voice and materiality of language	76
3.5 Introducing the research questions	79
Chapter 4: Methodology	81
Introduction	81
4.1 Meta-theoretical assumptions: situating the study within a methodological tradition	82
4.1.2 Methodological triangulation.....	83
4.1.3 Thematic analysis	85
4.1.4 Small stories approach.....	86
4.1.5 A note on a longitudinal perspective	89
4.2 Researcher/participants' relationships: meta-theoretical assumptions	90
4.2.1 Member-checking or constructing the social dialogue.....	91
4.2.2 Researcher/participants relationships: some important <i>in situ</i> thoughts.....	93
4.3 Reporting on a pilot study.....	94
4.4 Research setting	96
4.4.1 Participants recruitment.....	96
4.4.2 Developing ethical consciousness	99
4.3 Introducing the research participants	101
Chapter 5: Research design	108
Introduction	108
5.1 Data generation procedures.....	108
5.1.1 Research design	108

5.1.2 First wave of interviewing: getting to know each other, building rapport and finalising the pairs	117
5.1.3 Second wave of interviewing: first individual meetings	124
5.1.4 Third interviews	130
5.1.5 Fourth and subsequent interviews	131
5.2 Data analysis.....	139
5.2.1 The last stages of the thematic analysis: reorganising the categories.....	139
5.2.2 Lens 5: small stories approach.....	142
5.2.2 Advancing transcription techniques.....	146
5.2.3 Producing the report.....	147
Chapter 6: Research analyses: five lenses.....	149
Introduction	149
6.1 Lens 1: voicing as ideological becoming	149
6.1.1 Attitudes towards English and Russian: (re)shaping language ideologies	151
6.1.2 Going beyond the language learning motivation: ideological becoming and non-linguistic aspects of sojourners' trajectories	183
6.1.3 (Self-)Othering: good or bad?.....	186
6.1.4 Summary	188
6.2 Lens 2: Voice and culture.....	188
6.2.1 The journey commenced: "Large culture" orientations	188
6.2.2 Voice and different means of semiosis.....	198
6.2.3 Small cultures.....	201
6.2.4 Summary	211
6.3 Lens 3: Language, voice and inequalities	212
6.3.1 Inequalities and value shifts of using languages across contexts.....	212
6.3.2 Summary	221
6.4 Lens 4: Metaphysics of voice	222
6.4.1 Voice as materialising phenomenon: Russian vs British educations.....	224
6.4.2 Voice as an instrument being used differently across contexts: Russia and the UK.....	236
6.4.3 Last meeting: "how has the research changed me?"	239
6.4.4 Summary	240
6.5 Lens 5: Small stories	240

6.5.1 First round of pair interviewing	242
6.5.2 Second round of pair interviewing	260
6.5.3 Third round of interviewing	273
6.5.4 Summary	281
Chapter 7: Discussion	282
Introduction	282
7.1 Voicing as ideological becoming	283
7.1.1 English language learning motivation: implementing a diachronic approach	285
7.1.2 Conceptualising native language: shifting values in response to different others	298
7.1.3 Research questions checkpoint	305
7.2 Voice and culture	307
7.2.1 'Large' culture: from the contact zones to the contested zones	308
7.2.2 Voice and other means of semiosis	312
7.2.3 Complexity as a factor enriching identity	314
7.2.4 Wind of change: small cultures	315
7.2.5 Research questions checkpoint	321
7.3 Language, voice and inequalities	322
7.3.1 Critical discussion of Blommaert's concept of sociolinguistic scales	322
7.3.2 Research questions checkpoint	331
7.4 Metaphysics of voice	331
7.4.1 The materiality of language and the metaphysics of voice	332
7.4.2 Doing justice to participants' desire to shout out their thoughts: we are not the 'ideal subjects' to be controlled ..	342
7.4.3 Research questions checkpoint	344
7.5 Small stories	346
7.5.1 Revisiting the concept of shared stories in the light of the research on voice	346
7.5.2 A note on disagreement	360
7.5.3 Research questions checkpoint	363
7.6 Voice and SA: towards a holistic understanding	364
Chapter 8: Conclusion	367
8.1 Thesis summary	367

8.2 Research contributions.....	368
8.2.1 Empirical contributions	368
8.2.2 Theoretical contributions	368
8.2.3 Methodological contributions.....	369
8.2.4 Political contributions.....	370
8.3 Research implications	371
8.4 Limitations and directions for future research.....	374
8.5 Research reflections.....	375
8.6 Epilogue	376
Bibliography	377
List of Abbreviations.....	417
Appendix (1): Participant Recruitment Advertisement Flyer	418
Appendix (2): Ethical Approval	420
Appendix (3): Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form	423
Appendix (4): Abstract from the prompts	426
Appendix (5): Worked example of data	428
Appendix (6): Summary of codes, categories and themes.....	480
Appendix (7): Small stories original transcripts.....	506
5.1 Margo/Timur, 1 st interview.....	506
5.2 Alisa/Yana, 1 st interview	508
5.3 Margo/Timur, 4 th interview.....	510
5.4 Kristina/Irina, 7 th interview	516

List of Tables

Table 1: Research participants' demographic and background data.....	103
Table 3: Research interviews schedule.....	110
Table 4: Dates, length and language of interviews	113
Table 5: Terminology used.....	114
Table 6: Stages of thematic analysis (as adopted and adapted from Braun and Clarke, 2006)	116
Table 7: Transcription conventions (as adapted from Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008).....	118
Table 8: Themes discussed at each interview	139
Table 9: Levels of discourse dialogues.....	300

List of Figures

Figure 1: Research rationale	7
Figure 2: Analytical model of individuation process (self-actualization)	43
Figure 3: Aspects of cultural reality (adopted from Holliday, 2011, p. 131).....	63
Figure 4: Handwritten notes created after the first round of interviewing transcription	119
Figure 5: Coding process	121
Figure 6: The use of special sign identifying ‘narrative chunks’	121
Figure 7: Dividing codes into thematic categories.....	122
Figure 8: Working on a table	122
Figure 9: Themes constructed out of categories	123
Figure 10: Turning the categories into the themes	128
Figure 11: Final mind map of findings.....	141
Figure 12: How language affects identity.....	170
Figure 13: Meta-physics of voice	225
Figure 14: Analytical model of individuation process (self-actualisation) – reconsidered.....	290
Figure 15: Proposed modifications to Holliday's (2011) aspects of cultural reality.....	317
Figure 16: Individuals’ voicing flows meeting within shared story inner world.....	349

Preface

*To every person and teacher embroidering the narrative canvas of my
ideological becoming*

*“In my perception, the world wasn’t a graph or formula or an equation. It was
a story”*

Cheryl Strayed, Wild

Chapter 1: Background and rationale

1.1 Prologue

The overarching purpose of this study is to document the previously unheard stories of Russian study abroad (henceforth, SA) sojourners in order to investigate the effects of mobility and sociocultural heterogeneity on their voice trajectories. It specifically aims to explore the process of sojourners voicing the 'self' through an 'other' language (Luk, 2005). It also investigates how individuals' relationships with their (changing) values and attitudes towards sociolinguistic practices influence this process. Overall, this is a study about academic sojourners' experiences of living/studying abroad, their conceptualisations of themselves and others, their *identity*.

It considers the issues of crossing and transmitting borders, relocation and dislocation practices (Baynham and De Fina, 2005), and the benefits and problems encountered during the "critical experiences" (Block, 2007) of SA. This study is about people searching for the ways to make their *voices* heard and taken on board in the context of uncertainty and instability, in the era of globalisation and neoliberalism. This study is about *us*.

1.2 Background and rationale: framing the issues

The thesis opens by elaborating the background and rationale for the project through presenting theoretical, professional and personal arguments. It leads the reader into the context of SA investigation, while identifying how research on it addresses the demands of today's ever-globalising world; it

also presents my own axiological position in relation to studying sojourning experiences.

1.2.1 Theoretical arguments: research on SA

... “myths” surrounding the study abroad content are pervasive

(Kinging, 2013, p. 1)

Although SA has been quite extensively covered in the literature, the research on it has been characterised as theoretically imbalanced and inconsistent (inter alia Jackson, 2008; Kinginger, 2013; Badwan, 2015). Referring to Freed (1995), and pointing to the field’s bias towards measuring linguistic outcomes, Kinginger (2013, p. 4) emphasises that when researching SA experiences, we should think outside of the box of “the amount of second language use only” and look at the very “nature and developmental outcomes of social interactions in study abroad settings”. This then “will be of particular interest to language educators hoping to design maximally effective curricula”, and, I would add, to the sojourners themselves.

In tune, Coleman (1997, 2013) argues for the need to conduct longitudinal studies aiming to investigate the complexity of factors influencing the process of studying and living abroad, emphasising the importance of going beyond the cognitive domain when investigating SA. Following Collentine and Freed (2004), he calls for the implementation of the principle of *holistic inquiry* and considering students as “rounded people with complex and fluid identities and relationships which frame the way they live the study abroad experience” (Coleman, 2013, p. 17). This assumes departing from purely linguistic orientation, and, thus, shifting and extending the focus of research:

A focus on real persons, rather than on learners as theoretical abstractions; a focus on the agency of individual person as a thinking, feeling human being, with an identity, a personality, a unique history and background, a person with goals, motives and intentions; a focus on the interaction between this self-reflective intentional agent, and the fluid and complex system of social relations, activities, and multiple micro- and macro-contexts in which the person is embedded, moves, and is inherently a part of.

(Ushioda, 2009, p. 220)

Another aspect of SA research literature criticised by many is its geographical asymmetry and inconsistency regarding certain different groups of people, loci and types of programme (Coleman, 2013; Benson et al., 2013; Badwan, 2015). Kinginger (2013, p. 6) emphasises that “there is a clear need for greater diversity in the sending and receiving countries represented in the literature”. In addition, pointing to the current trend of investigating only some particular “kinds of programme that are most typical of the region where the research is located”, Benson et al. (2013, pp. 4-6) claim that “the imbalance in research on study abroad is not only geographical; it is also a matter of focus”. That said, they extend the scope of SA’s definition to “any period spent overseas, for which study is *part* of the purpose” (p. 3, *my emphasis*). This assumes that the concept of SA should never be delimited by any frameworks, be this time (eg when individuals are not able return to their home countries, they might seek opportunities to extend the time abroad) or purpose (studying might not be the chief reason for undertaking the journey) (Badwan, 2015). These points have eventually

become the main arguments for adopting Benson et al.'s (2013) definition within the current project. In a similar vein, Jackson (2008, p. 10) highlights the situatedness of individuals' experiences and states that "researchers [...] can no longer ignore variations in the design and delivery of SA programmes" and "must also look much more closely at the complex, multifarious nature of SA environments and their impact on language and cultural learning", while investigating the sojourn experiences in situ.

The principle of *situatedness* as applied to the research on SA may allow for making another assumption, which "offers an even stronger rationale for further inquiry into the social and cultural aspects of student sojourns abroad" (Kinging, 2013, p. 4): the individualistic nature of any SA experience. SA should be considered, rather, as "a dialogic, situated affair that unfolds in intercultural contexts and includes significant subjective dimensions" (p. 5).

In addition to the ontological dynamics of holistically investigating situated experiences, the epistemological aspects of research on SA have shifted focus as well: from predominance of large-scale statistical studies primarily focusing on the proficiency outcomes to the use of *introspective techniques* (narratives, diaries, interviews, etc) and individual-centred approaches (ethnographies, case studies, etc) (Dörnyei, 2005; Jackson, 2008; Coleman, 2013). Within this paradigm the individuals' *voices* have become of key importance – placed into the *centre* of research. In other words, scholars realised that inside students' storied reflections on their experiences there can be the whole world of invaluable data that can contribute hugely to the contemporary understanding of factors influencing and sometimes even

determining the process and the outcome of SA. Segalowitz et al. (2004, p. 15, **my emphasis**) writes:

*Researchers need to look beyond simple quantitative issues such as how much exposure to the target language students have [...] We need to more fully explore some of the **qualitative** aspects of learning afforded by a particular context. [...] We need to ask in what ways the learner is prepared for the special challenges presented by a specific learning context. We also need to consider how those things a student brings to a learning environment change as a function of the experiences afforded by that learning environment.*

In support of the claims above, Badwan (2015) demonstrates how implementing introspective techniques might lead to valuable insights into the factors affecting sojourning experiences (see also Murphy-Lejeune, 2002). Pellegrino (1998, 2005) too highlights the importance of seeing SA situated experiences introspectively and holistically – as an interplay of many different factors. Interestingly, these principles of *situatedness*, *holistic nature* of inquiry and *introspectiveness* have come to the fore not only in applied linguistics but other fields (eg cross-cultural psychology, intercultural studies, international relations, etc) as well (inter alia Oguri and Gudykunst, 2002; Kim, 2002; Kashima and Loh, 2006).

A central observation made regarding the current research lies in the *foregrounding of individuals' voices* across the fields of research on SA. Celebrating the *centrality of students' voices* to the ontological and epistemological aspects of research has eventually helped scholars in going

beyond the limits of portraying sojourners as overtly passive, powerless victims (Grimshaw and Sears, 2008) and “reduced others” (Holliday, 2005), and instead seeing students’ experiences through the eyes of sojourners themselves. Echoing the ideas developed by Kinginger (2009) and Coleman (2013), Haywood (2015, p. 11) argues that “there is a genuine requirement for study-abroad student identity to be explored in a more individualistic approach, so that its complexity can be positively acknowledged and a deeper understanding can be allowed to develop”.

Overall, the phenomenon of SA still remains one of the most promising areas of research in academia. Consequently, I define the rationale for my project as addressing the need to conduct the research based on three principles, represented here as points in a rationale triangle (Figure 1): situatedness – through investigating individuals’ experiences *in situ* in order to uncover all facets of their identities and experiences; holistic nature of inquiry – through seeing individuals as whole people and not fragmenting their thoughts and behaviours into separate domains of inquiry; and introspectiveness – through trying to see everything through the eyes of students’ themselves and to understand their behaviour from their perspectives. Following the current trends in the research on SA experiences, in the centre of the research I put the concept of *voice*.

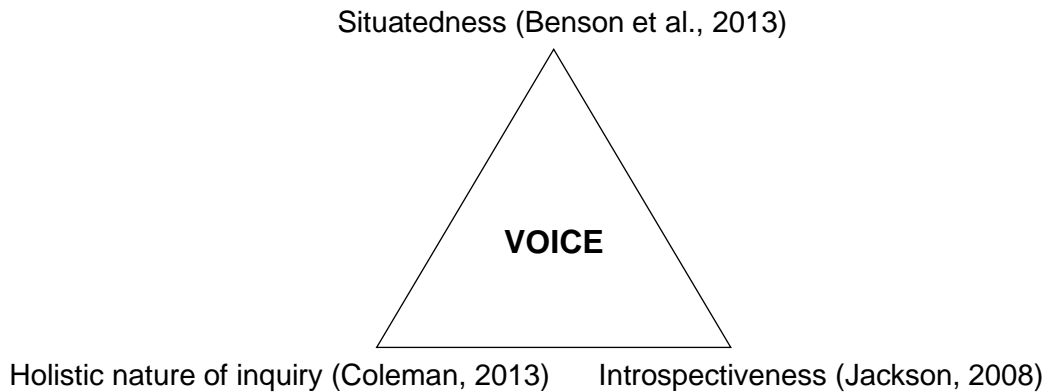


Figure 1: Research rationale

Furthermore, Russian SA sojourners constitute one of the underrepresented groups in the fields of identity studies in general and in research on SA in particular. Although a wide array of research has been conducted on the Russian people in the context of different countries, such as Israel (Niznik, 2005), New Zealand (Maydell and Wilson, 2009), United States (Orlov, 2005; Ritterband, 1997), etc, academic investigations into Russian speakers living in the UK have not been popular. In addition, there is not a wide range of conceptual and analytical approaches within the studies already conducted on Russian-born residents living abroad, and particularly on Russian-speaking SA sojourners, which makes this topic even more relevant.

1.2.2 Professional arguments: internationalisation of HE

Internationalization is changing the world of higher education, and globalization is changing the world of internationalization.

(Knight, 2004, p. 5)

Internationalisation “has become an indicator for quality in higher education”

(de Wit, 2011, p. 39)

In terms of the project's pragmatic implications, the research on SA might be considered extremely relevant in the era of globalisation and the internationalisation of higher education institutions (henceforth, HE), for which international students are among the most prominent "resources".

Recent years have witnessed a significant increase in the pace of student mobility. The OECD Education at Glance report (2017, pp. 286-287) explains that "international students mobility has received increasing policy attention in recent years". The reason for that, it continues, lies in promoting SA as offering opportunities "to access quality education, acquire skills that may not be taught at home" as well as "to improve employability in increasingly globalised labour markets [...] to expand knowledge of other societies and to improve language skills, particularly English".

Hence, the rates of internationalisation nowadays, including the amount of international students taking courses or modules in a HEI, have become the criteria, indexing the quality of educational services being provided within a particular institution (Urban and Bierlein Palmer, 2014). However, international students are not the only group of people who benefit from this source of internationalisation. Indeed, apart from enormous financial contributions, they contribute to enriching "the learning experience and social interaction of domestic students", "the establishment of global economic and diplomatic relationships", and "creating a pipeline of potential highly skilled immigrants" (Urban and Bierlein Palmer, 2014, p. 307), etc.

Approaching the issues of the internationalisation of HE from a position critical of the neoliberalist ideologies penetrating all the domains of world's functioning today, it becomes clear that in order to overcome the

commercialising practices operating within HE globally it is crucial to conduct research that foregrounds individuals' voices (Block, Gray and Holborow, 2012; Heng, 2017). This might lead to invaluable insights into the mechanisms of the internationalisation of HE from the perspective of people actively involved in the process (eg the students themselves). This might then become an efficient driver for improving the global frameworks of internationalisation, helping students in orienting themselves and adapting within the diversity of HE systems, and preventing inequalities that might emerge when someone's voice is not heard.

Circling back to the increasing numbers in SA and Russian SA sojourners in particular, reports show that, despite the economic crisis in Russia, SA still remains a very popular destination for Russian students (Romendik and Gurova, 2012). The number of Russian academic sojourners has risen significantly over the last 20 years: from 13,000 in the 1990s to an estimated 50,500 students (Kommersant, 2012; Obrazovanie za granitsej, 2016). The reasons for that lie in the increase in financial support offered by the government and the greater availability of foreign grants for people from Russia.

Thus, in today's world it is *more than relevant* to further investigate the phenomenon of SA and the academic sojourners' experiences as well.

Talking about Russian academic sojourners in particular and bearing in mind that this group is underrepresented within the general framework of studies on identity issues and SA experiences, the importance of conducting research within this group is not in question – the option of investigating Russians' experiences is not popular, but rather a *growing necessity*.

1.2.3 Approaching the rationale from the axiological perspective: my own story

Not only do theoretical and professional arguments define the rationale for my study, my own experience, my own life and my own narrative have informed my research. The co-related questions of identity, language, culture and voice first bothered me when I arrived in the UK to study for my MA. I never thought that moving to another country would be such an issue, given that it was a country where people spoke the same language that I had learned for almost five years at university. But it was. And *still is*.

During those times I pictured myself as a square peg in a round hole. As time went on, I got used to the English cultural reality, and the feeling that I was a 'legal alien' became blunt and dull. However, despite my keen appreciation of that experience, I cannot deny that I was experiencing a lot of language- and communication-related difficulties, which resulted in my lack of desire to communicate in English. More to the point, even when I was brave enough to say something, I felt that I was still silent, that no one could hear me, that my voice *was not loud enough*. Surrounded by many different others, I was drowning in the feelings of myself becoming *an other* – both in the UK and in my native country.

At some point I found people to share my thoughts with. When discussing my problems with other Russian sojourners, I often heard that they compared their experiences with "being somewhere in between two cultures", "occupying the third space", "living on the hyphen" (Choi, 2010), "struggling with being an invisible learner"

(Benson, 2005), etc. Unsurprisingly, most of their reflections captured my own experiences – I became deeply concerned about the problems of individuals’ developing their voices in a new, unknown, and sometimes even hostile, environment that creates a lot of challenges for newcomers. All of these led me to thinking that this is a kind of my moral obligation – to document the previously unheard stories of Russian SA sojourners, of their experiences of living and studying abroad, to uncover *their – and our – voices*. Having myself undergone through critical experience of very often silencing my opinions and not being able to develop my voice, I realized that my first and foremost agenda must be to create a safe environment for others – to do so.

1.3 Conceptual framework of the thesis

Having outlined the rationale of the thesis and provided the reader with some lines on both my own background and the research that informed the current inquiry, the narrative moves on to a short overview of its conceptual framework. Ngulube and Mathipa (2015) highlight that it is useful to distinguish between the conceptual and the theoretical frameworks, with the former identifying the central concepts and dimensions of the study, and the latter – much more extensively – exploring the body of relevant literature (Miles and Huberman, 1994, p. 18; Maxwell, 1996; Vithal, Jansen and Jansen, 2013).

The next subsection presents the overall theoretical lens applied within the current inquiry: namely, intersectionality (Shields, Settles and Warner, 2016) and the philosophy of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1963, 1981, 1985). The idea of dialogic intersection is fundamental to every aspect of this inquiry. I then

continue with elaborating the main concept that the study is centred around – namely, the concept of voice.

1.3.1 Intersectionality

Written in an era of uncertainty and unpredictability, this thesis favours opening up the horizons and the limits of any phenomena interpretation. Fundamentally resting on the philosophy of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1963, 1981, 1984) that manifests the emergence of meaning and knowledge within the process of the dialogue, or at the borders of semiotic exchange within the polyphony of voices, the current inquiry celebrates the dissemination of the intersectionality tradition – as it relates to both its ontological and epistemological aspects. Notably, this thesis slightly departs from Crenshaw's (1989) original perspective on the phenomenon and sees intersectionality in its rather wider philosophical sense: as a discovery happening at the *intersection* of different theoretical and analytical paradigms, as knowledge co-constructed and co-created within the *dialogues* between different voices (Bakhtin, 1963), as inquiry liberated from thinking only within one rigid philosophical tradition.

Having framed dialogism as theory that can be applied to everything, Bakhtin and his scholarship have gained momentum across the fields of social sciences, educational research and applied linguistics (Harvey, 2014). Indeed, philosophically speaking, his theoretical ideas align with the main postulates of many qualitative research analytical frameworks (eg, ethnography, existential phenomenology, constructionism and constructivism, etc.; Cunliffe, 2008, 2011), while also being a bridge between certain theoretical assumptions (eg, subjectivism and intersubjectivism

problematics; see Cunliffe, 2011). It is, therefore, an appealing analytical lens to be used for investigating the complexity of human lives. Bakhtin's legacy can be found in many fields across theoretical knowledge. Following Nikulin (1998), Hamston (2006), Harvey (2015) and others, this thesis emphasises the applicability of the philosophy of dialogism as ontological and epistemological strategy towards holistic understanding (Coleman, 2013) of the idiosyncrasies of the researched phenomenon.

Thus, the current inquiry manifests the unfinalisability and openness of the research thought. In other words, it argues for the lack of clearly defined boundaries between any aspects of the study, be these the relationships between the roles of the researcher and the researched, dialogue within the methods and theories implemented in the research, or even the links within the final write-up. In other words, dialogism and intersectionality "thought" has affected each and every aspect of the current research; as the reader will discover, all the theories, methods, stages of the project (data collection and analysis) and its analytical outcomes dialogically intersect. Even the sections in the final write-up were affected by this trend: I mention all the theories used for the data analysis, up until **Chapter 6**, which means that this journey of discovery and foundation-building is not limited to the guiding literature section (though the bulk of the reviewing work is done there).

Overall, following Bakhtin (1963, 1981), the current inquiry places knowledge (as a meaning-making process) at the *intersection* of many different voice dynamics. In its attempts to achieve holistic understanding of the researched phenomenon, it thus favours an intersectionality paradigm (Hancock, 2007; Cole, 2009; Grzanka, in press) – in relation to its epistemological (Bowleg,

2008; Syed, 2010; Cho, Crenshaw and McCall, 2013) and ontological (Cole, 2009; Carbado, 2013) aspects. As was mentioned above, originating from critical feminist studies (Crenshaw, 1989), intersectionality has been employed across social sciences as a theoretical and analytical lens to explore the mechanisms of inequalities (Clarke and McCall, 2013) and referred to as a core element of critical social theory (Collins, 2000). This feature broadly aligns with the deliberating nature of the current inquiry; while springing from the need to document the previously unheard stories of Russian academic sojourners, the project itself highlights and celebrates the agentive potential of voices and its “value” (Couldry, 2010) across the contexts.

In addition to the study’s structural aspects, which are informed by the philosophy of dialogism and the intersectionality tradition, the epistemological philosophy of the project turned out to be guided by these paradigms as well. In other words, in order to stick to the principle of holistic inquiry (Coleman, 2013), the data have been approached from different theoretical (and methodological) angles. This has also addressed the question of trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) through implementing a triangulation strategy. However, in order not to get lost within the many dimensions of theoretical thought created by this multiplicity of perspective, it is essential to find one integral theoretical focus for the research. Addressing the need to *hear* the previously unheard stories of Russian academic sojourners, this has become the concept of *voice*.

1.3.2 Why voice matters?

Celebrating the agency of voice aligns with the current big trends within research on narrating and voicing (De Fina and Tseng, 2017).

Blommaert (2005, pp. 68-69) builds his arguments on seeing voice pragmatically – as a “capacity to generate an uptake of one’s words as close as possible to one’s desired contextualization [...] a capacity to accomplish desired functions through language” as well as the “capacity to accomplish functions of linguistic resources translocally [...] the capacity for semiotic mobility”. In tune, Couldry (2010) argues that voice should not be considered as only a process of “giving an account of oneself” (Butler, 2005). Instead, it should be treated as a value in its very dynamic understanding or the practice of individuals attributing certain ‘values’ to things, explicitly or implicitly. In other words, this process refers to “the act of valuing, and choosing to value, those frameworks for organizing human life and resources that themselves value voice” (Couldry, 2010, p. 2). While stating this, Couldry (2010, pp. 7-10) underlines five principles for conceptualising voice that I adopt in this research:

1. “Voice is socially grounded”
2. “Voice is a form of reflexive agency” – it involves “taking responsibility for the stories one tells”, that are always in dialogue with each other
3. “Voice is an embodied process”
4. A material form of voice can be individual, collective and distributed – however, in the context of unequal distribution of linguistic resources, in other words, when materials from which

“some people must build their accounts of themselves are not theirs to adapt or control, then this represents a deep denial of voice, a deep form of oppression”

5. Voice can be undermined by the very organisation of social practices – eg, some institutionalised discourses might not value individuals’ voices, fail to acknowledge them, and, thus, block the narratives.

What appeals about Couldry’s (2010) view is that while drawing on many different interpretations of the concept (incl. MacIntyre, 1981; Bruner, 1986; Butler, 2005), he essentially places his definition at the intersection of many different fields, which, at its very core, aligns with the idea of intersectionality inherent to the current inquiry. Such a favourable philosophical positioning encompasses many different interpretations – and the links with different fields, and, in turn, gives credits to choosing this interpretation in order to later approach it from various theoretical angles. Indeed, the features of voice (or voicing) mentioned above align with the chosen theoretical perspectives from which to approach the concept of voice (a detailed discussion of which will appear in **Chapter 3**). Moreover, while holistically co-constructing and developing his interpretation, Couldry (2010) also emphasises the pragmatic potential of the voice, highlights its instrumental ability, and, overall, speaks of voice as a value-laden instrument to be used within the current political paradigm surrounding all aspects of human lives including HE. This emphasis and attention to the *meta*-potential of language and voice to *materialise* things and, thus, be used as an instrument to fight oppression, has eventually led me to distinguish the metaphysics lens as a

separate theoretical angle from which to approach the researched phenomenon. Therefore, even though I adopt Couldry's definition as a central one – since it is drawn from many other perspectives – I nevertheless distinguish the pragmatic factor, emphasised by Couldry within his interpretation, as a separate theoretical lens through which to see the concept of voice.

In addition, all analytical lenses are also intertwined – which itself goes hand in hand with the idea of intersectionality. For instance, the value and instrumental potential of voices and materiality aspect of languages (lens #4) aligns with the idea of *ideological becoming* as considering voice a central tool for an individual's development, as they apprehend reality and learn how to become in the world (lens #1). Voloshinov (1973) in his writing on the latter acknowledges the “living, dynamic reality of language and its social functions” and the “value” of living speech as it is “actually and continuously generated”. **Chapters 3, 4 and 6** show how the lenses interact with each other – which is why I do not elaborate it here.

1.4 Thesis overview

In order to holistically elaborate the sociolinguistic phenomena chosen to be the foci of the current project, I provide the reader with the context of the inquiry. To this end, **Chapter 2** addresses the background issues that participants of the study are coming from and to. It starts with elaborating the Russian sociolinguistic profile, which has recently become quite pluralistic in light of the “cultural turn to the West” (Hollis, 2000, p. 113), yet problematic in terms of the current ideological tensions surrounding the policy-making

paradigms. As this thesis is about education – what academic sojourning is essentially about – the chapter continues with some vignettes from Russia's educational profile. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to the context the research participants found themselves surrounded by when they moved to the UK – and addresses the issue of the internationalisation of HE with reference to the UK.

Chapter 3 represents the bulk of the existing literature on the researched phenomena. While theoretically scaffolding the study, it considers different theoretical lenses to look at the concept of voice through. These include Bakhtin (1963, 1981, 1984) and colleagues' views on language and voicing as a phenomenon embracing the *ideological becoming* and fundamentally structured by the philosophy of *dialogism*; cultural perspectives on the concept of voice – in both its *large* and *small* senses (Holliday, 1999, 2011); and a critical angle from which to approach the voice. The latter considers the academic sojourners voicing experiences as applied to the *inequalities* struggle in the light of the theories of Blommaert (2005, 2010), Canagarajah (2013, 2017) and Hymes (1996). The fourth lens represents the *metaphysical* perspective on voice stemming from the language materiality discussion (MacLure, 2013). The chapter ends by introducing the research questions.

Chapter 4 shifts the focus onto the methodological and analytical considerations of the research, while elaborating the main methodological decisions informed by the guiding literature outline and the research questions presentation. This chapter locates the study within the research tradition, addresses the issues of relationships between the researcher and

the participants, and sheds light onto the epistemological considerations of the current inquiry. Furthermore, it also elaborates the fifth lens of small stories (Bamberg, 2004; Georgakopoulou, 2007) used for considering the concept of voice through. This lens is included in the methodology because it represents not only a theoretical but (indeed – first and foremost) a methodological framework from which to approach the concept of voice. Having done so, **Chapter 5** then details the procedures implemented within the data collection and analysis journey and elaborates the main issues faced along the way.

Chapter 6 explores the outcome of the analysing of the data – which represents five theoretical and analytical angles that the concept of voice, as the central concept of the current inquiry, has been approached from. These include considering participants' voicing processes as they relate to their sojourn (pre- and post-) in the light of them learning (alongside English) how to become in this world; exploring the relationships between voicing and culturing; considering what inequalities sojourners face while on SA; investigating the pragmatic potential of individuals' voices; and, finally, looking at voicing through the prism of a fine-grained small stories approach.

Chapter 7 discusses the analysis outcome in the light of the theory outlined in the previous chapters, answers the research questions and contributes towards holistic understanding of voice. **Chapter 8**, in turn, explores the projects implications for practice, research limitations and directions for future inquiry.

Chapter 2: The context of the study

Introduction

This **chapter** provides a rich, broad description of Russia's sociolinguistic/educational profile (the background sojourners are coming from) and the internationalisation of HE in the UK (the context they are surrounded by while on SA). Elaborating the broader context is essential in an enterprise that attempts to shed light on the inner and outer dynamics of individuals' voice trajectories; to discover how the meaning is constructed in participants' reflecting on their background and experiences; and to understand the decisions lying behind individuals' voice trajectories.

I start with the description of general trends within Russian educational and sociolinguistic landscapes from synchronic and diachronic perspectives, then move onto the discussion of the space Russians occupy within the UK migration arena, before concluding by talking about the internationalisation of HE in the UK and discussing the reasons academic sojourners chose this destination point.

2.1 Russia's sociolinguistic landscapes and educational profile

Though it is obviously true that recent decades have witnessed the unprecedented spread of English in Russia, it is nevertheless important to note that this spread has been different than those in other regions of the world where English has also become a must (Zamyatin, 2012; Ivanova and Tivyaeva, 2015). Lazaretnaya (2012) explores how, irrespective of the historical period, relationships between the English and Russian languages

feature an ideological complexity that has not reflected but rather refracted the power tensions within the political arena. Attitudes towards English have long been a matter of uncertainty – varying from it being a means of ideological control during the Soviet times (Ter-Minasova, 2005; Litovskaya, 2008) to juxtaposing English as a key to better jobs and a better life after the USSR's collapse (Kalashnikova, 2009).

In addition to the latter, the New Russia era (from 2000 onwards) has also brought along some other factors associated with valuing English, such as tourism, internet communication, advertisement, etc (Lazaretnaya, 2012; Ustinova, 2005; Eddy, 2007). English has been widely promoted within both international and domestic policy-making frameworks: eg through the signing of the Bologna Process in 2003, which led to the state education system working rigorously on the improvement of English language teaching instructions; and giving it the status of an official language (the Republic of Sakha-Yakutia), etc. This “English language boom” (Proshina and Etkin, 2005, p. 443) has been also backed up by Russia's overall cultural turn “to the West” (Hollis, 2000, p. 113).

As for the relationships of English with Russian, some express concerns that there are too many English words penetrating the Russian language nowadays (Leontovich, 2005), while others see it as a natural development (Vaynshteyn, 2002). However, policy-makers have introduced a number of strategies in order to protect Russian. These include creating institutions that promote the Russian language and culture abroad (eg, *Rossotrudnichestvo*), holding cultural exchange years, financially supporting Russian language teachers abroad, distributing Russian language teaching materials,

implementing strategies to increase the number of foreign students studying in Russian HEIs, and so on. These are, however, not to be seen as antagonistic to the Russian government's general policies of catching up with the West, but rather as complimentary actions to establish stronger (cultural) ties with the outside world while also preserving the country's national identity.

The above-mentioned cultural turn to the West has also affected the trends within Russia's educational landscapes – which feature ideological complexity. Harris (2010, pp. 18-19) claims that even though Russia's rulers have been “poignantly aware [...] of the pressing need to acquire Western knowledge” due to “economic advancement” reasons, they still “feared the potentially subversive and threatening character of alien ideas and liberal methods of education, as well as the spectre of social mobility encouraged by a democratic educational structure”. Thus, from the Soviet Union onwards, the Russian educational landscape has featured ideological complexity (Crotty, 2016). More recently, neoliberalism has slowly but painstakingly stepped onto the post-Soviet landscape, which eventually led to education changing its policy vectors in response to the new ideological paradigm (Pavlova, 2010). Even though there has been an escalation of ideological tensions between Russia and what used to be known as the West (e.g. UK, USA, EU, etc) (Schindler, 2018), the Russian government never stopped nurturing the attempts to get closer to the worldwide standards and integrate “the national educational system with those of other countries” (Stukalova et al., 2015, p. 277). The main strategies for this included introducing new scholarship programmes, popularising learning foreign languages, establishing joint research and academic initiatives,

promoting participation and hosting international scientific congresses, conferences and symposiums, etc (Law on education in Russian Federation, 2012). In addition, in 2003 the Russian government signed the Bologna Declaration aiming to “introduce comparable degrees, qualifications and credit equivalency (ECTS), increase the mobility of students, scientists and university teachers and expand the export of education services” (Gänzle et al., 2009, p. 539). However, while on the surface many of these programmes are to integrate Russia into the global market of sharing information and knowledge-making processes, most are aimed at reversing the severe brain drain, which has been seriously affecting Russia in recent times. Despite this seemingly justified approach, these practices nevertheless open up a series of very important questions on the roles of the individuals involved: whether people’s lives are trajectories to be controlled (Badwan, 2015) in the “best” traditions of governmentality frameworks (following Foucault, 1982). Where – in this era of ideologies of control adapted from the Soviet past on the one hand and neoliberal marketisation gaining momentum on the other – is the place for the individual and their desires? Most importantly, why in all the decrees, laws and other official documents is it that in a country that is striving to achieve democracy, there is no word on referring to or taking on board *the voices of the people?*

2.2 Internationalisation of UK HE

Internationalisation in the UK has become a key strategic goal for the education agenda (De Vita and Case, 2003; see also Taylor, 2010; Rhoads and Szelenyi, 2011) – quite an explicable response to the gaining momentum of the knowledge economy and the rise of human capital

(Keeley, 2007) and governments cutting universities' funding (Osman, 2008). During the last 20 years, the UK HE system has undergone unprecedented changes informed by the marketisation and – consequently – commodification government policy strategies (Badwan, 2015; Furedi, 2011), which have eventually led to HEIs “becoming more entrepreneurial” (McNamara and Harris, 1997, p. 1).

These policies and subsequent university strategies have resulted in a significant increase of students from abroad: from 35,000 students in 1973, then 95,000 in 1992 (McNamara and Harris, 1997), to 435,500 (including EU students) in 2013-2014 (UKCISA, 2015). Unsurprisingly, this tremendous expansion in numbers has led to a significant increase in financial contributions coming from international students: from £310 million in 1992-3 (McNamara and Harris, 1997) to £8 billion in 2013-2014 for tuition fees only (BBC, 2012).

As discussed in 1.1.2, apart from financial contributions, “international students also bring significant cultural richness and long-term political and social benefits to university life and curriculum” (UK Council for Graduate Education, 2012). However – and quite paradoxically – though universities are expected to follow internationalisation strategies, sojourners face the repercussions of reductive and time-discriminatory political decisions – such as, for example, being counted in immigration figures (Badwan, 2015), not being able to work within the post-study visa scheme, which was closed in 2012 (UK Border Agency, 2012), etc. Prime Minister Theresa May has been “notoriously hostile” to international students (The Guardian, 2016). In her previous role as Home Secretary she continuously argued in favour of

tightening visa requirements and successfully attempted to reduce the number of international students. In 2015 May proposed to ban overseas students from working during their studies (Independent, 2015), as part of anti-immigration measures designed to create a 'hostile environment' – ostensibly for 'illegal' people but seemingly for everyone. On becoming prime minister, she reaffirmed her goal to further reduce the number of international students arriving in the UK and cut net migration to below 100,000 (Independent, 2016).

Responding to this, Nicola Dandridge, chief executive of Universities UK, noted that, with their economic, academic and cultural contributions, “reducing the number of genuine international students would have a substantial and negative impact on towns and cities across the UK, on businesses, jobs and on our world-class universities” (Times Higher Education, 2015). Indeed, according to Mostafa Rajaai, International Officer for the National Union of Students, the UK visa rules are already “the toughest and least welcoming in the world”, and “by tightening it further, the Higher Education sector will lose out on hundreds of thousands of international students choosing other countries over the UK” (The Independent, 2016).

Despite the attempts to negotiate the situation with international students in the UK (such as a collective letter to David Cameron supported by many university leaders, where they asked to reconsider the aforementioned hostile strategies), sojourners are still counted and exposed to restrictive visa policies. People wanting to study in the UK now need to pay an immigration health surcharge (UKCISA, 2015). Furthermore, the amount of

money required for a visa application is being constantly increased. In September 2018, the OpenDemocracy source published a story of a PhD student in the UK who did not manage to complete their studies due to the “no more than 60 days illness rule” (The Open Democracy, 2018). Moreover, the current political situation and overall discourse of uncertainty surrounding Brexit play a part in making the situation with education system in the UK more obscure (Marginson, 2017). Regarding the ideologies governing relationships between Russia and what used to be known as the West, the recent years have witnessed “another Cold War looming” (Niazi, 2018). The Russia-Britain relationship has deteriorated due to the current diplomatic crisis (Stone, 2018), which might eventually affect the visa regulations for Russians intending to study/work/live in the UK. That said, questions arise: what is the position of the sojourner within this discourse of uncertainty surrounding policy-making in the UK? Where are the voices of Russian students in particular within the ideological gap between the two countries’ narratives (Faizullaev, 2017, 2018)?

Having outlined the main features of the contexts around the sojourners, the next chapter elaborates the bulk of the theoretical ideas the current inquiry rests on.

Chapter 3: Guiding literature

Introduction

Moving across sociocultural, geographical and linguistic borders, or migrating (with academic sojourning as one of its forms), necessarily involves destabilisation of ontological security (Giddens, 1991) and disorientation of ideological frameworks (Batsaikhan et al., 2018, Gonçalves, 2013). More to the point, unsettling and reconstructing one's life is itself a "critical experience" (Block, 2002, 2007) within which the voices of migrants might easily become drowned in the never-ending struggle of (re-)defining identities (Block, 2007). These voices, therefore, constitute the core of this project, located in the field of migrant narrative studies. Furthermore, in its attempt to follow the principle of holistic enquiry of considering sojourners as "rounded people" (Coleman, 2013, p. 17), the research approaches the concept of voice from a number of different – theoretical yet methodological – perspectives, in order to analytically embrace different aspects of sojourners' experiences. As will be elaborated in the subsequent sections, the concept of voice has been (and will be) methodologically and theoretically acting here as a door that opens up the discussion and brings to the fore a plethora of theoretical constructs. These include language and voice in the light of ideological becoming; language learning/use and motivation; intercultural communication; language and inequalities – through the prism of globalisation and neoliberalism; othering and positioning in interaction (both as reflection on previous encounters as well as happening *in situ*); sociocultural heterogeneity and linguistic superdiversity as applied to

the academic sojourners' experiences of studying and residing abroad; and the sociolinguistics of diversity, globalisation and mobility. Furthermore, the study does not adhere to one particular interpretation of voice, and, thus, highlights the complexity of its readings and promotes the multi-dimensional approach towards the understanding of a term, as well as conducting research on this phenomenon.

This chapter provides a theoretical consideration of four lenses to consider the concept of voice through – which defines its structural organisation. Due to the fact that the fifth lens is derived from the methodological approach, I elaborate its details in the related **Chapters 4 and 5**.

3.1 The philosophy of dialogism: dialogue as a theory of everything

To be means to communicate dialogically. When dialogue ends, everything ends. [...] Two voices is the minimum for life, the minimum for existence.

Bakhtin (1984, p. 252)

...dialogic relationships in the broad sense are also possible among different intelligent phenomena [...] expressed in some semiotic material...

Bakhtin (1984, pp. 184-185)

In Bakhtin's dialogic orientations to the world, taken upon by many (inter alia Harvey, 2016; Nesari, 2015), he argues for a dynamic understanding of reality as co-constructed space that exists at the intersection of many different voices (Bakhtin, 1963, 1981, 1984). Primarily referring to language, he points to the core feature of any utterance: namely, its outward

orientation, or the mode of initiating the response. In analysing the utterance itself he then also dissolves it into its constituent elements, or voices, which also happen to be in a state of “intense and essential axiological interaction” (Bakhtin 1990, p. xxvii). Bakhtin (1981, p. 280) says that each now-pronounced word at any given moment is “oriented toward a future answer-word”, as well as what preceded its realisation. Being materialised in words, voices then exist in the “form of answering to others’ axiological positions” (Harvey, 2014, p. 72) and constitute the core of the *creative understanding* – the process of “synthetizing language, culture, the self, and the other” (ibid., p. 68) and entailing struggle that eventually results “in mutual change and enrichment” (Bakhtin 1986, p. 142).

Departing from Saussure’s “abstract objectivism” (Voloshinov, 1973) views of language as a static entity, Bakhtin (1984) argues for any linguistic practices to be seen as “endlessly dynamic and generative, grounded in sociohistorical contexts, socioculturally constitutive and constituting” (Harvey, 2014, p. 59), evolving in the process of social dialogue – and not in the individual psyche. Hence, meaning-making appears to be the dynamic interplay of different “socially charged” words that are impossible to understand outside of the context of its use. Language is then:

...heteroglot from top to bottom; it represents the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions between the present and the past, between differing epochs of the past, between different socio-ideological groups in the present, between tendencies, schools, circles and so forth, all given a bodily form [...] Each word tastes of

*the context and contexts in which it has lived its socially charged life;
all words and forms are populated by intentions.*

(Bakhtin, 1981, pp. 291-3)

Dialogism is not restricted to the communication stance (eg, interaction between two individuals or between a speaker and an audience). Indeed, referring to its universal nature, Bakhtin (1984, p. 293, emphasis in original) highlights: “The dialogic orientation of discourse is a phenomenon that is, of course, a property of *any* discourse”. This very much aligns with complexity theory (Waddington, 1977; Walby, 2003). Walby (2003, p. 8) writes:

Systems interact with each other. They may do so in such a way [...] the mutual modifications of the systems as they interact does not lead to the loss of the identity of each system.

In tune with complexity theory (Waddington, 1975; Walby, 2003), the philosophy of dialogism emphasises the agency of those entering the dialogue – individuals’ co-creating the (sociolinguistic) reality or the systems building up a network of dynamically co-constructed relationships. Applying the concept of voice in the dynamically dialogic understanding of “here-and-now” links the actual situation as it is happening with any encounters (read – voices) from the past or future (as part of individuals’ imagined identities; Benson et al., 2013).

Gardiner (2000, p. 3) refers to the key points of the dialogism philosophy: namely, the emphasis on the unfinalisability of any (social) dialogue, and the meaning as emerging on the boundaries of semiotic exchange. As for the latter, Bostad et al. (2004) confirm that, while acting as counterparty to monologism, the philosophy of dialogism celebrates the multiplicity of and

diversity in perspectives, and, thus, voices. Departing from “an “essentialist” theory of language” (Gardiner, 2000, p. 86), meaning is dynamically “viewed as an emergent phenomenon, integrating aspects of both the immediate and the historical social contexts of performance” (Bostad et al., 2004, p. 2), arising at the borders of a dialogue with *others*. Any word is, thus, “precisely the product of the reciprocal relationship between speaker and listener, addresser and addressee” (Voloshinov, 1973, p. 86), which “always creates something new that never existed before, something absolutely new and unrepeatable” (Bakhtin, 1986, pp. 119-20). Interestingly, with both addresser/ee playing emphatically active roles in shaping the meaning and the conversation, even when the listener is not physically present, they still affect the meaning-making process, since any word is always oriented towards the “other”. Bakhtin (1986, p. 126) introduces the term *superaddressee* that constitutes an image of an “ideal third party”, though “not mystical or metaphysical being”, “whose absolutely just responsive understanding is presumed, either in some metaphysical distance or in distant historical time”, and “towards whom we instinctively orient our utterances” (Emerson, 1997, p. 231). However, though the core of this idea has been then widely endorsed within such concepts as audience design (Bell, 1984), participation framework (Goffman, 1981) and others, the presumably “responsive understanding” of this third party is what might evoke criticism. Indeed, when orienting the utterances, and, thus, voices, towards the distant and higher others, we suppose that our voices would be heard. But do we always suppose that they will be taken on board? (See section 3.3 for further discussion of voice and inequalities.)

That said, no utterance is ever fixed but always unique with its different pragmatic meanings across contexts (Morris, 1994). Languages, hence, are living entities that are co-constructed at the intersections of many voices – and which at any given time express “specific points of view on the world” but are still “interrelated dialogically” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 291). Human consciousness – entailing this *heteroglossia* or many-voicedness – is nothing else but “the semiotic intercourse of one subject with another” (Kac, 2004, p. 201).

Meaning-making, as the essential process – and product – of the dialogue elsewhere, is not meant to be finalised. Bakhtin (1984, p. 59) writes: “As long as a person is alive, he [sic] lives by the fact that he is not yet finalized, that he has not yet uttered his ultimate word”. He highlights that understanding reality in the fluidity and dynamism of its (never-stable) dialogic meaning-making processes conceptually eliminates any boundaries amongst and within dialogues. Bakhtin (1990, p. 203) writes: “boundaries are what life has nothing to do with”. That claim quintessentially celebrates intersectionality as a core idea of the current thesis (see 1.3.1).

Complexity theory argues for extending the ideas mentioned above of ever-increasing ontological depth and the emergent nature of meaning into the analytical level. Walby (2003, p. 10) highlights:

Much traditional science, both natural and social, has had a preference for a single level of analysis, a tendency to search for connections that reach back to one fundamental level (Rose 1997). Much complexity theory by contrast has as a core assumption the importance of ontological depth, of levels that are linked, within a

system, and that the relationships in one level are not reducible in any simple manner to those in another.

It thus argues for extending our understanding of any phenomena organisation in the light of continuously emerging possibilities of discovering more micro-structures (read – dialogues) within the wider levels of the system hierarchy. In doing so, it also claims that any system is self-organising and self-defining (Maturana and Varela, 1980; Teubner, 1997), which makes any system unique – as there are infinite non-linear changes caused by self-regulatory processes working within different contexts (Capra, 1997).

Contextuality, a feature closely connected to the dependability of the path (Walby, 2003) that a system chooses to follow through the action of centripetal and centrifugal forces (Bakhtin, 1981), is the key to *becoming* as an essential way of individuals living their lives (Bakhtin, 1963). Voloshinov (1973, p. 101; ***emphasis in original***) writes:

...from whichever aspect we consider it, expression-utterance is determined by the actual conditions of the given utterance – above all, by its immediate social situation.

White (2014, p. 225) argues that: “Bakhtin’s writings over his lifetime constitute a dialogic philosophy that emphasizes ontologic notions of becoming and draws attention to forms of validity that are constructed within the community in which the dialogue takes place”. Indeed, the emphasis on the element of “the other” – be this in relation to patterns of life or specific aspects of individuation (Jung, 1981) (eg, language learning) – is central to the philosophy of dialogism (Harvey, 2014):

'I' can actualize itself in discourse only by relying upon 'we'...

(Voloshinov, 1983, p. 7)

Seeing language as dialogue has implications for language learning motivation (which is essential for academic sojourning). Harvey (2014) argues that the very nature of any language as a living and dynamic entity posits quite a challenge for its learners. In other words, the implications are as follows: “although a learner may feel they have acquired understanding of linguistic forms, this is not sufficient for understanding the ‘living language’, with all its social, cultural and historical accents and intonations” (Harvey, 2014, p. 84). It takes us to the discussion of mastery and ownership (Wertsch, 1998), where the latter is most closely achieved through what Bakhtin calls “critical interanimation” or the process of standing at the intersection of dialogically intertwined voices and discourses and “*having to choose a language*” (Bakhtin, 1981, p. 295, emphasis in original). This is where the semantics of the term “selectively” – used by Bakhtin in elaborating the process of ideological becoming – comes to the fore: we gradually start to choose which words, utterances and voices to appropriate, and then to re-accent in *our own emotional-volitional tone* through the prism of *our own evaluative stance*.

Consequently, we arrive at de-essentialising the concept of becoming as elaborated in the philosophy of dialogism (Bakhtin, 1963) as it relates to the ideas of other prominent authors in the field: namely, the inner speech and internalisation of Vygotsky (1984) and the individuation of Jung (1981).

3.1.1 Individuation, internalisation and ideological becoming

... in mastering nature we master ourselves. For it is the internalization of overt action that makes thought, and particularly the internalization of external dialogue, that brings the powerful tool of language to bear on the stream of thought [...] the developing streams of internalized language and conceptual thought that sometimes run parallel and sometimes merge, each affecting the other.

Bruner (in Vygotsky, 1962, p. vii)

As touched upon in the previous section, for Bakhtin (1963, 1981, 1984, p. 287) the most essential element in dialogic interplay of human development is the mode of reliance or waiting for a response from *others* (Brown and Eisterhood, 2004):

To be means to be for another, and through the other, for oneself. [...] I cannot manage without another, I cannot become myself without another; I must find myself in another by finding another in myself (in mutual reflection and mutual acceptance).

For Bakhtin (1984) both categories – self and others – are not stable and absolute but relative, changing and fluid. However, the boundaries between the two are exactly where creative understanding takes place, and, consequently, the meaning emerges (White, 2014). For Bakhtin (1990, pp. 15-16) this necessarily involves seeing the self from the perspective of the other, thus, being the self and the other simultaneously, or *outsideness*:

...we evaluate ourselves from the standpoint of others, and through others we try to understand and take into account what is transgradient to our own consciousness [...] In short, we are

constantly and intently on the watch for reflections of our own life on the plane of other peoples' consciousness, and, moreover, not just reflections of particular moments of our life, but even reflections of the whole of it.

Hence, creative understanding paradoxically happens both on the boundaries between the self and others and within the self, foregrounding individuals' active role as participants in the dialogue. Moreover, the words, utterances and language itself never fully belong to someone; they are always penetrated with others' intentions and thoughts:

I live in a world of others' words. And my entire life is an orientation in this world, a reaction to others' words (an infinitely diverse reaction), beginning with my assimilation of them (in the process of the initial mastery of speech) and ending with assimilation of the wealth of human culture (expressed in the word or in other semiotic materials). The other's word sets for a person the special task of understanding this word ...

(Bakhtin, 1986, p. 143)

The dialogic self is, thus, equal to the social self. Furthermore, it finds its realisation, or becomes embodied within specific time and space coordinates; it constitutes “an evolving process of different voices in different locations in time and space”, when “consciousness is both shared and social, and uniquely individual and embodied” (Harvey, 2014, p. 70). Bakhtin sees the development of the self as involving not “a particular voice” but rather “a particular way of combining many voices within” (Morson and Emerson 1990, p. 221; cited in Harvey, 2014, p. 76). This *social* aspect of

self, however, becomes the main point of departure of Bakhtin's dialogism from the dialectics of Vygotsky (1986).

Vygotsky (1986) agrees on the intertwined nature of language, consciousness and communication. Both authors are averse to reductionist approaches and acknowledge complexity in any form of social phenomena (Kubli, 2005). Furthermore, both foreground language as a key element in higher thought and concept development (Ehrich, 2006). However, in contrast to Bakhtin (1963), Vygotsky (1986) foregrounds the individual psyche as the main battlefield for human ontogenetic development (though he never underestimates the element of its social etymology). Vygotsky (1999, p. 276, **my emphasis**) claims:

*We are conscious of ourselves because we are conscious of others; and in an analogous manner, we are conscious of others because in our relationship to ourselves we are the same as others in their relationship to us. **I am aware of myself only to the extent that I am as another for myself...***

Thus, consciousness development and the emergence of meaning happen not at the boundaries between the self and the social others (Bakhtin, 1981) but within the individual psyche – though still in the form of the dialogic self-reflection and meta-awareness (Karasavvidis, 2007; White, 2014). For some (eg, Matusov, 2011) this makes Vygotsky dialectics monoglot and non-pluralistic. However, many (eg, Cornejo, 2012) argue that Hegel's dialectic principles of meta-awareness are what underpin Vygotsky's ideas of self-consciousness, self-reflection and self-cognition (Cote, 2000). This, presumably, surmises the inner dialogue between the different aspects of a

person's identity (Benson et al., 2013), which, in turn, *has to involve the component of other-(voiced)ness*. Vygotsky never argues against the idea of dialogic orientation but rather emphasises the inner psyche as being the main field for internalising the words coming from the social others; it becomes the precursor to constructing language as a part of social dialogue. In some sense, this aligns with Bakhtin's idea of finding the other in oneself. However, there is no doubt that the two paradigms are essentially different – specifically in relation to the processes of an individual's cognitive development – when it comes to both ontogenesis or language development, in particular. Bakhtin sees the individual's socio-cultural, ideological and linguistic development as a process of “selectively assimilating the words of others”, or, as he himself put it, *ideological becoming*. An individual's own development emerges at the intersection of many different words, opinions and voices of others. Only within this polyphony of voices and perspectives a person, through surrounding others' voices with a particular context and creating quite a specific space for it (Hall et al., 2004, p. 2), can individuals discursively construct their own unique *emotional-volitional tone* (Bakhtin, 1993; Vitanova, 2004). Bakhtin (1993, p. 33) writes:

Everything that is actually experienced is experienced as something given and as something-yet-to-be-determined, is intonated, has an emotional-volitional tone, and enters into an effective relationship to me within the unity of the ongoing event encompassing us.

While living at the “nexus between one's existence and the ability to author his/her words”, individuals realise their agency through creating “new

opportunities for establishing one's voice" and not through liberating "the self from its discursive constitution" (Vitanova 2004, pp. 152-153).

In contrast, for Vygotsky (1986) the key to self-development lies in attaining superconsciousness, and indulging in self-reflection (White, 2014). When for Bakhtin everything is happening at the boundaries with the social others, for Vygotsky (1986) the main *place d'armes* is the individual's *inner speech*. He differentiates: "...inner speech is speech for oneself: external speech is for others" (p. 225). Going, in some sense, in reverse order, Vygotsky (1986) argues that the meaning – and the ontogenesis – arises within the dynamics of an individual's speech taking its roots from social origins and then gradually becoming internalised inner speech (Ehrich, 2006). Thus, the central process here is *internalisation* – which is described as an "internal reconstruction of an external operation" (Vygotsky, 1978, p. 56). In some sense, this view aligns with the way many sociologists see the socialisation process – as "the process by which a person *internalizes* the conventions of behaviour imposed by a society or social group" (Kramsch, 1998, p. 131, *my emphasis*). It should be emphasized here that Vygotsky (1978) has never underestimated the role of social and cultural context; quite conversely, his socio-cultural theory is built upon the claim that human cognitive development is always context-dependent. However, his theory fails to recognise that the role of the social others is crucial for the cycle of development – an idea that is central to Bakhtin's writings. While acknowledging the role of others, Bakhtin simultaneously shifts the focus of discussion onto considering the concept of voice in relation to ideological becoming. Vygotsky's (1978, p.57) perspective is rather inward-oriented; for him the words and ideologies of others take their roots in the socio-cultural

background and then make their way into the individual's inner psyche where they become internalised:

Every function in the child's cultural development appears twice: first, on the social level, and later, on the individual level; first, between people (interpsychological) and then inside the child (intrapsychological). This applies equally to voluntary attention, to logical memory, and to the formation of concepts.

Thus, despite quite obvious discrepancies between Bakhtin dialogism and Vygotsky's dialectics (Matusov, 2011; Cornejo, 2012), they do have touching points. Furthermore – and most importantly for the current project – the latter's thorough attention to the concept of psyche allows a bridge between Bakhtin's ideas and the philosophy of one of the most prominent authors in developmental psychology: Jung (1933, 1957, 1981).

Considering the psyche as the cornerstone of the individual's development is what brings together Vygotsky and Jung. The internalisation perspective very much aligns with what Jung sees as an *individuation* process, which happens through the dialogues between the consciousness and subconsciousness and are realised through *directed thoughts*, or reality-oriented and outward-directed elements of the culture (Jung, 1956, pp. 11, 17). Jung (1956) does not reject the social others element in his work (which aligns with both Bakhtin and Vygotsky) but focuses instead on the intertwined nature of relationships amongst the elements of the human psyche. Individuation is, thus, “the process of self-realisation, the discovery and experience of meaning and purpose in life; the means by which one finds oneself and becomes who one really is”, which “depends upon the

interplay and synthesis of opposites e.g. conscious and unconscious, personal and collective..." (Schmidt, 2005, p. 1, *my emphasis*). Jung (1935) sees *individuation* (as well as identity itself – see section 3.1.2) as a dynamic and unfinalisable process which depends on the relationships of self with others. This very much aligns with the way Bakhtin sees *ideological becoming*: individuation "means open conflict and open collaboration at once" (1939, para 288). Furthermore, Jung (1939, p. 73) also points to the relative and emergent nature of this process:

The self is relatedness... The self only exists inasmuch as you appear. Not that you are, but that you do the self. The self appears in your deeds and deeds always mean relationship.

Jung's ideas on the *collective unconscious* containing *archetypes* is relevant to the analysis of an individual's development. Jung (1981, pp. 3-4) sees the collective unconscious as featuring:

...contents and modes of behavior that are more or less the same everywhere and in all individuals. It is, in other words, identical in all men and thus constitutes a common psychic substrate of a suprapersonal nature which is present in every one of us.

An archetype is "an original model of a person, ideal example, or a prototype upon which others are copied, patterned, or emulated; a symbol universally recognized by all" (McAdams, 2009, p. 1). While having "an ontological status of hypothetical construct" (Shelburne, 1976, p. 33), archetypes, according to Jung (1939, p. 518), are "categories of imagination", rather than "categories of reason"; forms of cognition – in Kantian terms; a "second psychic system of a collective, universal, and impersonal nature which is

identical in all individuals” (Jung, 1991, p. 43, *my emphasis*); and “the biological ‘pattern of behaviour’” (p. 149, note 2). The latter has been widely criticised for its biological determinism (Hunt, 2012). Indeed, considering this idea through the lens of poststructuralist philosophies, one can note that it might eventually lure the researchers into the trap of over- generalisation and categorising individuals’ experiences. Furthermore, that criticism opens up the discussion of a very individualistic, socially co-constructed and emergent nature of archetypes, which aligns with the dialogic view of the self functioning in the socio linguistic and ideological reality.

In contrast to Jung, Durkheim’s ([1893] 1984) sociology foregrounds the role of the socio-historical context in relation to human cognition development, addressing the issue of Jungian essentialism (Brooke, 2003). However, his philosophical framework also represents the danger of going too sociological: overemphasising the role of social institutions in governing the collective consciousness and overlooking the role of the individual in its realisation (Cole, 2018).

Apart from the collective subconscious, Jung (1981) sees the individuation process as integrating the elements of the (more individualised) personal unconscious and ego (conscious) (Fig. 2):

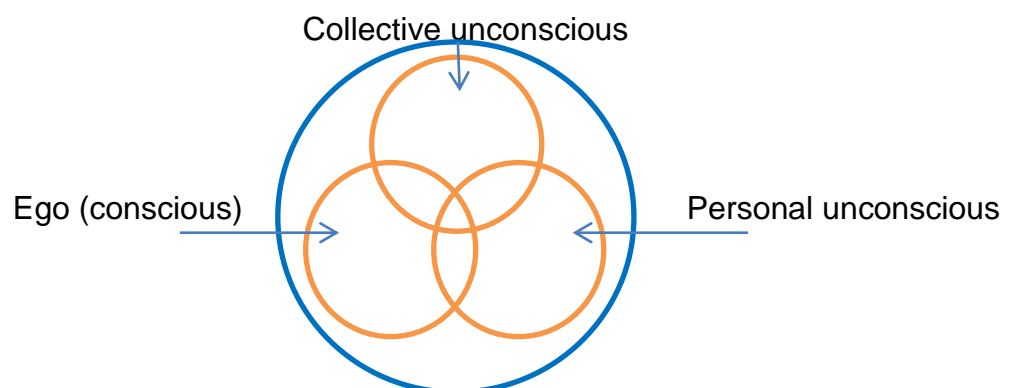


Figure 2: Analytical model of individuation process (self-actualization)

That said, the question arises: can this model be integrated with those of Bakhtin and Vygotsky? If the latter's ideas are fundamentally similar to Jung's in seeing the psyche and person's inner world as a battlefield for cognitive development, then how can the socio-ideological component of Bakhtin's framework enhance and deepen our understanding of the whatever-you-call-it becoming process? Bakhtin (1963, 1981) centres his discussion on human ideological framework development around the concept of voice, which makes his model dynamic, emergent and fluid, and which makes his framework closest to the current research aims. On the other hand, Jung's concept of archetypes as inherent to psyche development might shed light onto the inner organisation of ideological becoming, and even allow systematising the individual's development. In addition, Vygotsky's perspective on internalisation as a primarily activity-based approach might also enhance our understanding of individual trajectories as unique and not only context- but also activity-sensitive phenomena. All of these eventually lead to the question: is it possible to somehow combine these three in order to come up with a more or less holistic understanding of the individual's identity construction and development – as it relates to the sociolinguistic trajectories in both quiet and “critical experiences” (Block, 2007) periods? Where is the voice in all these processes? How can it be analytically (as well as theoretically) integrated into the description of the archetypes acting – and being co-constructed – within the process of ideological becoming?

In order to build the theoretical foundation for answering these questions, the next section will narrow its focus to consideration of voice – as it relates to the processes of internalisation, individuation and ideological becoming

taking place. In other words, the next section deals with the consideration of identity – and the new interpretations of a term that emerged in the era of globalisation and people’s constant movement (both physical and virtual) – while also bridging the aforementioned psychological paradigms with more macro-sociological interpretations through the use of the concept of voice.

3.1.2 Voice and identity

Globalisation and people’s mobility have introduced new understandings for many terms, including identity (Nunan and Choi, 2010). Highlighting the metamorphic and dynamic nature of the concept, Delanty (2003) underlines that the issues of identity construction have come to the fore because the categories of gender, class, ethnicity, etc., can no longer be seen as stable and unitary constructs but should rather be considered as negotiated and fluid variables – and so is identity. Talking about the reciprocal relationships between language and identity specifically, Norton (2010, p. 350) writes:

Every time we speak, we are negotiating and renegotiating our sense of self in relation to the larger social world [...] Our gender, race, class, ethnicity, sexual orientations, among other characteristics, are all implicated in this negotiation of identity.

Voice, as agency-infused language use, therefore, acts as a central component of this (re)negotiation processes, which always exists in relation to other voices: either to the social (eg, immediate and physically present) others or the voices residing within identity’s inner dynamics, the voices of distant (eg, imagined) others from the past, or even future encounters. In other words, individuals (voices) live through and are surrounded by the polyphony of other voices either merging, coinciding or sometimes even

contradicting each other. The element of the individual gets embodied in the appropriation of *emotional-volitional tone* (see 3.1.1), or “what identifies a particular voice with a particular individual” (Harvey, 2014, p. 71), within which authorship and agency are realised. The latter is consequently seen as a *dynamic, creative, co-constructed, multidimensional and socially-embedded* process emerging at the intersection of voices. This interpretation of agency addresses the problem articulated by many, including Pennycook (2001, p. 120):

The challenge is to find a way to theorise human agency within structures of power and to theorise ways in which we think, act, and behave that on the one hand acknowledge our locations within social, cultural, economic, ideological, discursive frameworks but on the other hand allow us at least some possibility of freedom of action and change.

For Bakhtin (1981) it is exactly through voicing, through constant tensions “of connecting with others in an ongoing, dynamic process”, and through “embodied engagement with individual voices, and through engagement with ideological, historical and social forces” (Harvey, 2014, p. 75) that we learn *how to be in the world*, that we dynamically co-construct our identity.

However, within this polyphony of individuals’ becoming, or identity dynamics, some voices might be louder than others, and, thus, acquire different values (Shepherd, 1989; Blommaert, 2005). Bakhtin (1981, p. 342) differentiates between authoritative and internally persuasive discourses. The former is constructed out of ideologically acknowledged, dogmatic and, in some sense, distant voices: a discourse of “a concrete verbal and

ideological unification and centralisation [...] the word of the fathers". In contrast, internally persuasive discourse is "contingent, unexpected, particular, local, and idiosyncratic" (Morson 2004, p. 318); it "is the antithesis of dogma and received wisdom" (Pollard, 2008, p. 4). Hence, both are essential elements of an individual's ideological becoming, emotional-volitional tones appropriation and the processes of comprehending reality and co-constructing identity.

In tune with Bakhtin (1981), Benson et al. (2013, p. 18) consider identity as *becoming*, rather than *being* – and emphasise the need to see it "as socially constructed and constrained, but also recognize the part that individuals play in their construction". When considering identity as work that individual accomplishes progressively and not seeing it as either immanent or exclusively socially determined (Benson et al., 2013), we can open up a whole world of individual lived experiences with subtle dynamically changing features and development over time, and discover how some particular periods and experiences within a person's life (such as SA) may influence their identity construction. While also highlighting the role of others in one's construction of self – and, thus, the voicing process – Benson et al. (2013, p. 19) differentiate between some different aspects of identity, including reflexive ("the self's view of the self, incorporating self- concept and attributes and capacities"), projected ("the self as it is semiotically represented to others in interaction") and recognised identity ("the self as it is preconceived and recognised by others in the course of interaction").

The emphasis on others as playing an essential role in identity construction mechanisms aligns with positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990) and the

acts of identity model (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985). The former argues that interlocutors can not only position themselves in the natural flow of conversation but also be positioned by each other. Davies and Harré (1990, p. 48) call this phenomenon positioning or “the discursive process whereby selves are located in conversations as observably and subjectively coherent participants in jointly produced storylines”.

The acts of identity model (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller, 1985) emphasises the correlation between individuals’ socio-stylistic choices and their desire for their behavioural patterns to be confirmed within those social groups that they want to be identified with. According to this framework, individuals express their affiliations symbolically through language via selectively assimilating the words and voices of others and, thus, choosing which patterns to resemble so as to be identified with a particular group.

Bucholtz and Hall (2005, p. 585) define identity as a “social and cultural rather than primarily internal psychological phenomenon” encompassing both macro- and micro-, fluid and dynamic demographic categories, stances and roles, while also reflecting the higher “ideological order” – that is co-constructed between the self and the other and indexed through the use of semiotic resources.

Finally, addressing the ‘poststructuralist’ stance when investigating identity (Benson et al., 2013), another prominent point should be mentioned here: Foucault’s view on this phenomenon as a discursively produced subject, circulating in the dialogic whirlpools of power-asymmetrical discourses and relationships within society. This stance aligns with Hymesian’s (1996) interpretation of voices – in the light of inequalities surrounding its audibility.

3.1.4 Ideological becoming and voice: a solid foundation for the inquiry?

Bakhtin – and later, Couldry – sees voice as a core, essential component of a human life. Even when physically alone, we live in the polyphony of inner dialogues coming from our past, present or even future (both imagined and real) encounters. Couldry (2010) sees voice as an essential component of an individual's normal functioning *within society* and highlights the pragmatic aspect of a phenomenon, its agentive potential and value power.

Consequently, the existential philosophical dialogue the two theoretical frameworks enter (voice as pertinent to human life on the one hand, and voice as value- and power-laden element of an individual's social functioning) offers a solid ontological foundation for foregrounding the concept of voice within the current project. Furthermore, approaching the concept from different theoretical angles (including those coming from the fields of psychology, cognitive-driven sociolinguistic approaches, sociology, CDA, CA and intercultural studies) contributes to the principle of holistic inquiry when investigating the academic sojourners experiences of studying and residing abroad, or, as was put in **Chapter 1** (section 1.2.1), researching “whole people with whole lives” (Coleman, 2013). Thus, following the designated route of inquiry, the next section opens up the discussion of another perspective – different but still very much related to the concept of voice (Bakhtin, 1986): namely, the perspective of culture, as linked to the sociocultural heterogeneity factor, which has been widely seen as pertinent to academic sojourning (Pellegrino Aveni, 2007; Benson et al., 2013; Badwan, 2015).

In addition, this section has opened up a series of important questions about contemporary interpretations of voice: how do Russian academic sojourners develop their voices in the UK? How do their previous experiences inform their ideological becoming in the UK? And how can the implementation of voice enhance our understanding of shifts in their ideological frameworks and identity negotiations?

3.2 Culture and voice

Culture consists of patterns, explicit and implicit, of and for behavior acquired and transmitted by symbols [...] culture systems may, on the one hand, be considered as products of action, and on the other as a conditioning element of further action.

Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952, p. 181)

Language represents the deepest manifestation of a culture, and people's value systems...

Clyne (1994, p. 1)

Jackson (2013, p. 183) argues that the discussion of culture is crucial for elaborating individuals' sociolinguistic experiences and voice trajectories, because "students with an advanced level of proficiency in English according to TOEFL or IELTS measures did not necessarily have well-developed intercultural competence". Furthermore, as pointed out in the previous section (Bakhtin, 1981; Medvedev, 1978; Voloshinov, 1986), languages – as semiotic tools of representing and manifesting the culture (Halliday, 1979; Geertz, 1973) – are never neutral (Phipps and Guilherme, 2004). More to the point, when communicating with others, in their interpretations of any

(non-)linguistic behaviour individuals are led by the cultural maps, or, as Fay and Spinthourakis-Katsillis (2000, p. 46) put it, “reservoirs of schemata”, which then undoubtedly influence their way of interacting with others, as well as affecting some particular features of their communication framework (Wierzbicka, 1992, 2006; Baker, 2011; Clyne, 1994). In addition to this, the overall theoretical philosophical framework chosen for the current thesis emphasises the intertwined nature of relationships amongst the concepts of culture, language and voice. In her application of Bakhtin’s (1963, 1986) philosophy to elaborating language learning processes, Harvey (2014, p. 69) argues that “language learners emerge and exist ‘on the boundary’ between languages and cultures”, thus highlighting the essential role that culture plays in the process of creative understanding (Bakhtin, 1986).

However, culture is considered a hard concept to define (Williams, 1981); there is presumably no interpretation of the phenomenon that has been accepted across the fields without any contestations (Baldwin et al., 2006). The current inquiry favours Jackson’s (2014) elaboration of the term, as a system featuring different aspects, which are talked through in the following subsections.

3.2.1 Culture as learned

It is undoubtedly true that throughout their lives individuals acquire different cultural patterns which involve “observation, interaction, and imitation and [are] both conscious and unconscious”, or what Fortman and Giles (2006, p. 94) call enculturation. Jackson (2014) emphasises the role of language as means of transmitting values, beliefs (Lustig and Koester, 2010), and norms and traditions (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2012); all of which eventually form

worldviews (Jandt, 2007). McDaniel et al. (2009, p. 14) see the latter as operating at the level of Jungian archetypes: “worldview is deeply embedded in one’s psyche and usually operates on a subconscious level”; it “is what forms people’s orientation towards [...] philosophical concepts”, including their general understandings of social circles and friendship bonds as “crucial to the learning outcomes of study abroad” (Coleman, 2015, p. 42).

While referring to socialisation practices, Bochner et al. (1977) put forward a model claiming that in terms of their friendship groupings, individuals belong to three networks: a monocultural one (to keep bonds with the country of origin); a bicultural (e.g. relationships with the host community used mainly for the instrumental reasons, such as study and work); and a multicultural one (mainly for recreational purposes). Furnham and Alibhai (1985) order these functional model elements saying by preferences, saying co-nationals come first, that second place is occupied by the networks with people from other countries, and the last ones are the host nationals. However, Hendrickson, Rosen and Aune (2010) demonstrate that the more people from the host country become included into individuals’ friendship networks, the less homesick and more satisfied with their studying and experiences residing abroad these individuals become. Badwan (2015, p. 52) then reviews their recommendations in relation to sojourners’ friendship practices:

(1). International students need to undergo intercultural and social support training.

(2). International students should be placed in integrated housing conditions where they can form intercultural friendships to transcend contact dilemmas and to remove negative stereotypes.

(3) Classrooms should be venues for evoking cultural curiosity.

Coleman (2013) argues for a dynamic understanding of any networking process and talks through the concept of concentric circles – where co-nationals come first, followed by other others (non-locals) in the middle circle, and locals in the outer one. Coleman (2013, p. 44) states that one “circle does not replace another; rather, the process is additive, with the circle broadening during the sojourn”. He then also asserts that university policies should include a mix-and-mingling component in order to avoid sojourners’ “ghettoization” (following Wilkinson 2012, p. 20; and Badwan, 2015, p. 53). On the other hand, many argue for the need to highlight the benefits that home students might receive from communicating with internationals (see section 1.2.2).

3.2.2 Culture as shared

Ideas of membership and community draw attention to the understanding of culture as a shared entity. Lindsay et al. (1999, pp. 26-27), argue that culture is “everything you do that enables you to identify with people who are like you and that distinguishes you from people who differ from you” (see also Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2005).

This understanding of culture – as a shared phenomenon – eventually leads to identifying the grouping individuals might find themselves the members of. Scholars differentiate between speech and the discourse community – with the former referring to “a group of people who use the same variety of a language and who share specific rules for speaking and interpreting speech” (Salzmann et al., 2012, p. 226) and the latter to the “group of people who share particular registers and use the kinds of text (both spoken and written)

in which these registers occur” (Hewings and Hewings, 2005, p. 37).

However, while using these concepts might help individuals to orientate their own conceptual understandings of us versus others, the definitions above have been widely criticised for being homogenous, restrictive, static and descriptivism-driven (Fritsh, 2018; Morgan, 2014). Instead, Pratt (1991, p. 2) argues for the use of the concept of contact zones, referring to “social spaces where cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other, often in contexts of highly asymmetrical relations of power”. In tune with that, Blommaert (2005) argues that living in an era of uncertainty with globalisation and ever-changing reality imposing analytical constraints might not help researchers to deepen their understanding of mobility. Analysis should not be limited by looking at societies as single, isolated entities but rather include the elements of individual mobility and societies’ interrelatedness since these factors do affect “the repertoires of language users and their potential to construct voice” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 15).

3.2.3 Culture as relative

Cultural relativism, or the ‘knowing sweet only comes after tasting bitter’ factor, aptly fits the discussion of sojourners’ experiences abroad. Agar (2006, p. 9) states that, “culture becomes visible only when differences appear with reference to a newcomer, an outsider who comes into contact with it”. Furthermore, Mercer (1990), Block (2007) and many others state that it is exactly the critical experiences of dislocation that make identity issues (including those related to cultural self-identification) prominent (Mercer, 1990), when “the self ceases to be taken for granted [...] [and] is constituted in the recognition of *difference* rather than *sameness*” (Delanty, 2003, p. 135, *my emphasis*). Interestingly, this point aligns with Bakhtin’s

(1986, pp. 6-7) concept of outsidership and seeing culturing (Holliday, 1999) as creative understanding:

In order to understand, it is immensely important for the person who understands to be located outside the object of his or her creative understanding – in time, in space, in culture.

Experiencing cultures in relation to how they differ from other cultures presupposes understanding the concept in its largest sense (Holliday, 1999) as an overarching, umbrella phenomenon, a set of determining features for a specific group. However, this is often linked to the danger of developing ethnocentric views, or accepting “one’s group’s standards as the best, and [judging] all other groups in relation to theirs” (Berry et al., 2011, p. 469).

The social categorisation and generalisation (Galanti, 2000) issues have also been widely linked to stereotyping hindering the intercultural communication in numerous ways (inter alia Dervin, 2012; Samovar et al., 2010; Sorrells, 2012). However, Jackson (2014; see also Lorde, 1986; and Samovar et al., 2010) argues that exactly through experiencing other cultures sojourners learn how to accept and celebrate differences which might result in developing an ethnorelative (in contrast to ethnocentric) mindset. In tune with that, Adler (1975), and Lantis and DuPlaga (2010) talk about the positive side of a culture shock that eventually leads to not only becoming a good intercultural communicator and global citizen, but also personal growth, ‘whole person development’ and ‘identity expansion’ (Jackson, 2012; Kinginger, 2009).

However, we still cannot deny that we do always see ourselves in relation to others (Bakhtin, 1981) – which, in some sense, make the very concept of

ethnocentrism, in a similar fashion to culture, quite problematic and relative as well. The social identity theory (Tajfel and Turner, 1979) claim that it is quite normal for individuals to desire to maintain a positive social, or recognized (Benson et al., 2013) identity – which can be more easily achieved when in the atmosphere of camaraderie and sense of belonging with those who share the same values and beliefs (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2012). Furthermore, as Jackson (2014, p. 160) – in tune with Delanty (2003), Block (2007) and many others, states, strengthening the ingroup membership ties “becomes salient [...] when in the presence of outgroup members, especially when there is discord or rivalry between the groups” and that “in times of heightened tension and conflict, emotive ‘us’ vs, ‘them’ discourse may prevail”. This problematizes the very core of ethnocentrism – and opens up the discussion of the need to change the analytical orientation. In other words, what if ingroup-favouritism comes not from the bias of seeing ‘us’-members as better ones, but rather from the concerns regarding the positive image of oneself – as well as issues of the audibility of one’s voice (Blommaert, 2005)?

3.2.4 Culture as dynamic and mediated

Regarding culture as a multi-dimensional phenomenon reproducing complexities of geopolitical trends and the ideological organisation of societies, the orientation in seeing this concept has shifted from a product-oriented and static view towards more dynamic and discursively mediated one (Baldwin et al., 2006). In tune with Bakhtin’s (1981) perspective on meaning as emerging within the dialogue, Markus et al. (1996, p. 863) writes that culture “does not just involve a straightforward transmission of the ‘way to be’”, and “if entering a conversation, it matters what the conversant brings

to the conversation, and whether and how the cultural messages and imperatives are accepted, or rather resisted and contested". Going even further in defining culture as a process rather than a product, Scollon et al., (2012, p. 5) emphasise the *verbal* aspect of *culturing*: "culture is not something that you think or possess or live inside of" but rather "something that you do", given that the very manner and the way you do it "might be different at different times and in different circumstances". Culture, thus, is created in the process of communication and cooperation in discourse. In tune with the previous section, this problematises the essentialist views of culture categorising "people and characteristics as set, unchanging, and unconnected to issues of gender, class and history" (Martin and Nakoyama, 2000, p. 61). On the other hand, seeing culture as a process, rather than a static entity, inevitably makes "any attempt at static pieces of knowledge problematic" (Martin et al., 2002, p. 3). Indeed, considering the sojourn through the prism of long-term research might lead to discovering that the cultural orientation might shift, and the way individuals define the concept of culture might change. This assumption emphasises the importance of conducting a longitudinal study – as well as considering all the factors contributing to the culture formation.

3.2.5 Culture as individual, fragmentary and imaginary

Seeing culture as a dynamic, mediated, and thus discursively specific phenomenon inevitably leads to considering any interpretations as "incomplete and fragmentary" (Freadman, 2004, p. 16), "subjective, personal [...] and dependant on our experience, level of cultural knowledge and awareness and our individual point-of-view" (Jackson, 2014, p. 67).

Accepting the individualistic nature of culture presents a challenge to the

concept of “culture as nation” (Moon, 2008). This eventually leads to departing from seeing culture as a separate autonomous unit of the analysis, but instead taking on board factors like superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), ideological relativism and interconnectedness of all the domains and fields in the world (Holliday, 2012; Kramsch and Uryu, 2012; Jackson, 2014).

Likewise, Baldwin (2006, p. 56, cited in Jackson, 2014, p. 68) warns us, that “structural definitions of culture, especially those, that frame culture merely as a list of aspects, run the risk of essentialising cultures”.

This all aligns with Bakhtin (1981) and many others, in that culture is constantly co-constructed and (re-)produced amid a polyphony of voices in the discourse, while taking on board and co-constructing unique meanings that could be fully understood only in the specific circumstances within which the culture emerged. Scollon et al. (2012) argue that in that paradigm language turns out to be the central component of the evolution of culture. This idea that culture emerges in polyphonic dialogue begs the question: if language – as linguistic code for communication and a jewel box of unique meanings – is a central component here, what are the conceptual relationships between the culture and the voice (as a product of *linguaging* in its ideological orientation)? Furthermore, as voice can be pragmatically realised not only through language as a verbal code but also through other means of semiosis (for example, clothing), another point appears. Why does language, but not the voice (as a wider phenomenon embracing all possible channels of transferring one’s intentions, ideas and thoughts, as well as a value-laden instrument for co-constructing meaning), happen to be in the centre of the discussion?

3.2.6 Culture as contested

While applying critical theory towards cultural studies and considering culture in relation to political ideological trends, we inevitably see it in terms of “an apparatus of power” (Sorrells, 2013, p. 251). Accordingly, following Giroux (1988), Martin et al. (2012, p. 28) call for interpreting culture as a “site of a struggle” – due to the fact that it always operates within the power hierarchy asymmetries and orders of indexicality tensions.

Similar to Pratt (1991), seeing individuals’ grouping as a dynamic process rather than a stable product set within particular frameworks, Martin and Nakayama (2010) talk about culture as a contested zone. Moon (2002, p. 16) writes that the consideration of any culture’s emerging process should “simultaneously acknowledge the overlapping nature (i.e. sharedness) of various cultural realities within the same geographical space, while recognizing that cultural realities always have some degree of difference”.

Referring again to the relationships between culture and voice, the culture-as-contested feature aligns with the metaphysical perspective on voice (Couldry, 2010) and the materiality of language (MacLure, 2013) in such a way that culture itself (or culture as linked to voice) might become a powerful instrument during the “critical experiences” of SA, for example. This highlights the importance of considering these two concepts as interrelated phenomena that emerge and then exist only in relation to each other.

3.2.7 Culture as communication

Having outlined the main features of culture as defined in Jackson (2014), we can synthesise them into a sound framework, seeing culture as communication, as a process of co-semiosis, as a dynamic and ever-

changing code, that we learn through social yet very much individualised practices of facing other voices, and as an ideologically-laden dialogue. Yet in 1966 Smith (p. 7, cited in Jackson, 2014, p. 7) writes:

Culture is a code that we learn and share, and learning and sharing require communication. And communication requires coding and symbols, which must be learned and shared. Communication and culture are inseparable.

Culture is thus necessarily connected with language; however, this connection is not straightforward but multidimensional, complex, dynamic and emergent (Jackson, 2014). Furthermore, these two are sometimes connected with instrumentality-driven purposes – since through language we might, for example, express our positive attitude towards, or resist, against the culture. In such a manner, voice happens to form this link from within – as an inherent element to the concept of human beings (Couldry, 2010). Thus, according to Bakhtin (1981), Scovel (1994), and Sorrells (2012), this triad – language, culture and voice – constitutes the analytical foundation for individuals making sense of their experiences and comprehending reality.

Approaching the language/culture/voice triangle from a critical perspective, Badwan (2015) emphasises that the sociocultural heterogeneity that accompanies SA might lead to sojourners' silencing their opinions when surrounded by social "others", thereby experiencing so-called "ghettoization". According to Pellegrino Aveni (2005, p. 24) a mismatch between one's language skills and level of acculturation might also lead to a situation when individuals "reduce the amount of L2 they produce in order to protect self-esteem [...] their sense of status". Another feature that makes the

sociocultural reality even more complicated is that English – as a global language – can no longer be assigned to a specific “target” culture (Baker, 2011, p. 200).

These all warrant the claim that the notion of culture – as connected to voice and language use – is a complex phenomenon to define, primarily due to its fragmented, dynamic and strongly individualistic nature.

3.2.8 Large vs small culture

Having outlined the main features of culture as defined within the current inquiry, I could not ignore a big problematic paradigm within the current research, which is defining culture in its bigger or smaller sense. This issue has already been touched upon in the section discussing the danger of adopting ethnocentric views – and seeing culture not as a process but as a product. Baldwin et al. (2006, p. 56) warns us of damaging the analytical lens of the research, which happens “when one treats a heterogeneous collection as homogenous”, inevitably assuming that “all of those of a single nation or even subgroup have the same cultural characteristics”. Likewise, though specifically referring to linguistic and cultural imperialism (Pennycook, 1994; Phillipson, 1992, 2009) and language education (Byram and Morgan, 1994; Kramsch, 1993), Holliday (1999) discusses the importance of taking on the small culture stance. In elaborating his small culture view, Holliday (1999, 2011) summarises all the characteristics of the concept of culture discussed above – and sees it as an emergent, shared, relative and very much context-dependent process of meaning-making. While by no means diminishing the relevance of seeing culture in its large sense (as it does help individuals in orienting themselves amongst different

others – especially when the navigating compass goes through the critical experiences of SA), he also states that the small-culture analytical lens might become quite a useful strategy for fighting oppression. In other words, the non-essentialistic views of culture inevitably weaken the power-laden centre-periphery paradigms inherent to large culture orientations “as both dominant and dominated groups often resort to [...] managing their power-maintaining and power-acquiring purposes” (Sarangi, 1994, p. 416).

Furthermore, in a constantly diversifying world where “cultures are less likely to appear as large coherent geographical entities” (Holliday, 1999, p. 244), there is hardly any place for the “ethnic reductionism” (Baumann, 1996) that might consequently damage the analytical lens of cultural research. Instead, in order to avoid the trap of seeing culture as the “tagged and tied luggage of isolated groups” (Baumann, 1996, p. 189), Holliday (1999, 2011) introduces the small-culture perspective. He defines it as follows:

...a dynamic, ongoing group process which operates in changing circumstances to enable group members to make sense of and operates meaningfully within those circumstances [...] the dynamic aspect of small culture is central to its nature, having the capacity to exist, form and change as required...

The emphasis on seeing culturing as a tool “to make sense” of reality might be seen as a link to Bakhtin’s views. This definition is so appealing for current research, as with Couldry (2010) and Holliday (1999, 2011), as it highlights the instrumental potential of the phenomenon while saying that small culture might basically become a tool used to “solve problems” when they emerge (Crane, 1994, p. 11, cited in Holliday, 1999, p. 248). The

scheme below (Fig. 3) summarises Holliday’s (2011) view of small-culture creation mechanism:

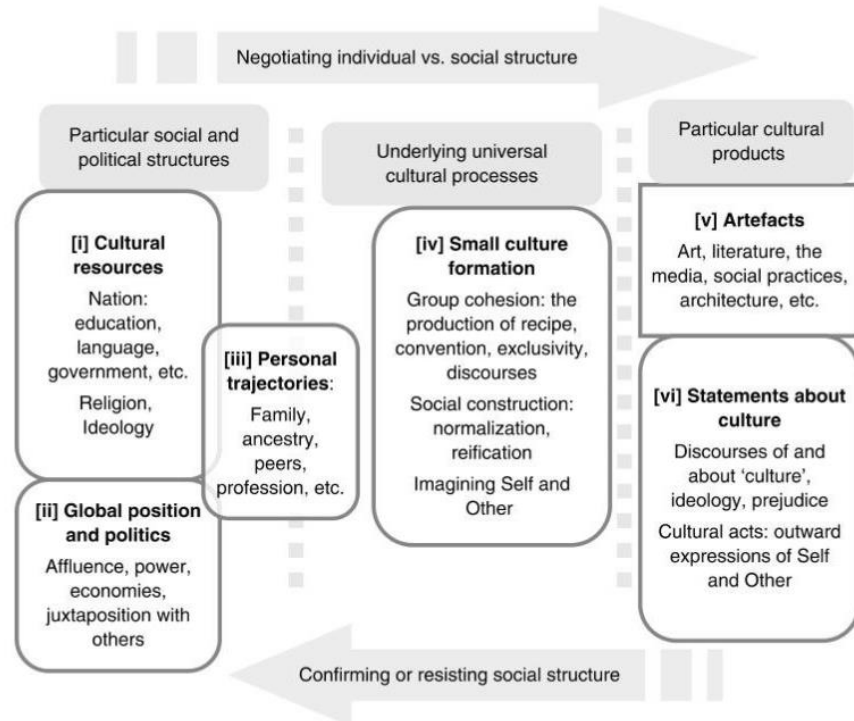


Figure 3: Aspects of cultural reality (adopted from Holliday, 2011, p. 131)

The scheme illustrates the components surrounding, and thus influencing, the process of small culture formation. These include both the “ephemeral entities”, such as overarching political discourses, prejudices, family influence element, etc, as well as material objects such as language products and cultural artefacts. The small-culture emerging process is seen as a reflection of the surrounding “large” cultural process (here we can see that Holliday’s view in no way diminishes the relevance of “large” culture orientations), moving either against or towards the social structure within the overall trend of negotiating individual and social voices. Within bubble [iv] we see how the small culture is formed: namely, through achieving group cohesion (implementing exclusive discourse and social practices that

eventually become conventional), co-constructing norms and co-developing the framework of behavioural patterns. This continues through reification and normalisation of these practices, and, finally, seeing the ingroup members in dialogic opposition with the others. In many senses, these align with Bakhtin's ideas on dialogicality as well as Couldry's view on voice as an instrument for fighting oppression.

However, bubble [v] posits the challenge towards the element of cohesion in Holliday's (2011) interpretation: it includes the element of social practices previously associated with bubble [iv] – or small culture formation processes. Holliday (1999) himself primarily refers to cohesion when talking through the social practices as a “social glue”, or a recipe for holding the small-culture members together. Thus, given the scheme above, the following questions arise: are social practices the elements of cohesion or the artefacts, and, thus, the products of the small culture formation mechanism? If the latter, what then acts as “social glue” for group cohesion?

3.2.9 Voice and culture

The theoretical lens of a culture-driven understanding of voice opens up the discussion of how sociocultural heterogeneity impacts academic sojourners' voice trajectories as they move across time and space. Approaching voice as a process rather than a static entity aligns well with Holliday's (1999) dynamic understanding of culture as being formed within the process of communication. As Voloshinov (1986, p. 85) and many others (incl. Pratt, 1991) argue, individuals are located in their ideological becoming trajectories at the intersection of different (yet overlapping) discursive and cultural fields, with their positions determining their unique “social purviews”. The latter, in

turn, is what directs the voices' dynamics and ideological orientation (Voloshinov, 1986; Harvey, 2014). However, despite general recognition of the links between the phenomena of culture and voicing, the peculiarities of their intertwined relationships remain unclear. Thus, the question here is how these two processes – the processes of voicing and culturing – interact with each other. What are the relationships between these two and how can the culture-driven theoretical angle enhance our understanding of the voicing process? Answering these questions can contribute to deepening the knowledge of other processes surrounding the sociolinguistic experiences of those on an SA track. Is there such a thing as ghettoization (Badwan, 2015) and how it is connected to the culture and to the audibility (Blommaert, 2005) of voices? Which interpretation of culture and its features do academic sojourners themselves take on board while striving to orient in an unknown sociolinguistic field and un-experienced reality? As elaborated above, culture plays a role in sojourners' developing voice trajectories: however, the reversed theoretical dialogue has remained unexplored. In other words, the question is still open: is the voice itself a relevant component to be included in the definition of and used in the interpretation of culture – either in its large or small sense (Holliday, 1999)?

3.3 Language, voice and inequalities

Migration both produces a horizontal diversity of cultural and linguistic contact and feeds into existing and emergent forms of inequality and conflict.

(Collins et al., 2009, p. 20)

At the heart of the relationship between language and social inequality is the idea that some expressions of language are valued more than others in a way that is associated with some people being more valued than others and some ideas expressed by people through language being more valued than others...

(Philips, 2004, p. 474)

Despite certain advantages, such as identity expansion and ‘whole person development’, facing the culture of “others” might also incorporate experiencing prejudice, stereotyping, discrimination and inequalities (Jackson, 2014). Many argue that migration, communicative practices and social inequalities are deeply interconnected phenomena (Duchêne et al., 2013). In an era of uncertainty and an ever-changing, dynamic and globalised world, the reciprocal connections between language use and the conceptualisation of power related to social, political and economic order at both micro and macro levels of analysis have eventually come to the fore.

In tune with other phenomena elaborated in this chapter, the field of research on re- and dis-location practices reveals great complexity in the way the relationships between individuals and languages are structured within societies. People’s mobility across the world (featuring neoliberal economic practices (McGowan, 2018)) is one of the greatest challenges to the homogenising policies of saving the national/cultural/language identity of whole countries. Such strategies rely heavily on defining their physical boundaries and performing “control over the people who have typically travelled to [or from] a new country looking for work or better life chances” (Duchêne et al., 2013, p. 6). Language – being key to working, studying, and

functioning normally, as well as negotiating identities and expressing resistance towards ruling norms, ideologies, etc within new societies – is nothing other than a thread stitching together the larger discourses and small localities as well as embroidering the canvas of migrant lives and voice trajectories. Drawing on the ideas of social constructionism, soft power, and governmentality (Foucault, 1991), Codo (2013) and Allan (2013) investigate mechanisms of control used to shape migrants' personal and labour trajectories, and conclude that very often there is a mismatch between the legal authorisation policies as they are described in theory (on paper) and the actual implementation of these policies in practice. Rojo (2013) states that the sociolinguistic reality migrants face while abroad is often tuned into recognising only the voices of the legitimate standard variety, decapitalising the voices of those who do not meet these criteria. This aligns with Philips' (1983) demonstration of how minorities were often silenced through the patterns of communication within classrooms – as their contributions are not ratified, even by the teachers (not to mention their peers). Relating these issues to the linguistic relativism and overarching discourse ideologies of stigma associated with some particular varieties of language, Hymes (1996) notes that inequalities might often operate on an inward orientation. In other words, individuals' realisation of inequalities might bounce between recognised and projected identity facets (Benson et al., 2013). Hymes (1996, pp. 209-210) highlights that often “students may come to a class [...] believing their normal speech intrinsically inferior, and leave with that sense of stigma never having become known”, before concluding:

A methodological relativism – all languages are equal in the sight of science – is translated into the ideology that all languages are equal

in the sight of humankind, or should be. Of course they should be, when evaluation is based on unfamiliarity or prejudice. But people often know perfectly well that they can accomplish some things in one language or variety that they cannot in another...

There is no doubt that moving across time and space and inequalities are interdependently linked through different kinds of symbolic and material practices. Language here serves as one of the main means of exercising control and establishing social norms and rules, while also negotiating emergent identities and resisting the power and discrimination imposed on migrants by institutional and nation-state policies. Duchêne et al. (2013, p. 11) conclude:

Language always comes with values attached. The fact of migration and the linguistic differences that it brings insert individuals into particular symbolic spaces which reinforce and give legitimacy, or the opposite, to both forms of language and those who speak them. What counts as acceptability is controlled at both macro and micro levels. Using certain codes and minute language differences within these codes can have large interactional, cultural and material consequences.

Thus, at the core of the reciprocal links connecting language and voice, relocation and dislocation practices, and inequalities and power issues lies the idea of language values and ideologies, which differ across the continuum of different sociolinguistic realities. Hence, the next sections discuss these key elements in the dialogic relationship between inequalities and language use: namely, language ideologies and sociolinguistic scales.

3.3.1 Language ideologies

Originating from Silverstein (1979, 1985), in an era of uncertainty and people's constant movement the idea of looking at sociolinguistic practices through the lens of ideologies has been adopted as a useful approach to the analysis of social inequalities and power issues (Kroskrity, 2001; Schieffelin et al., 1998; Duchêne et al., 2013). Drawing on Hymes' (1996) principles of linguistic relativism and Volosinov's (1973, p. 9) famous assumption that "without signs there is no ideology", Kroskrity (2001, 2004), in tune with Giddens (1991), claims that language (use) is always penetrated with ideologies, even if it is a relatively automatic conduct. Duchêne et al. (2013, p. 5) state, that even "such apparently neutral concepts as shared cultural knowledge will always be derived from the interests of a group" – either state policies or small communities. Erickson (2004, p. 178-179) warns that analysis should never "reduce the local interaction order to the general social order", but rather find a balance in the investigation of larger discourses and small fine-grained interactive moments, which paradoxically both replicate the former and resist it. In a similar vein, Gal (1998, p. 318) emphasises:

...the notion of linguistic ideology allows for the integration of what, in more traditional terms, would seem to be different levels of social phenomena (e.g. macro-political and micro-interactional) [...] [it] puts aside the overly familiar separation of phenomena into levels and fruitfully suggests dissections of social life along different lines...

Thus, the concept of ideologies might serve as a bridge in the analysis of the reciprocal relationships between migration/sojourning, language/voice and

inequalities/issues of power, while allowing a critical stance in the elaboration of these phenomena. Seeing language ideologies as a mirror reflecting the new social order brought about by neoliberalism and its economic practices (Harvey, 2005) as well as globalisation (Blommaert, 2012; Coupland, 2007), Kroskrity (2004, p. 512) outlines that the concept of ideology serves as a means of understanding “the increasing complexity of the sociocultural world” and the way this “discourse constructs identity”.

Applying the idea of ever-existing ideologies to language practices, Kroskrity (2004, pp. 501-9) then elaborates the concept of language ideologies as “constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group”, “conceived as multiple because of the plurality of meaningful social divisions (class, gender, clan, elites, generations, and so on)” with members displaying “varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies”. He also adds that, being used for identity construction, language ideologies appear to be the bridge between talk and social structures as a phenomenon operating at both the macro level of global political frameworks (where it emerges and is legitimised) and the micro level of local conversational practices (where it gets recreated and validated through consolidating the links within the orders of indexicality).

Kroskrity’s (2004) ideas align with Bakhtin (1981), arguing that ideology is pertinent to human life, as they emerge out of the dialogue between the voice-materialising process of individuals co-constructing the sign and the wider – or outer – social environment. Harvey (2014, p. 81) highlights that ideology does not just reflect the reality, “it is an effective material force in its own right” bound (through language and voice) “to human activity and to

selfhood". Voloshinov (1986, p. 90) states that ideology is "an objective fact and a tremendous social force" and that "only that which has acquired social value can enter the world of ideology, take shape, and establish itself there" (p. 20). Language, therefore, is "a particular way of viewing the world, one that strives for social significance" (Bakhtin 1981, p. 333), and "being inherently 'dialogic' is always the site of ideological contestation" (Gardiner, 1992, p. 7). Medvedev (1978, p. 126) summarises that with words co-constructed and materialised in a dialogue between individuals in a particular social context, "creation of ideology is an inseparable part of social intercourse, and therefore cannot be studied apart from the whole social process that gives it meaning".

This discussion of ideology, as involving the appropriation of others' perspectives (read voices) and the construction of an individual's own "ideologically mediated perspective on the world" (Tappan 2005: 54), necessarily takes us back to the discussion of *ideological becoming* (see 3.1). Furthermore, the language materiality factor, clearly highlighted in Medvedev's quote above, showcases the intersectionality nature of the current thesis as it quite distinctly relates to the meta-perspective on voice. However, as the concept of ideology is analytically at the core of the relationship between language and the social order, we arrive at the idea of sociolinguistic scales.

3.3.2 Sociolinguistic scales

Don't assume language or dialect is locked to a particular place

Badwan (2018)

The concept of sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert, 2010) has been widely used in exploring power relationships between an individual's subject positioning and the symbolic inequality within the migrant context – as well as the factors impacting on individuals' voice audibility (Hymes, 1996; Krzyżanowski and Wodak, 2008). This concept links the micro and macro levels of creating indexical meaning and elaborates the relationships between production(s) of locality (Appadurai, 1990) and “institutional discursive and social practices” as “material life processes” (Baynham and De Fina, 2005, p. 4). Kell (2013, pp. 3-4) argues that “discourse forms can lose function as they are moved into different environments” provided that scales are not merely spatial (Blommaert, 2010). Following Wallerstein (1998), it involves merging together “semiotized space and time” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 4) instead. Collins et al. (2009, p. 14) argue that the concept of scales grasps how “the complex material dimensions of the wider world enter into the here and now of sense-making”. Scales feature the ideological dialogue between social-order macro-categories and language use *in situ*, and should be viewed dynamically: as a process or strategy (Swyngedouw, 1997), rather than an ontological entity.

Blommaert (2005, 2010) emphasises the unpredictability of sociolinguistic reality at different levels ranging from government policy to individuals' face-to-face communicative encounters and the increasing intensity of people's mobility leading to compression in time and space (Giddens, 2000; Block et al., 2012). It would be hard, if possible, to thoroughly investigate the sociolinguistics without taking on board the concepts that could *dynamically* link the micro and macro levels of the analysis and integrate both into *one holistic* picture. Blommaert's (2005, p. 129) critique of “synchronicity” of

“analytical perception” highlights the need to conduct research longitudinally – in order to capture how the movement across time and space impacts people’s voice trajectories, as related to power issues (Collins et al., 2009) and indexicality rankings (Blommaert, 2005, p. 2; Rampton, 2003):

...one can be a “good” user of language in the neighborhood network, but a “bad” one in the labor market or in the host State’s school system...

In his considering voice (or voicing, as he himself puts it) as a socially co-constructed phenomenon functioning within “internal structures of domination and subordination” (Massey, 1993, p. 65) and “power geometries” (Marston et al., 2005, p. 419), Agha’s (2003, p. 40) perspective aligns with Bakhtin’s (1981) dynamic understanding of voice. His view opens up a discussion of a micro-perspective on the analysis of the voicing process, which offers a rationale for the current inquiry’s methodological triangulation. Agha (p. 40) writes:

... we cannot understand macro-level changes in registers without attending to micro-level processes of register use in interaction [...] individuals establish forms of footing and alignment with voices indexed by speech and thus with social types of persons, real or imagined, whose voices they take them to be.

Kell (2013) refers to Latour’s (1987) use of Ariadne’s thread as a metaphor to emphasise the need for a theoretical and analytical construct that “would allow us to pass with continuity from the local to the global”. The whole scaling framework emphasises the idea of complex and dynamic diversity as inherent to societal organisation.

Drawing on the ideas of cultural complexity proposed by Barth (1989, 1993) and Hannerz (1992), interactional multi-ethnicity (Lamphere, 1992; Sanjek, 1998), pluralism (Kuper and Smith, 1969), and diversity (Massey and Denton, 1989), Vertovec (2007) introduces the term 'super-diversity'. He argues, that, apart from diversity in terms of ethnicity, there are other variables contributing to the heterogenisation of society, including different "immigration statuses", each with its "entitlements and restrictions of rights" and "mixed local area responses by service providers and residents" (Vertovec, 2007, p. 1025); the interplay between them constitutes 'super-diversity'. Furthermore, the term –encompassing multidimensional dialogue of factors featuring migration – aligns with the main postulates of complexity theory (Waddington, 1975; Walby, 2003), which might allow applying this concept to the analysis of other cultural and social phenomena.

In response to scaling featuring structured normativity of linguistic forms, and drawing on Vertovec (2007) and Pratt (1990), Canagarajah (2013) sees the linguistic ideologies and value dynamics emerging from negotiation strategies employed by individuals rather than shared norms. He emphasises the dynamic, emergent and co-constructed nature of the context while stating that Blommaert's perspective "doesn't leave room for agency and maneuver" (p. 156). Bakhtin's approach might act as a bridge between Blommaert's (2010) and Canagarajah's (2013) perspectives. When the concept of superaddressee (Bakhtin, 1981) aligns with the polycentricity of scaling process (Blommaert, 2010), the emergent nature of the context and co-construction of meaning turns out to be in tune with Canagarajah's (2018) understanding of negotiation strategies and space. Widely drawing on Thrift (2007), Barad (2007), Soja (2011) and others, Canagarajah (p. 33) defines

space as “self-generating and self-regulating”, including the dimension of time, and, therefore, “interacting, layered, and dynamic” with cognition “distributed across bodies, objects, and social networks”. Seeing space as a system of dialogues that itself enters ideological dialogues with other systems “appreciates the ecological interconnection of all things and being”, and acknowledges the idea of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989; Hancock, 2007). Blommaert (2007, p. 2) agrees on seeing space as essentially polycentric and stratified and “not a passive background but an agentic force in sociolinguistic processes”.

Canagarajah (2018, p. 20) also talks about the idea of emplacement (Pigg, 2014), or individuals exercising their agency “to situate themselves in the spatial ecology, not only to align the diverse resources but also to be shaped by them”. This construct, in many senses, aligns with Holliday’s (1999) small culture (see 3.2.8). Individuals are strategically, responsively and creatively shaping and co-constructing spaces, while, conversely, they are shaped and co-constructed by them. Furthermore, when doing so, individuals realise their agencies: eg, they can “resist the territorialized norms of bounded places by constructing alternate spaces that accommodate diversity” (Canagarajah, 2018, p. 50).

Addressing the criticism of the ‘static and rigid’ nature of scales, Blommaert (2014, p. 4; 2015) discusses the move from “mobility to complexity”. He calls for new metaphors to be developed from chaos or complexity theory that are better suited to capturing the unpredictable, complex and multifarious nature of the contemporary world. Combining both of these, Blommaert’s (2010, 2015) and Canagarajah’s (2013) perspectives lead to revealing the

idiosyncrasies of an individual's trajectory and the ideological complexity within "social contexts, linguistic repertoires, language proficiency, and interlocutors' sociolinguistic awareness" (Badwan, 2015, p. 67). Referring to the latter, Badwan (2015) empirically explores that, even though the negotiation strategies might be implemented and understanding achieved, the receiving party might not be "willing to negotiate either meaning or positioning, leading to a possible communication breakdown or to unfavourable positionings provoking issues of social inequality and institutional power". It highlights the issues of voice – as a multi-layered and multidimensional process operating differently across spaces, and inequalities – as a phenomenon influencing its audibility. How does the nature of voicing, as well as the ideologies accompanying this process, change when individuals move across space and time? What kind of (inequalities) problems do they experience along the way – and how these get resolved?

3.4 Metaphysics of voice and materiality of language

Lens#4 has been primarily developed during my intertwined journey of data collection and analysis. I only briefly mention it here, so as not to crowd this chapter, yet discuss it in much greater detail in **Chapter 6** and **7** while discussing the analysis outcome. Overall, lens#4 accentuates the instrumental potency of voice and highlights the metaphysical aspect of the inquiry.

Writing within the strands of Deleuzian (2004) critique of the representation mode, as well as 'new materialism' (Hird, 2009) and 'new empiricism'

(Clough, 2009) ideas and post-qualitative paradigm, MacLure (2013) argues that any research activity or process should be seen as a dialogic or dynamic system – either the data or the very process of analysis. The materiality-informed thought and practice has already been recognised in many fields, incl. “material feminism, new materialism, new empiricism, posthuman studies, actor network theory, affect theory, process philosophy, the ontological turn” (MacLure, 2015, p. 3; see also Deleuze, 2004; Massumi, 2002; Latour, 2004; Stengers, 2011; Barthes, 1975, etc). The matter is no longer seen “as ‘dumb’ and passive”, organised around a “violent hierarchy” (Derrida, 1992) “of binary opposition”, but open instead to dialogical co-elaboration and “awakened to meaning by human interest and interpretation” (MacLure, 2015, p. 5). Language is – quite in tune with Bakhtin (1981) – considered as the collective and social assemblage of meanings, “the constellation of voices” (Deleuze and Guattari, 2004, p. 93) and a living entity (Harvey, 2015). Voice – in this ontological reorientation – as a process, inherently incorporating ideological becoming *through language*, reveals its potential to *materialise* things – ideologies, attitudes and thoughts. The latter eventually asks for another perspective to consider the phenomenon of voice from, which discovers its *meta*-potential, captures ‘voices about voices’, and investigates not what it is but how it operates.

Apart from the ontology, the ‘new materialism’ paradigm posits quite radical implications for the epistemological aspects of the research in that the data can no longer be seen as an autonomous “indifferent mass”, and the researcher’s judgements as “based on the representational ‘fettters’ of identity, similarity, analogy and opposition” (MacLure, 2013a, p. 660). The analytical “engagements with data” are achieved through dynamic co-

interpretation and considered “as a counterpart to the exercise of reason [...] the establishment of fixed, hierarchical relations among entities” (MacLure, 2013, p. 228). The research inquiry is, thus, seen as an ongoing “work across boundaries of science and the social” (MacLure, 2013a, p. 659), which challenges its etymological assumptions as seen within the representation mode (Deleuze, 2004). The research – and any stages of it (data generation/analysis, etc.) – is essentially constructed as an emergent dialogue between the researcher and participants, which opens up new directions for developing the interpretational thought. This fundamentally agrees with the philosophy of dialogism as applied to the qualitative methodology and the current inquiry paradigm of not researching the participants but rather researching *with* them (as discussed in greater detail in **Chapters 4 and 5**). MacLure (2013a, p. 662) herself refers to the concept of *becoming* as applied to the data starting to “glow” or speak for itself (Simpson, 2016). Approaching the methodology from the perspective of language (and voice) materiality leads to seeing the data as an ontological dialogue itself, becoming alive within the epistemological conversation of the researcher and the researched, the methods and the theory, the evidence generation stage and any other stage of the research.

In addition to an obvious link to Bakhtin (1963, 1981) and his philosophy of language as a social dialogue (see 1.3.1 and 3.1), the language (and voice) materiality factor celebrating research across the boundaries is what links new materialism with the idea of intersectionality as discussed in the theoretical preamble of the current inquiry (see section 1.3.1).

Looking at the metaphysical aspects of voice, the language materiality factor corroborates what Couldry (2010) emphasises in his elaboration of the concept: namely, the value aspect of voicing. While highlighting the political ideological discourses that necessarily affect the process of voicing, he argues that in order to fight oppression, there should be an acknowledgement of the power potency of voice. Linking this to the concept of sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert, 2005, 2010), as explored earlier, we can see that voice acquires different power (or, perhaps, audibility) valences and instrumentally might be used differently across different contexts. Here arises the question: how does the nature of voice change while moving across time and space?

3.5 Introducing the research questions

In its attempts to document Russian SA sojourners experiences of residing and studying abroad, the current inquiry is centred around the concept of (sojourners') voices. Informed by the guiding literature presented in **Chapter 3** and taking into the consideration the context of the research as explored in **Chapter 2**, the following main research question is formulated:

How do Russian SA sojourners develop their voices in the UK?

In order to answer this research question, the following sub-questions have been proposed:

1. What problems do they report experiencing within this process and how do they deal with them?

2. What is the impact of mobility, sociocultural superdiversity and linguistic heterogeneity on sojourners' voice development?
3. How does the nature of voice functioning change when moving across time and space? – meaning how is voice operating in one context (eg Russia) essentially different from other ideologically co-constructed spaces – according to participants' perceptions.
4. How do their language ideologies change after arriving in the UK and over a period of eight months? How does this change influence the sojourners' voice trajectories?
5. How do they construct (and negotiate) their identities while experiencing two (or more) languages and cultures?

Thus, the next chapter provides the methodological implications and analytical decisions taken within the attempt to answer these questions.

Chapter 4: Methodology

Introduction

Informed by the outline of the project and its guiding literature, **Chapter 4** moves on to elaborating its methodological and analytical considerations.

The study's main aim is to enhance and improve our understandings of the factors influencing individuals' experiences of studying and residing abroad – as specifically related to voice. These entail the following considerations:

- Academic sojourners' perspectives on their own voices and (language) identities – and conceptual and ideological shifts they experience in relation to self-identification
- Sojourners' reflections on the role of others – either in the more obvious sense of dealing with sociocultural heterogeneity or in a more cognitive-psychology-driven Bakhtinian understanding of the concept
- Individuals' perceptions of “the nuances of interacting in a different language and a new culture” (Badwan, 2015, p. 95)

Furthermore, this research is informed by ideas of dialogism and intersectionality, as elaborated in 1.3.1. In order to create a complete picture of sojourners' voice trajectories, I approach this concept from a number of theoretical *and* methodological perspectives – on the understanding that methodological triangulation allows deeper insights into the researched phenomenon (Hantrais, 2014) and enhances the trustworthiness (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) of the project itself. Thus, this chapter covers the meta-analytical assumptions informing my methodological choices (Stelma, Fay

and Zhou, 2013), while briefly reporting on work done before the data collection and analysis.

4.1 Meta-theoretical assumptions: situating the study within a methodological tradition

*We know or discover ourselves, and reveal ourselves to others,
through the stories we tell*

Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, and Zilber (1998, p. 7)

The study's focus on theorising the *whys* and *hows* (see the research questions in 3.5) of individuals' sociolinguistic experiences has placed it within the domain of qualitative enquiry (Agee, 2009). Furthermore, following Nunan and Choi (2010), Badwan (2015), Harvey (2015) and others, the study celebrates the agency of sojourners' voices, which has led to the field of narrative research.

From the 1980s onward scholars across various disciplines in social sciences departed from the view of narrative as a text-type and started to approach storytelling from an epistemological perspective as a *method* and a *mode*. Bruner (1986, 1990), along with Hymes (1996), Ricoeur (1984), and MacIntyre (1981), claims that storytelling is indeed a mode of thought and a means of apprehending reality and constructing cognition. This aligns with Bakhtin's (1981) focus on the socio-historical embeddedness of experiences in seeing people as authoring "themselves through the narratives through which they make sense of their worlds, narratives which are produced in and constitute specific historical circumstances" (Harvey, 2014, p. 100). This

view makes storytelling a part of ideological becoming, a “polyphonic meaning-making process” (Vitanova, 2004, p. 155), within which individuals, through entering dialogues with immediate or distant others, narrate and, thus, apprehend their own experiences. Referring to the agency of voices, Harvey (2014, p. 101, **my emphasis**) writes:

*Narratives allow other voices to be challenged or reiterated, and provide ground for the re-interpretation of the self through others. This endows personal narratives with a transformative power: through evaluating and naming worlds and challenging the discursive practices of others, narratives may offer individuals space for **agentive potential and self-knowledge.***

Seeing narrating as a means of human inquiry (over the logico-scientific mode; Bruner, 1986), De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012, p. 18) also claim that narrative “is a quintessentially human way of apprehending reality based on emotion and subjectivity” that imposes “order on the chaos of human experience”. In addition, drawing on narrative inquiry illustrates *how* individuals themselves interpret their own and others’ behaviours. Benson et al. (2013, p. 8) state:

Narrative methods are especially valuable when we want to capture the nature and meaning of experiences that are difficult to observe directly and are best understood from the perspectives of those who experience them.

4.1.2 Methodological triangulation

Having started in the qualitative tradition of narrative inquiry, I faced the dilemma of choosing the analytical framework(s). In order to holistically

approach the research phenomena as holistically as possible, I decided to implement methodological triangulation embracing a more macro lens of thematic analysis (allowing location of individuals' voice trajectories within the bigger picture of their SA experiences; Badwan, 2015) and more fine-grained small stories perspective (allowing seeing the voice trajectories development *in situ*; Bamberg, 2004, 2006; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Barkhuizen, 2009). According to Barkhuizen, Benson and Chik (2014, pp. 80-1), the former is considered to be "an effective way of linking data extracts to more abstract categories and of re-arranging them in support of theoretical arguments".

In comparison with thematic analysis focusing on the content of narratives and investigating the macro level of storytelling, the small stories perspective (Bamberg, 2004, 2006; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008; Barkhuizen, 2009) considers this phenomenon from the functionalist point of view.

Departing from the Labovian-inspired models of storytelling that reside on prototypical textual criteria, this approach does not rule out stories outside a pre-determined narrative format and stays alert to the "fleeting moments of narrative orientation" (Hymes, 1996) in actual talk. In other words, while drawing on positioning theory (Davies and Harré, 1990), this perspective investigates how people use stories "in their interactive engagements to construct a sense of who they are, while big story research analyses the stories as representations of world and identities" (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008, p.382).

The decision to implement a fine-grained analytical approach was taken with the understanding it was not feasible to use it with the whole dataset. Hence,

in order to cover each case, and to see how individuals' voices operate in relation to each other, I decided to use it only with the pair interviews. The nature of small stories approach, as a perspective on narrative from the position of how it functions and is embedded into the interactional flow, offered a rationale for applying it only to the paired sessions. Here, communication is not limited to the interviewer question/interviewee answer model but also includes participants' vivid discussions and the complex interactional patterns of exchanging opinions, sharing experiences, etc. It helped me to spot changes in participants' positioning themselves in relation not just to the researcher but to each other; choosing different strategies to negotiate identities; and reassessing their language ideological framework over time.

The next sections feature the philosophical underpinnings of both approaches, when **Chapter 5** is implemented.

4.1.3 Thematic analysis

In using the macro lens of thematic analysis, I draw on Charmaz's (2008, p. 397) social constructionist approach towards addressing "*why* questions while preserving the complexity of social life". With reference to grounded theory (which guides thematic analysis), she emphasises the blurry boundaries between any stage of data generation and analysis, highlighting the emergent nature of both methodology and the data – as co-constructed between participants and researcher.

Despite thematic analysis being a powerful tool in "identifying, analysing and reporting patterns (themes) within data" (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 79), Fine (2002, p. 218) warns us not to carve "out unacknowledged pieces of

narrative evidence that we select, edit and deploy to border our arguments”. This point has been addressed by implementing dialogic orientation for the data collection and analysis. Kelle (1997, p. 25) also states that researchers getting rid of “their own theoretical lenses and conceptual networks” might eventually lead to not being able “to perceive, observe and describe meaningful events any longer”. Implementing thematic analysis with interview data might help trace participants’ voice trajectories as those depicted in their narratives but developed outside of the interview room – reaching the “latent level” of interview content (Braun and Clarke, 2006, p. 84). In order to address the lack of longitudinal perspective, I follow Yin’s (2014) recommendations to provide the reader with each individual’s background vignettes (as presented in 4.4.1) – as a valuable add-on to cross-case analysis.

The detailed procedure of the thematic analysis in the current inquiry will come in section 5.1.1 – within the overall description of my step-by-step journey towards the final write-up.

4.1.4 Small stories approach

Located within the narrative inquiry analytical tradition, the small stories approach has been implemented as more of a fine-grained analytical lens that allows tracing individuals’ voice trajectories and identity co-construction dynamics within the communicative event (Georgakopoulou, 2007; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012).

Furthermore, applying the small stories approach addresses the challenge of analytically connecting the micro and macro levels of the voicing, as explored in 3.3.2 (De Fina, 2008). Georgakopoulou (2007, p. 8) argues that

investigating a “micro-instance of narratives in local interactions and their embeddedness in social practices” helps “to overcome the ‘debilitating dichotomy between local and large-scale contexts’ (Hanks, 1996, p. 192)”. These micro dialogical links amongst the ways talks are localised and organised within time and space are, thus, “vital constituents of their roles within social practices” (p. 12) as well as essential components of voicing and wider identity co-construction. Georgakopoulou (2007, p. 10, **my emphasis**) refers to the pragmatic role narrating (and, thus, voice – see 3.4) plays in (re)generating the small culture (Holliday, 1999):

*They (narratives) are expected to be inflected, nuanced, reworked, and strategically adapted to **perform acts of group identity, to reaffirm roles and group-related goals, expertise, shared interests, etc.***

While departing from canonical Labovian (1972) orientation to narrative as a specific genre, Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) emphasise the unique and dynamic nature of storytelling as well as its immediate and distant context. They define small stories as “an umbrella term that captures a gamut of underrepresented narrative activities, such as telling of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, and shared (known) events, [...] allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell” (p. 381). In looking at interactional dynamics surrounding the storytelling process, Bamberg (2006) widely draws on the concept of positioning (see 3.1.2), through which the connections between wider identities and social roles and the way speakers position themselves within the communicative event become visible.

Positioning analysis allows the combination of two analytical perspectives, i.e. “how people attend to one another in interactional settings” (Davies and Harré, 1990) and “the analysis of what language is referentially ‘about’, namely sequentially ordered (past) events and their evaluations” (Labov, 1972), while making “the interactive site of storytelling the empirical ground, where identities come into existence and are interactively displayed” (Bamberg, 2004, p. 36; see also Barkhuizen, 2008; De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012). There are three levels of analysis dealing with “(i) how characters are positioned within the story (level 1); (ii) how speaker/narrator positions him- [her-]self (and is positioned) within the interactive situation (level 2); and (iii) how the speaker/narrator positions a sense of self/identity with regard to dominant discourses or master narratives (level 3)” (Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008, p. 385).

Other concepts, such as Goffman’s (1981) notions of production format and footing, appeared to be relevant in elaborating the complexities of talk co-construction. The former refers to the categories of speaker classification: namely, animator (“the talking machine, the body engaged in acoustic activity”), author (“someone who has selected the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded”), principal (a person, social category or authority that “the individual speaks, explicitly or implicitly, in the name of”; p. 144), and what Schiffrin (1990) explicates as a figure (or the main character of the story). The last example relates to “the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance” (p. 128). Since meaning-making is a process emerging out of dialogic semiotic exchange (Bakhtin, 1981), the concepts of co-tellership and telling rights, as linked to

the ways narrators' voices interact with each other within the power-infused dialogues of different (co-)production formats (e.g. Sacks, 1992; primary and secondary narrator roles) – also come to the fore.

In conclusion, I return to the main conceptual focus of the project: namely, the concept of voice. The use of small stories perspective in terms of both epistemological (as a means of analysing the links between the inner story worlds, interactional dynamics and extra-situational identities) and ontological (with its all-inclusive view on the narrative activity) aspects of research, is a relevant lens to be applied in the investigation of voicing activity as it is happening *in situ*.

4.1.5 A note on a longitudinal perspective

Neale (2015) argues that a longitudinal perspective leads to a dynamic understanding of motives and decisions behind the snapshots of participants' lived experiences. Blommaert's (2014, p. 11) call for a methodology that can "capture the change" within the superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) of complex sociolinguistic environments also justifies the implementation of the longitudinal perspective. Supporting this claim, Andrews, Squire and Tamboukou (2008, p. 5) argue that the representations of events and experiences "vary drastically over time, and across the circumstances within which one lives, so that a single phenomenon may produce very different stories, even from the same person". In addition, implementing the longitudinal perspective addresses the call for a more holistic understanding of SA experiences and any sociolinguistic phenomena involved identified by Kinginger (2013) and Coleman (2013).

4.2 Researcher/participants' relationships: meta-theoretical assumptions

The study emphasises the idea of dialogism in terms of its both ontological and epistemological aspects – including the principle of conducting research *with* participants, rather than *on* them (Harvey, 2016). This framework celebrates the agency of participants' voices and their active role in conducting the research – and sees meaning as fluid and emergent, reality as co-constructed, and narrative as fleeting and momentary. Ricoeur (1991, 1992) states that “our identities and shared understandings of our social world are shaped between us (intentionally and otherwise) in our everyday interaction” (Cunliffe, 2010, pp. 11-12). In other words, both researcher and participants play emphatically active roles in co-constructing the knowledge and co-creating the “we-ness, our complexly interwoven, actively responsive relationships” (Cunliffe, 2011, p. 658). This “we-ness” has been maintained through letting both the researcher's interpretations and the participants' thoughts – and, thus, the *voices of all parties* – *merge* in the process of writing up and then discussing the prompts (see the next section).

As Richards (2003, p. 9) warns us, the qualitative research eventually brings along a “transformative potential for the researcher” – and I myself could feel it. While being “a passionate participant” (Lincoln and Guba, 2000, p. 166), balancing on the edge between emic and etic perspectives (Pike, 1967), I have to admit that the current inquiry did – and, indeed, still does – have a profound effect on me as a sojourner and as a researcher. In other words, the dialogism philosophy has worked its way through in both directions: I reassessed my own – past, present, and even future – encounters, achieved better understanding of my own trajectories, and learnt how to

metaphysically handle my own voice. In other words, through – in its very “new materialism” sense (Fox and Alldred, 2018; MacLure, 2015) – deconstructing the idea that “the human factor is both the greatest strength and the fundamental weakness of qualitative inquiry and analysis” (Bloomberg and Volpe, 2012, p. 178), I argue that co-constructing the interpretational dialogue between the researcher and the research participants led to discovering new dimensions for analysis in terms of both parties’ life trajectories.

The “native anthropologist” assumptions mean the researcher runs the risk of losing the ability of critically assessing others’ behaviour (Johnstone, 2000). However, this and related issues have been addressed with two points. First, following Narayan (1993) and Badwan (2015), the study problematises the very concept of being “too native”, and, thus, argues against its generic understanding (that all native are the same native) and in favour of the individualistic nature of every personal trajectory (we are all made different by our different life choices made in different contexts surrounded by different people). Second, the risk of losing the sense of objective interpretation has been addressed through applying the dialogism epistemology to collecting the data – through creating and then discussing the prompts.

4.2.1 Member-checking or constructing the social dialogue

My epistemological aspirations from Bakhtin’s philosophy of dialogism and his concept of the polyphonic novel (as well as commitment to combating inequalities in relation to the audibility of voices) have allowed me to foreground participants’ active roles (Harvey, 2014, 2016). In maintaining the

“freedom for others’ points of view to reveal themselves”, I drew on Bakhtin’s (1984, pp. 67-68) principle of a polyphonic novel. He argues:

The consciousnesses of other people cannot be perceived, analysed, defined as objects or things – one can only relate to them dialogically. To think about them means to talk with them...

I realised that in order to do so I need to go beyond the member-checking procedure, defined as “taking ideas back to research participants for their confirmation” (Charmaz, 2006, p. 111), seeking participants’ response “on accuracy of data gathered, descriptions, or even interpretations” (Richards, 2003, p. 287), in order to maintain the findings’ credibility (Lincoln and Guba, 1985). Though I cannot deny the importance of all these factors, my chief concern was to *give participants’ voices as much audibility as I possibly can within the limits of my project*. The principle of talking and researching with participants (in contrast to on them) implied co-constructing the knowledge and truth with them, co-theorising the interpretations, and co-conducting the research (Harvey, 2014).

In order to achieve this level of co-theorisation, my data generation procedure included transcribing, coding, thematising, and theorising participants’ answers after each round of interviews, followed by creating written prompts that were then discussed at the session. Those prompts contained synthesised answers from all the participants, the “living dialogic threads” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 266), through which we were co-constructing the social dialogue. Notably, that procedure allowed me not only to expose everyone’s opinions, ideas and thoughts to the other participants but also to open up a virtual space where all participants’ voices could meet and

interact with each other. Thus, while partly drawing on Harvey (2015), my data analysis started at the stage of data collection – and included active involvement of the participants.

4.2.2 Researcher/participants relationships: some important *in situ* thoughts

In addition to the meta-theoretical assumptions before the data collection journey, during the actual interviewing process there emerged some – more practical – issues. For example, in order to develop trust and good rapport with the interviewees (the profiles of the study's six respondents will be presented in 4.3), I met my participants before the first interview. At a group meeting I introduced the research agenda, explained the process and the outcomes of the study, and discussed the issues of confidentiality and anonymity. Then, at the tête-à-tête meetings, I asked them if there were any questions that they wanted to ask (in case there were some issues they might find hard to discuss in front of others) and about their preferences for the interview partner.

Reciprocity, “concerned with the mutual give and take of human interactions and ... non-hierarchical, mutually beneficial relationships” (Higgs et al., 2011, p. 215) and seen as an “indispensable concept within social sciences” (Higgs et al., 2011, p. 215), guided my research (Ruttan, 2004). This principle enabled me to build trust-based relationships (*I share my stories with you, I am not afraid of trusting you, so you could do the same*), help my participants in generating their stories, but also helped them feel that they could benefit from participating in the study, as well as bringing home to them that research is a two-way exchange and essentially a dialogue in both core and broader senses. Therefore, when participants asked me for advice

on certain issues – eg, the PhD proposal, the food and the weather – I was there to help them. I felt that adhering to the principle of reciprocity is important to make individuals feel valued and by no means exploited. In order to avoid positioning myself higher than the participants in the power hierarchy, I chose to book an interview location available for everyone – both the researcher and the researched.

Apart from reciprocity and the interview venue, the longitudinal dimension of a study became a factor in co-constructing the relationships between the researcher and the participants. Some interviewees mentioned that they become so used to the meetings that they could hardly imagine their lives “without monthly interviews” (Alisa, 7th interview). All agreed that the research changed them – in achieving better understanding of their identity dynamics, reassessing their experiences and coping with the issues of “culture, language and other shock” (Timur, 7th interview). Overall, all participants were committed to the research – no one missed a session, and only one interview was rescheduled (due to the exam period). Subsequently, I myself developed a habit of talking with them on issues not connected to the research –asking about their progress in their studies, sending them good wishes on different occasions, and, eventually, thanking them for participating in my research.

4.3 Reporting on a pilot study

Prior to commencing the project, I conducted a pilot study (which involved two interviews with two participants for a total length of three) in order to test

different methodological approaches (see section 4.1.1) and the process of data collection.

Interviews were intentionally conducted in different places: the first session in the café area (a venue available for anyone to use), whereas the second was in a student study room at the Laidlaw Library (a venue booked by the researcher). For the main project I decided to choose the latter as there would be no other people or background noise – which affected the participants' performance and the transcription process when conducting a session in the café area.

Approaching the data from different analytical angles also brought valuable insights. Applying the small stories analytical lens to pair interviews led to seeing participants co-constructing the overall semantics of the session and developing their voices *in relation to each other*. This resulted in discovering a particular type of narrating activity: namely, the co-construction of shared stories. (See **Chapter 5** for theoretical elaboration and **Lens 5** for the detailed description.)

Other lessons that I learnt from conducting the pilot include:

- not trying to 'pre-define' the findings and predetermine the outcome of the study – being open-minded is extremely important in the research
- using the headphones and specialist software, such as 'Voice Walker' and 'Audacity', when transcribing the data – it saves time and increases the quality of transcription

- not turning off the recorder until we say goodbye – this note is very important as many valuable things were said after I switched devices off
- using vignettes from my own experience may help me to break the ice, my participants to recall and then produce their own stories, and both parties to maintain the mode of analytical dialogue

4.4 Research setting

4.4.1 Participants recruitment

Echoing Badwan's (2015) research on Arab sojourners' experiences, in order to "purposefully select informants [...] that will best answer the research question" (Creswell, 1994, p. 148), I implemented the strategy of purposive sampling. Furthermore, highlighting the individualistic nature of participants' trajectories, I followed the *replication* rather than purely *sampling* logic (Yin, 2014), which implies that the sample is being created on the basis of resemblance rather than coming from a larger population of like-cases.

All participants had to be Russian academic sojourners undertaking a course of study in the UK at the time of the research. Other criteria included:

- a Russian student studying in a British HEI (Bachelor, Master, doctoral levels) – students on short courses were excluded due to the longitudinal nature of inquiry
- a Russian student arriving in the UK and commencing their study in September 2016 and residing in the UK (preferably Yorkshire) during the time of study – this criterion included students from all over the

UK, but explicitly stated that due to the longitudinal nature of research, it favours students from Yorkshire

- a Russian student not on 'language support' courses – since these students are aware of their language disadvantage, the focus of the study could be shifted, as “they can be wholly preoccupied with discussing their linguistic and academic challenges” (Badwan, 2015, p. 85).

The second criterion also emphasised that participants are 'brand-new' students, which allowed me to investigate their voice trajectories from the very start, see the evolution of their ideological becoming and language conceptual framework. I learnt about difficulties and challenges exactly when they were experiencing them before they had become dull and blunt. I also realised that, though aiming for a homogeneous group of participants, in some sense, might allow for generalisation, which could strengthen my arguments, I nevertheless had to bear in mind that reality might be different, and, at some point, those criteria could be slightly changed.

Participant recruitment started in September 2016. While looking for brand-new students, I realised that the beginning of an academic year could be the most suitable source for potential informants. Plus, the recruitment process covered the International Welcome and Introduction Weeks, which offered a lot of opportunities for meeting potential interviewees. Thus, in order to find participants for my project the following strategies were used:

- Direct approach (UCLA OHRPP: Guidance and Procedure: Recruitment and Screening Methods and Materials, 2012): I sought support from the administrative staff of the Russian

funding programmes and asked them to send out the information about my study to students entering UK HEIs.

- Posting an advertisement flyer (see **Appendix 1**) with information about my research on some Facebook pages such as University of Leeds Freshers 2016-2017, Leeds University Postgraduate Society, University of Leeds Research Students Society, Eastern European Society, Russian Speakers in Leeds (West Yorkshire, UK), Russian Students in Yorkshire (Leeds, Sheffield, York, etc.), SlavSoc Leeds, etc.
- Sending out emails to administrative and student support staff at every school in the University of Leeds, inviting participants and asking for information about my research to be distributed.
- Placing advertisement flyers on noticeboards across the campus – in the School of Education, School of Mathematics, School of Music, School of Languages, Cultures and Societies, Language Centre and so on.
- Walking around the campus during the International Welcome and Introduction Weeks wearing a t-shirt with Russian text printed on it (Студенты из России *transl. Students from Russia*) and handing out advertisement flyers.
- Attending International Students Welcome events, such as Global Café meetings, International Students Club events, etc.

The most effective strategies turned out to be the first and the last ones: five participants were recruited with the help of staff from the Russian funding

organisations, and one was found at the University of Leeds Welcome event. I found four other individuals via the second and third strategies – but those had been already living in the UK for a while, which eventually finalised my decision regarding participant sample.

Since I was seeking equal gender representation in my participant sample, I was trying my best to approach both men and women equally, but only two out of 10 people were male, and only one of them was commencing his studies in 2016. However, highlighting the idiosyncratic nature of every sojourner's experience, my study emphasises the importance of valuing every individual trajectory instead of striving for generalisation. This aligns with Yin's (2014) discussion about sampling and replication logic. Thus, bearing all of these in mind, having only one male participant was considered as a feature rather than a problematic issue.

Having recruited all six participants, I faced a challenge of dividing them into pairs. Since the first, fourth and last were planned as pair interviews, this was a very important decision. I had to set up the pairs very carefully as those would be fixed interview partners for the rest of the data collection stage. Thus, three criteria were foregrounded: age, programme of study and interviewees' preferences. (Some of the participants were on the same course, and I decided not to put together, for example, a person from technical and natural sciences and the one from humanities and social sciences).

4.4.2 Developing ethical consciousness

In order to follow the established ethical review format, and, most importantly, for the sake of my own and my participants' welfare, prior to any

research activity I needed to identify and thoroughly consider all the ethical issues that might arise, and then, consequently, obtain an approval from the University of Leeds Ethics Committee (see **Appendix 2**).

My first concern was that the topic of my research might involve sensitive issues that some participants might find hard to discuss. On that note, negotiating informed consent and providing the option of anonymity and confidentiality was essential for carrying out the research. Individual written, informed consent was obtained from participants in all cases, including permission to quote them in the analysis. Respondents were assured that only *the information they want to share* would be used in the actual analysis and that the anonymised data could not be traced back to specific individuals through the undeliberate and unintentional inclusion of identifiable contextual characteristics. The overall research design included sending out the prompts containing participants' synthesised answers on different issues before each session (excluding the first one) – as a developed member-checking strategy (Richards, 2003). Interviewees had been also made aware that if they expressed a wish to delete or change the information as it appeared on the transcript, that claim would be fulfilled, though the deleting/changing of the answers would be mentioned in the final report. To ensure anonymity, I used pseudonyms and research cases. The only issue that has arisen in relation to confidentiality was that, when discussing particular points, the research participants asked me not to associate their answers even with the pseudonyms (see **Lens 4**). When this claim was actually discussed, I immediately told them that I could delete any of their answers; however, they *themselves* insisted on including those (as

the topic was very important for them), though without any direct links to any identifying details (incl. pseudonyms).

Participants' sensitivity towards the themes being discussed also required me, as a researcher, to draw on my skills as a transparent, responsive and open communicator and an effective listener, while not showing bias towards any authority, institution, participant or group of participants. As a researcher, I was also aware of the fact that, since my participants were Russian-born students residing in the UK, concerns might arise from their lack of ability (and, probably, desire) to communicate in English. However, being a Russian native speaker myself, I let my participants choose which language to use when answering the questions. Before each interview I asked them in which language they want to be questioned. As for the consent forms and information sheets (see **Appendix 3**), those were produced in English – bearing in mind that one of the university entry requirements is obtaining a language certificate with an appropriate score, it was presumably supposed that participants would be able to read and understand what was written in the documents. I was also prepared to answer any question upon them reading the consent form. Along with a presenting information sheet and consent form, I provided an explanation of the research rationale, while emphasising it is acceptable and appropriate if at any time a participant would like to stop being involved and withdraw from the study.

4.3 Introducing the research participants

The key information about the interviewees (incl. their pseudonyms, gender, age at the start of the study, nationality, course of study, the length of their

course, and whether they were sponsored by some certain organisations or not) is summarised in Table 1 below.

	Name	Gender	Age	Nationality (as appeared in passport)	Nationality (as defined by a participant)	Course	Length of course	Funded or not
First pair								
1	Alisa	F	18	Russian; Swedish	Russian	BA Communication and Media	3 years	No
2	Yana	F	22	Russian	Russian	MA International Educational Management	1 year	Yes
Second pair								
3	Kristina	F	23	Russian	Georgian-Armenian	MSc Transport Planning	1 year	Yes
4	Irina	F	25	Russian	Russian	MSc Transport Planning	1 year	Yes
Third pair								
5	Margo	F	26	Russian	Russian	MA International Construction Management and Engineering	1 year	Yes
6	Timur	M	27	Russian	Russian	MSc Dental Public Health	1 year	Yes

Table 1: Research participants' demographic and background data

In addition, in order to provide the reader with information essential for understanding the underpinnings of participants' voice trajectories (as revealed in **Chapter 6**), short summaries of participants' linguistic and educational histories are given below.

Timur

Coming from one of the regional centres in Russia, Timur defined his national background as Russian. The main language of his family (and his mother tongue) is Russian (with his grandparents also speaking Tatar). Timur's linguistic repertoire also includes English, French, Tatar and Spanish. His English learning history started when he was a child – through his brother teaching him how to read the alphabet. It continued at school, where the main driver was maintaining the image of “a good diligent pupil”, and university, where he was not “really interested in English”. He started “investing energy” into learning English when he realised that “learning languages itself makes you smarter”, and, later, that he needed it for SA. He claimed that he mainly learnt the language on its own – through watching TV series and even a particular type of language education in Russia (when he was getting a translator diploma as an additional education) “fake to its very core”.

Before SA he graduated from a Russian university (specialisation – dentistry), completed the internships (including a one-month internship in Spain), served in the Army and worked in a private clinic. Timur decided to study abroad because he wanted “to try out a new thing in life” and to “become smarter, more intelligent and extend the horizons”. He chose the

UK out of the feasibility concerns: it fulfilled his own (eg, having English as a medium of instruction) and his scholarship criteria.

Margo

Coming from a regional centre in Russia's Far East, Margo defined her national background as Russian. Her linguistic repertoire includes Russian and English. She started learning the latter at pre-school – then continued at both school and university levels. She also attended IELTS preparatory courses in Russia and abroad.

Before SA she earned a Bachelor degree from a Russian university (specialisation – construction economics and management) and worked in oil and gas construction management for five years. Margo chose to study abroad mainly out of concern for “better work opportunities”. She chose the UK mainly for financial reasons, the high prestige of UK HEIs and time constraints. (She was also thinking about Australia and States).

Alisa

Originally from Saint-Petersburg, Alisa moved to Sweden when she was 12 – and received her formal education there. She defined her ethnic and national background as Russian (though she has two passports: Russian and Swedish). Alisa's linguistic repertoire includes Russian, English, French and Swedish. She started learning English at school – with the support and help of her parents. Interestingly, when Alisa was 16, she chose to study Russian at her school – because she “did not want to lose and forget it”.

Before SA, Alisa attended a regular school in Russia, then studied on an international baccalaureate programme in Sweden. She chose the UK due

to its geographical closeness to Russia, the prestige associated with UK HE, and people speaking a language she knows. As for the US, her parents “would not allow to study in that country”.

Yana

Coming from a small town in Siberia, Yana defined her national background as Russian. Apart from her native language, her linguistic repertoire includes English and French. She started studying English in kindergarten, then continued at both school and university level. She also studied English with a private tutor because “the basic knowledge of English that is being taught at school is not at all enough”.

Before SA, she graduated with a Bachelor degree (specialisation – education), then volunteered at a university. She decided to study abroad to deepen her knowledge and to improve her “work opportunities”. Yana chose the UK, because of the shorter length of the course (one year instead of two in Europe) and her preference for British English over other varieties.

Irina

Coming from a small town near Moscow (from which she then moved to Saint-Petersburg), Irina defined her national background as Russian. Apart from Russian, her linguistic repertoire includes English and French. She started learning English at school and continued at university. Due to the insufficient level of teaching in both, she also attended private tutor lessons.

Before coming to the UK, she already studied abroad in France – as part of the university programme there she received a specialist degree (specialisation – international relations). She also worked in a company

organising SA experiences for Russians. Irina's main motivation for SA was a desire to change job. She chose the UK because of the shorter course length, her preference for British culture, and the high ranking of the particular university in the field of her interest.

Kristina

Coming from Saint-Petersburg, Kristina first defined her ethnic and national background as Georgian and Armenian (though her passport is Russian) but towards the end of the data collection stage as Russian. Kristina's linguistic repertoire includes Russian, English and German. She was learning English at school, university and also attending private tutor lessons.

Before SA, she graduated from university with a specialist degree (specialisation – global economy) and worked for some months as a teacher and programme manager assistant at a HEI. SA was a necessary step for her towards a successful career. She chose the UK mainly because “its HEIs are leading in my field”.

Having introduced the research participants, the next chapter elaborates the procedures implemented in generating the data.

Chapter 5: Research design

Introduction

Having explored the methodological considerations and analytical implications of the research in **Chapter 4**, **Chapter 5** elaborates the research design of the project and the stages of the data collection journey – in order to provide the reader with an “audit trail” (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 319) and showcase the “transparency of method” (Merriam and Associates, 2002, p. 21).

As the project rationale partially springs from my own axiological position as an academic sojourner, the study can be seen in terms of a “casual history of reasons” (Stelma, Fay and Zhou, 2013). This means that describing this part of my journey necessarily includes constant shifts in voice and style – reflecting the multiplicity and intersectionality of my own identity.

5.1 Data generation procedures

5.1.1 Research design

As a data collection technique I chose the qualitative semi-structured in-depth interviews, which “attempts to understand the world from the subjects’ points of view, to unfold the meaning of their experiences, to uncover their lived world prior to scientific explanations” (Kvale, 1996, p. 1). Richards (2003, p. 65) considers interviewing as “a journey within a journey” that could lead the researcher into individuals’ inner worlds.

The research design for my PhD project consisted of seven rounds of qualitative interviews with six participants conducted on a regular basis. Though most of the sessions were conducted on a one-on-one basis, the first, fourth and last interviews were held in pairs. The reason was people often feel more comfortable about expressing their own ideas when they are listening to others' stories (Rezaei, 2012). Similarly, "many participants are not aware of their implicit perspectives, and hearing others' perspectives" leads to them voicing their own ideas (Merton, Fiske and Kendall, 1990, p. 31). This decision was informed by methodological concerns and using the small stories approach to track participants' voicing process in relation to each other.

I tracked my participants' sociolinguistic activity over the period of nine months in order to develop good working relationships with them and to engage, as well as being engaged myself, in the process of eliciting data, constructing the stories and interpreting the output. Below is the actual schedule for conducting interviews:

First interviews	October 2016
Second interviews	November 2016
Third interviews	November - December 2016
Fourth interviews	January 2017
Fifth interviews	February - March 2017
Sixth interviews	March 2017
Seventh interviews	May 2017

Table 2: Research interviews schedule

In order to achieve and then maintain the credibility and the validity of my analysis, I was intending to co-construct knowledge *with my participants* through conducting the research not only *on them*, but also *with them* (Harvey, 2016), talking and interpreting *with them* and relating to them *dialogically* (Bakhtin, 1981). In order to do this, before each round of interviewing (apart from the first) I sent thematic prompts which contained condensed and synthesised versions of individuals' answers from the previous session – to be discussed at the following event.

All interviews were video- and audio-recorded, and the table below summarises the length of each session. All interviews, except for the third session with Timur, were conducted in Russian.

	Participants	Date	Length	Language
First round				
1	Alisa/Yana	7/10/2016	1:11:27	Russian
2	Kristina/Irina	8/10/2016	1:02:16	Russian
3	Timur/Margo	9/10/2016	1:01:45	Russian
Second round				
1	Margo	4/11/2016	00:31:12	Russian
2	Irina	6/11/2016	00:30:03	Russian

3	Yana	6/11/2016	00:48:27	Russian
4	Timur	7/11/2016	00:24:04	Russian
5	Alisa	8/11/2016	00:36:43	Russian
6	Kristina	9/11/2016	00:41:55	Russian
Third round				
1	Alisa	30/11/2016	01:02:47	Russian
2	Irina	30/11/2016	01:02:34	Russian
3	Margo	01/12/2016	00:56:29	Russian
4	Kristina	01/12/2016	01:24:23	Russian
5	Timur	04/12/2016	03:48:45	English
6	Yana	05/12/2016	02:12:23	Russian
Fourth round				
1	Alisa/Yana	27/01/2017	02:35:14	Russian
2	Kristina/Irina	27/01/2017	02:16:51	Russian
3	Timur/Margo	28/01/2017	01:37:02	Russian
Fifth round				

1	Kristina	25/02/2017	01:30:48	Russian
2	Irina	25/02/2017	01:12:33	Russian
3	Yana	27/02/2017	02:01:34	Russian
4	Alisa	27/02/2017	01:38:06	Russian
5	Timur	01/03/2017	01:09:13	Russian
6	Margo	03/03/2017	01:07:23	Russian
Sixth round				
1	Alisa	24/03/2017	01:29:05	Russian
2	Kristina	24/03/2017	01:21:43	Russian
3	Yana	24/03/2017	01:58:06	Russian
4	Irina	24/03/2017	01:02:32	Russian
5	Margo	29/03/2017	01:06:20	Russian
6	Timur	29/03/2017	01:01:25	Russian
Seventh round				
1	Timur/Margo	09/05/2017	01:43:15	Russian
2	Kristina/Irina	10/05/2017	01:37:18	Russian

3	Alisa/Yana	14/05/2017	02:34:50	Russian
	Total hours of interviewing		46:18:31	

Table 3: Dates, length and language of interviews

Prior to the main project I conducted a pilot study (March – April 2016), the research design of which consisted of two pair interviews (3 hours in total).

5.1.1.1 A note on terminology

Before setting off on a journey describing the data collection/analysis, I provide an explanation of the basic terminology used at that point of my research enterprise. I have placed this section here for the convenience of the reader, who would otherwise have to constantly refer to the beginning of the methodology chapter. I decided to do so in order to describe the data generation procedures as clearly as possible, in order to achieve greater confirmability of the analysis (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) . Some of the terms that I used at this stage do not fully coincide with the terms I was using in the sections describing my main analysis (having been performed only once all the data have been collected) For example, when using the term ‘theme’, I was not referring to the same things in both the stages of data collection and writing up the results of the analysis. At that stage the themes that I was describing/interpreting with my participants when creating/discussing the prompts were rather tentative, used to “sort large batches of data” (Charmaz, 2014, p. 115).

Data	Contents of interviews
Participant(s), informant(s), respondent(s)	Terms used interchangeably (in order to avoid tautology and for the sake of readability and semantic

	elegance) when referring to people taking part in this research (except for myself)
Themes (individual themes, synthesised themes)	Conceptual semantic groups derived from the categories
Categories	Descriptive groups (usually framed as questions) derived from codes
Codes	Short names used for summarising and accounting for the segments of data
Utterance(s), statement(s)	A (group of) conversational turn(s) in an interview
Notes	My comments in the transcripts and handwritten remarks representing my thoughts, emotions and questions made while working on the dataset

Table 4: Terminology used

In the sections below I document the procedures when collecting the data – as well as the explanations of why I arrived at those decisions and how my own opinions and beliefs affected my working with the data. When exemplifying my procedures I used excerpts from *all* my participants' transcripts – in order to once again emphasise the dialogically intertwined nature of my methodological framework.

5.1.1.2 A note on thematic analysis

In addition to providing terminology, this section makes a short excursion into the main postulates of thematic analysis. Although I already covered the bulk of philosophical underpinnings in regards to my methodological choices, here I provide the procedural analytical framework to be used for data collection.

The thematic analysis has broadly followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide. However, the decision to co-construct researcher-participants interpretational dialogue did influence some of its final stages. While developing thematic prompts before each session, I had to go through all the stages except for finalising the themes and producing the final report, coding/categorising/thematising participants' answers. Despite being energy- and time-consuming, it nevertheless paid dividends towards the end of the data generation. I then had all the data transcribed, coded and categorised, with the only remaining tasks to bring together all the categories then review and finalise the themes. Following Harvey (2014), I also intentionally implemented a step bridging coding and thematising, or a step of categorising the codes: having departed into a pure analysis stage, I returned to the categories to open up the possibility new themes emerging apart from those used in the prompts.

Thus, having adopted and then adapted Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide, I came up with the following procedural framework:

Phase	Description of the process
Becoming familiar with the data	Transcribing and (re-)reading the data, noting down initial ideas
Generating initial codes	Coding the data in a systematic fashion across the entire data set, collating data relevant to each code
Creating the categories	Integrating the codes into the categories
Searching for themes	Collating categories into potential themes, gathering all data relevant to each potential theme
Producing the prompts	Synthesising the themes and producing the write-up for the subsequent interview
End of the data collection stage – going back to the categories, and again searching for the themes	
Reviewing themes	Checking if the themes work in relation to the coded extracts and the entire data set, generating a thematic 'map' of the analysis
Defining and naming themes	Ongoing analysis to refine the specifics of each theme, and the overall story the analysis tells, generating clear definitions and names for each theme
Producing the report	Final analysis of selected extracts in the light of the research questions and literature followed by producing a scholarly report




Table 5: Stages of thematic analysis (as adopted and adapted from Braun and Clarke, 2006)

The next sections open up the discussion of the data collection and analysis.

5.1.2 First wave of interviewing: getting to know each other, building rapport and finalising the pairs

5.1.2.1 Conducting the sessions

Prior to the event, in order to anticipate participants choosing different languages for interview, I prepared myself to duplicate the questions and any follow-up comments in both Russian and English (though they all chose Russian). I also asked my participants to read and sign two copies of a participant consent form (which went together with the information sheet), one of which was given to the informants.

The first interview consisted of a series of open questions aiming to elicit stories about participants' linguistic repertoires, educational and cultural background, etc. The main aim of that "ice-breaker" session was for participants and me to get to know each other better and build rapport.

Following Kleiber (2004, pp. 89-95), those pair sessions were also to start the social dialogue of co-constructing meaning and uncovering the "underlying attitudes" and ideologies.

5.1.2.2 The post-interviewing musings: transcription conventions, notes and prompts

Having conducted the interviews, I created the first draft of the data transcription with the use of Audacity. The modified Jeffersonian (1984) system of transcription conventions were adapted from Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) (see Table 6 below); however, when creating the first variant of the transcription, I used only some of them. Others (indicated with blue) were added at a later stage of small stories analysis. In order not to miss any relevant information, analysis was performed in the language of interviewing (almost exclusively Russian); however, the extracts chosen for

presentation here and elsewhere were translated. Translation issues will be discussed in 5.2.3.

[Overlapping utterances
=	Latched utterances by the same or different speaker
Green	Indicates translanguaging practices
(0,1)	Indicates a pause (with time measured in seconds)
(.)	Indicates inhalation
:	Marks an extension of the sound it follows
::	Marks a longer extension
↑	Marks rising (upward) intonation
↓	Marks falling (downward) intonation
° °	Indicates decreased volume of materials between
<u>Underlining</u>	Indicates emphasis
CAPITALS	Indicate speech that is louder than the surrounding talk
(laughter)	Indicates laughter
(())	Indicates editorial comments
/looking at C/	Indicates the use of other modes
[have]	Indicates missing words
[...]	Indicates the omission of some words and/or sounds

Table 6: Transcription conventions (as adapted from Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008)

Below are the examples of transcribed interviews (translated version) with Alisa/Yana (4th interview; 00:51:04-00:52:13):

- 1 Y: I am telling them the climate is dry in Russia so it doesn't feel like cold in England and they're like YEAH YEAH YEAH we know /miming the person saying that/ so IF YOU KNOW WHY saying this
- 2 Al: (laughter) yeah or YEAH BUT THE TEMPERATURE IS THE SAME /miming the person saying that/

The data transcription was accompanied by handwritten remarks in my research diary, which were organised as follows: minutes:seconds of recording/page in the transcription document – note (see Fig. 4).

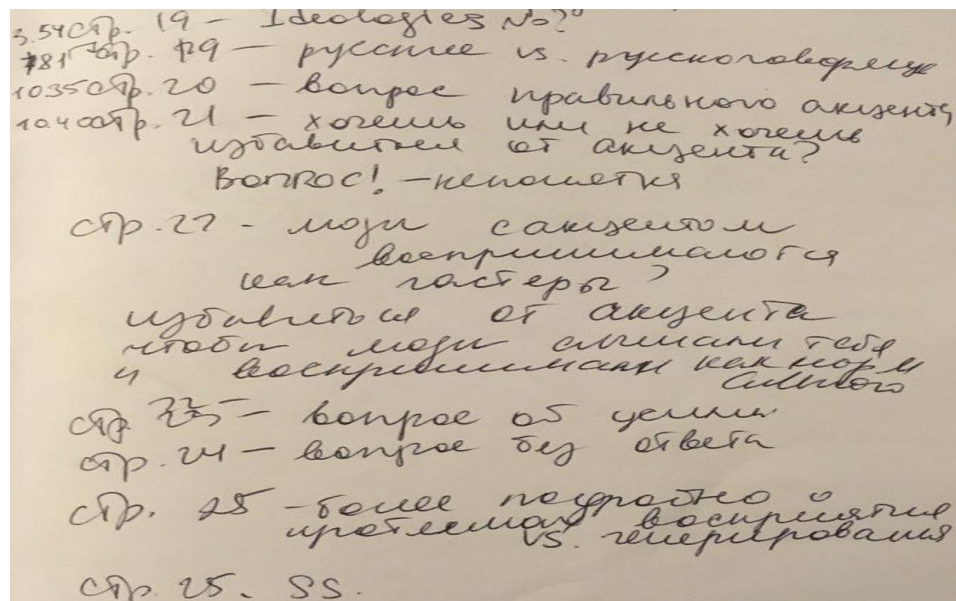


Figure 4: Handwritten notes created after the first round of interviewing transcription

In order to open up the interpretational dialogue (Bakhtin, 1981) of emerging theories (Charmaz, 2014) and foreground participants' voices (Harvey, 2015), the transcribing stage was followed by creating the narratives of the details of their life histories they shared with me. Since during the first

meeting we were mostly getting to know each other and talking through participants' linguistic/educational backgrounds, rather than, eg, elaborating one particular issue sojourners faced on SA, I decided to create prompts *individually* for each participant. In order to make those more readable, I put all the details interviewees shared with me in chronological order, and divided the prompts into different parts. The first paragraph was devoted to the individual's cultural/linguistic background, then I talked through the participant's educational and English language learning histories, before the last part contained information about the languages the participant mentioned speaking while on SA.

When there was something inconsistent in the interviewees' answers, or when I was in doubt, or when a follow-up question arose, I either wrote a question mark, '?', or wrote a question and asked for clarification. All but one of my participants wanted me to write that story in Russian, with Yana asking me to write in both Russian and English.

In order to provide participants with a clue for the next discussion, at the end of each document I put the bullet points for the next interview – and asked the respondents to look at them as well. Those points did not appear out of nowhere; they were all inferred from the participants' answers during the first session.

In order to develop the points, I first labelled the interview transcription with codes (see Fig. 5) (coding itself is described in 5.1.3.3). The reader here should bear in mind that the interviewees are labelled differently in the images – to ensure anonymity and confidentiality I used different pseudonyms for the actual analysis.

Transcript	Codes
<p>Ан: вот когда в <u>россии</u> вот мне кажется с одной стороны это <u>хорошо</u> а с другой стороны это плохо потому что там все предметы предметов шестнадцать не знаю четырнадцать и все и каждый надо учить и это очень большая нагрузка мне кажется</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>Ан: вот для меня мне понравилось вот когда училась в <u>швеции</u> что вот даже как-то больше времени углубленно изучать <u>предметы</u> которые тебе более интересны</p> <p>В: я вообще тоже за ту систему когда ты можешь сам выбирать что тебе интересно с первого по девятый класс я училась по обычной системе то есть мы учили все предметы пятнадцать шестнадцать предметов когда ты все учишь все сдаешь в девятом классе у меня был профильный класс десятый одиннадцатый у меня <u>был</u> получается наш класс делился на три профиля</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>В: и то есть я опять же могла более углубленно изучать те предметы которые мне <u>нравились</u> то есть у меня не было слишком много часов физики допустим химии еще чего-то но у меня было отдельно политология право экономика больше общественная больше литературы русского языка то есть гуманитарная направленность она четко прослеживалась и было гораздо интереснее учиться в этом плане</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>Ан: у тебя все с языком <u>был</u> получается да</p> <p>В: социально-гуманитарное да то есть мне это очень понравилось и я <u>считаю</u> что в принципе детям нужно предоставлять такую возможность</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>В: плюс по поводу образования я могу <u>сказать</u> что не столь важно где именно в <u>россии</u> ты учишься а потому что ты можешь получить качественное образование в любой школе если ты это хочешь</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>В: по поводу университета здесь точно также я могу <u>сказать</u> что не важно где именно твой университет находится в <u>москве</u> он или где-то в глубинке если ты хочешь то научишься но по поводу системы образования мне кажется что в школе учиться сложнее на самом деле</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>В: потому что в школе у тебя всегда <u>есть</u> как это конкретный <u>дедлайн</u> ты должен выучить это сегодня на завтра</p>	<p>Having too many disciplines when studying in Russia</p> <p>Having less subjects and deepening into them is better</p> <p>Having ability to study what you want is good</p> <p>Having ability to study what you want is good</p> <p>Having ability to study what you want is good</p> <p>Having ability to get good education everywhere in Russia</p> <p>Having ability to get good education everywhere in Russia</p> <p>Studying at school is harder than at the university in Russia</p>

Figure 5: Coding process

While doing so, I also used a special sign (→) to identify those chunks of data that I would later use to create the narratives (Fig. 6).

<p>поехала потому что я хотела бы жить в стране которая разговаривает на <u>языке</u> который я понимаю</p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>В: в принципе изначально я подвала документы не только в <u>британию</u> но в общем варианте было три куда я могла бы поступить и куда возможно хотела бы это <u>британия австралия и америка</u></p> <p>A: <u>МГМ</u></p> <p>В: <u>америку</u> я меньше всего <u>хотела</u> потому что я не люблю американский английский мне не нравится то что они сокращают язык</p>	<p>education in Russia</p> <p>→ Goes into narrative – describing the process of applying to universities</p> <p>Not liking American English</p>
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Figure 6: The use of special sign identifying ‘narrative chunks’

Then I divided the codes into different thematic categories (see Fig. 7), using questions for the categories rather than affirmative statements (*How do I feel about SA so far?* instead of *Opinions about SA*) – in order to question myself when assigning data to the category.

Codes	Categories
<p>A</p> <p>Not understanding locals because of the accent Expecting difficulties with cultural adaptation (in terms of language) Experiencing difficulties with reading academic texts in English Experiencing problems with not knowing enough words in English (in shops) Knowing your native language well enough is important Not wanting to forget Russian Feeling unique when speaking Russian in England Feeling unique when speaking English in Russia Having too many disciplines when studying in Russia (comparing to the UK) Not having enough specialists, resources and development in the educational system in Russia Having less subjects (as abroad) and deepening into them is good Using language as a means to express your identity Feeling uncomfortable with English influencing Russian</p>	<p>What (communication) problems do I experience and expect?</p> <p>How do I feel speaking English in different contexts?</p> <p>What are my relationships with Russian?</p> <p>What are my relationships with English? How do I feel about studying in Russia?</p> <p>How do I feel about SA so far?</p> <p>What is correlation between language and identity? How is my English influencing my Russian?</p>
<p>V</p> <p>Using language as a means to express your identity Having ability to study what you want is good Having ability to get good education everywhere in Russia Experiencing pressure when studying at school Studying at school is harder than at the university in Russia Teaching (English) is not good enough at school level in Russia Not having enough specialists, resources and development in</p>	<p>What is correlation between language and identity? How do I feel about SA so far? How do I feel about studying in Russia?</p>

Figure 7: Dividing codes into thematic categories

Next, I started the table (see Fig. 8) with columns representing thematic categories (later used to create the bullet points), rows representing participants, and sections filled with participants' utterances 'fitting' the categorical column. All the off-topic data (e.g. remarks on Leeds beauty services) were put into a separate word document.

	What (communication) problems do I experience and expect?	How do I feel speaking English in different contexts?	What are my relationships with Russian?
A	<p>я часто не понимаю местных из за акцента конечно</p> <p>у меня с чтением <u>думаю</u> проблемы будут ну потому что я не знаю многих слов там и так далее</p> <p>ну вот это все равно другая страна у меня хоть и не будет <u>пря</u>м такого <u>вау</u> как у русских <u>россия</u> все равно это свой отдельный мир но все равно культурная адаптация она <u>будет</u> может быть немного сложно</p> <p>я вот в магазине иногда не знаю названия всяких продуктов я <u>помню</u> хотела супчик сварить и мне нужны были специи там травы и я вот просто подходила и нюхала вот эти пучки ну чтобы понять где что</p>	<p>я вот в магазине иногда не знаю названия всяких продуктов я <u>помню</u> хотела супчик сварить и мне нужны были специи там травы и я вот просто подходила и нюхала вот эти пучки ну чтобы понять где что</p>	<p>это мой родной язык я не хочу его забывать</p> <p>очень важно учить родной язык русский я даже в <u>швеции</u> когда <u>была</u> учила его ну взяла модуль для изучения русского даже экзамен мы сдавали помню эссе писали</p>

Figure 8: Working on a table

As a result, I had eight categories (see Fig. 9, left row), that I then, through deriving the semantic connections between them, refined into themes (right row). Some of them appeared to be a revised version of the category title (e.g. theme #1), while others embraced different categories – on the basis of semantic connections (Bondarko, 1983) (e.g. theme #2).

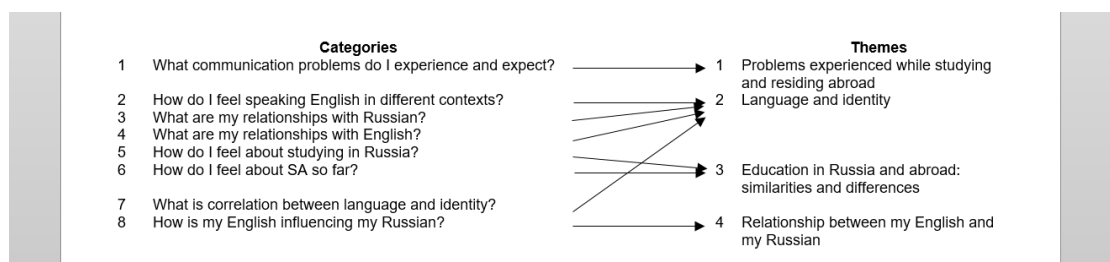


Figure 9: Themes constructed out of categories

Finally, I wrote out the bullet points, which were organised as follows: the conceptual theme → participant's utterance exemplifying that theme. The latter touch subtly helped to manifest the individual elements in the common synthesised theme. Those procedures are described in much greater detail in the section on my working the data after the second session – due to the space constraints I did not do it here. Additionally, there was not so much workable material (in terms of thematic organisation), because the first interview essentially fulfilled the role of an ice-breaker and a dialogue-opener. The bullet points were framed as general ideas rather than accurately formulated statements – since through implementing them I was only opening the dialogue with the participants (that later evolved into discussing not only thematically synthesised bullet points but whole ideological perspectives as well). The way I organised the prompts (from reconstructing the peculiarities of individuals' histories to common bullet points) may have manifested each individual entering the dialogic space with

other participants' voices – and my voice as well. Through presenting the narratives of the details of their life histories I paid tribute to the importance of the individuals' voices – thereby opening up the dialogue between *the researcher and each particular participant*. On the other hand, through including common bullet points, I was still inviting all of them to join *the common dialogue involving every participant and the researcher*, which we jointly opened up and then ideologically developed through discussing the prompts containing the thematically synthesised participants' answers in later sessions. With the latter, I brought all the participants' answers to the common thematic ground (while still emphasising the divergence of their voice trajectories within the themes), which allowed me to not only maintain the interpretational dialogue but also to compare individuals' perspectives on the same matters. This approach provided an opportunity to 'slice' the data at some different stages and not only trace my participants' trajectories diachronically, but also add the synchronic perspective to the data analysis.

5.1.3 Second wave of interviewing: first individual meetings

5.1.3.1 Conducting the sessions

Having negotiated the timetable, I conducted the second round of interviewing. All participants reacted well to the prompts: some asked me if they should send their comments on prompts *before* the interview. However, being aware that the discussion may lead to discovering some valuable data, I clarified that we would be talking about it during the interview. Some also mentioned that they were "shocked" (Irina) to notice how many "parasites" (filler words) they use in their ordinary speech. In order to address this issue – and since the focus of our co-constructed

interpretational dialogue was on the thematic content of the interviews – I decided to omit those words in all subsequent prompts. However, I was still paying attention to them when transcribing the data, because I knew that I might need them when looking at the data through the more micro small stories perspective.

5.1.3.2 Post-interview procedures: common prompts from individual interviews

Once I collected the data, I transcribed them with the use of the same software as before (Audacity). In order to draw together the “living dialogic threads” (Bakhtin, 1986, p. 266) of participants’ voice trajectories, I decided to create one set of prompts consisting of the synthesised themes that emerged during the second round of interviewing. This decision was also informed by highlighting multivoicedness and intertextuality (Kristeva, 1980) in the interviews as a research device, and the participants’ narratives and experiences. Thus, through sending out and then discussing more individualistic narratives after the first round I was checking if participants agreed with my account of what they said, as well as building rapport and engaging them in the research process. For all the subsequent rounds of interviewing I decided to extend the boundaries of that dialogical framework by creating prompts which would allow every participant to reflect not just on their own opinions but others’ perspectives as well.

Almost all of the participants (except for Margo) later told me (see the upcoming section) that reading about others’ opinions was much more interesting for them (in comparison with the first, more ‘individualistic’ narratives). All noted that commenting on others’ experiences made them re-assess their own perspectives (not change, but re-assess – through seeing

that there may be different opinions on the same fact or event). It also helped the interviewees to recall some stories from their own life – many of which they did not remember or did not consider as important for the research and for themselves, until they read about similar things happening with other people.

Thus, after I transcribed the materials and ‘noted’ them, I entered the next stage of my analysis – coding.

5.1.3.3 Coding

...coding generates the bones of your analysis...

Charmaz (2014, p. 113)

Through close and reiterative readings of the data I started constructing the codes and integrating them into the transcription document. Following Glaser (1978) and Charmaz (2006, 2014), I stuck to the principle of coding with gerunds, which emphasised *detecting* the processes and *seeing* the actions.

In relation to coding, Charmaz (2014, p. 114) warns us, that specific (and not only ordinary) “use of language reflects views and values ... our codes arise from the languages, meanings and perspectives”. This issue was addressed by reminding myself that irrespective of what has just been mentioned, the data, my interpretations and prompts are all situated at the intersection of the dynamics between researcher and researched. Though it was *me* who constructed the codes, then *me* again who divided them into categories, it is nevertheless the *authentic participants’ answers* that were used to fill the table, and, eventually, the *participants themselves*, who reflected on and responded to the thematic prompts.

5.1.3.4 From coding to categories and themes

After I coded the interviews, I started the table again (having previously divided the codes into the categorical groups). I followed the same steps as before: the columns represented the categories – in order of their appearance within the talk, and the rows represented participants – in the order I interviewed them. Unsurprisingly, some categories (and codes) were transferred from the previous table – as we discussed the bullet points created from the first interview materials. However, this time we went ‘deeper’ in our discussion, which, on the one hand, led to a more divisional approach to making up the categories. For example, instead of using a broader umbrella category, *What are my relationships with English?*, as I did for the first interview, I came up with a more extended one which consisted of two questions: *How and when was I using English in Russia?* and *How is the value of my English changing as I am moving across space and time?* On the other hand, one category was widened out – after the first round I had the category *How do I feel speaking **English** in different contexts?*, but after the second round of interviewing I came up with the category *How do I feel speaking **different languages** in different contexts?* When dividing the codes into the categories I realised that the boundaries between some of them are quite subtle: for instance, both the categories *How do I feel speaking different languages in different contexts?* and *How do I value my Russian in the UK?* included participants’ statements about what they think when speaking Russian. However, if the former dealt primarily with the individuals’ feelings (“I feel more real when speaking Russian”; “I feel like it is more me when using Russian”; “I feel not that friendly when using Russian in comparison to English”), the latter talked about more attitudinal,

ideological component of what individuals think about Russian (“For me Russian is like flying”, “Russian is the means to save my heritage”, “Russian is something to be proud of”, “No one needs it, I want more English”, etc).

As a result, I came up with 18 categories, which were refined into nine big themes (see Fig. 10).

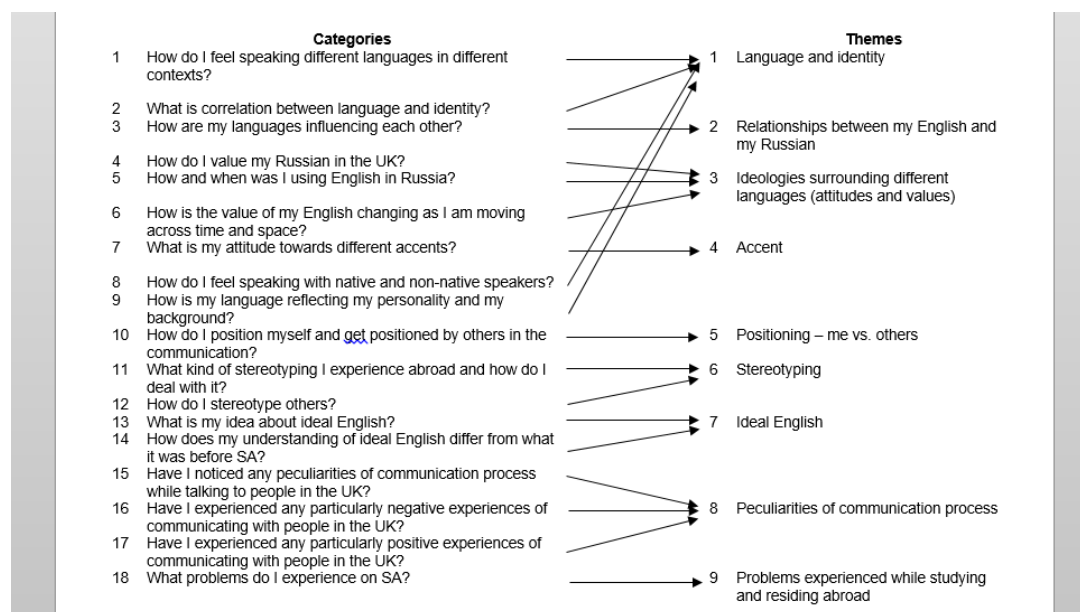


Figure 10: Turning the categories into the themes

Although I had the theme *Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences* listed in the prompts I sent participants before the second session, we did not discuss it. All the individuals asked me to discuss it later, when they “will get to know the British system a bit better” (Timur).

Therefore, I left that theme till our third meeting.

Working on the data through the categories and the table was also useful in terms of identifying cross-sectional similarities amongst participants’ answers. Yet, at those stages I also started seeing the emergence of the final themes that later formed the core of the final report. For example, when working out theme #8 – which was named with the use of an emotionally

neutral word “peculiarities” rather than “problems”, since some participants reacted quite negatively to the latter – I saw that at that stage individuals started talking through the notion of linguistic inequalities in its rather Hymesean (1996) interpretation. However, as, in the beginning of the data collection, individuals might find it uncomfortable to discuss such sensitive issues, I decided to name it with a more neutral phrase at the theme level but still keep the word “negative” at the category level. At the later stage of going back to categories and re-assessing them in order to review the themes and produce the final mind map, that strategy helped me to rapidly identify those chunks of data associated with inequalities and not lose them within an endless ocean of data.

When creating the prompts, I realised that they were too big to discuss within one interview (as already seen from table 2 in section 5.1.1, they were much longer than predicted), so I decided to leave out the theme of the peculiarities of the communication process and discuss it in a subsequent session.

5.1.3.5 Coherence and cohesion: constructing the metanarrative

Coherence is also in the eye of the beholder

Louwerse et al. (2006, p. 1)

Having worked through the data, I started writing the prompts, which led to elaborating two interrelated but still slightly different concepts: coherence and cohesion. Following Pinto, Tarchi and Bigozzi (2015, p. 552), the latter was achieved through the use of “linguistic devices (i.e., interclausal connectives) that express the relationships between sentences and clauses

that create a narrative” for prompts (see an extract from prompts in **Appendix 4**).

Coherence, in turn, was conceptualised as a process, as a dialogue between the author and recipient(s), as a comprehension-based, interpretative and dynamic “cooperative achievement of the speaker/writer and the hearer/reader” (Bublitz, 1999, cited in Dontcheva-Navratilova and Povolná, 2009, p. iv) that “cannot be taken for granted but, depending on situation, genre or text type, rather viewed as being more or less temporary”. This approach highlighted the emergent nature of the interpretational dialogue co-constructed between the researcher and participants. Notably, in that lived experience of building on our shared and mutual understanding, I was orienting towards “*istina*, ... the complex truth, rather than *pravda*, abstract truth” (Bakhtin, 1993, cited in Harvey, 2014, p.126). I intended to see the world as my respondents did rather than uncovering some universal laws.

5.1.4 Third interviews

The third interviews were followed by the same post-session routine as before: transcribing, coding and inferring the categories from the data, that were later refined into themes. The latter included *Cultural differences and cultural adaptation*, *Opportunities that English/ Russian offers*, *Position of English in Russia*, *Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey*, *Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses*, *Friendships and networking while abroad*, and *Governments and SA*. After that, I wrote the prompts.

Apart from the themes in the table, we still had one theme from the second round waiting to be discussed (*Peculiarities of communication process*). However, bearing in mind that the fourth round of interviewing would be the pair one, I decided not to include the themes that might generate stories about situations that embarrassed or disturbed the interviewees. This decision was primarily influenced by my own position as a researcher and as a SA sojourner: although I wanted them to tell me about both good and bad sides of their experiences, I nevertheless intended to keep the confidentiality and anonymity of everyone's data, and by no means did I intend to force the interviewees to discuss sensitive and sometimes very controversial issues in front of each other. Therefore, I left some themes (*Cultural differences and cultural adaptation*, as well as the second-round one – *the nuances of communication process*) for the fifth individual meetings.

5.1.5 Fourth and subsequent interviews

Having agreed the timetable with the participants I conducted the fourth round of interviews. Since the fourth interviews were pair sessions, I asked participants about their choice of partner. Fortunately, everyone said they wanted to keep the same pairs, which later helped me to diachronically elaborate patterns of participants' voice dynamics as they emerged (small stories perspective).

Since three participants had been to Russia for a Christmas break, I decided to ask about their trips. Fortunately, I had an equal distribution of people who went to Russia and those who stayed in the UK: Timur (went home) and Margo (stayed); Alisa (went) and Yana (stayed); Kristina (went) and Irina (stayed). However, I realised that if I was asking only one

participant about how he or she spent time in Russia, the other one would be bored. Therefore, I constructed each question so it could be answered by both the participants: eg, instead of asking one interlocutor, “Why did you decide to go to Russia for a break?”, I said, “Tell me, please, why did you decide to either stay in the UK or go to Russia?” Recalling my own experience, I anticipated that people who went home would be talking about their friends and families, so I prepared questions that might suit everyone: questions about family and friends’ expectations. During *that part* of our meeting, the following questions were asked:

1. Tell me, please, why you decided to either stay in the UK or go to Russia. How was it – your visit home or your stay in the UK?
2. Tell me, please, about how your friends and relatives look at you. Did you notice something unusual, when you talk to them in person or via Skype?
3. Tell me, please, about your friends’ and family’s expectations: are they realistic? Do they affect your goals in the UK? Are you trying to meet these expectations?
4. How has your self-perception changed so far? What affect did your decision to go home/stay in the UK have on your identity shift, if any?

Addressing questions to both individuals (though with the understanding that specific bits of those questions would be inevitably addressed only to one of the interview pair) appeared to be a useful strategy to engage all parties in co-constructing the dialogue. My feeling that the interview went well was proven by the fact that both participants felt engaged. Looking at the data through the small stories theoretical lens, I noticed that in every case when

we were discussing the questions about friends' and family's expectations, all participants referred to the strategy of telling the shared story together. This may have meant that all of them were actively participating in the discussion and, thus, were never bored.

Since I followed the same steps as before, and due to the space constraints, I will skip the description of developing first categories out of codes, then themes out of categories. However, in order to stick to the principle of transparency (Lincoln and Guba, 1985) in regard to any stage of my research, interested readers may refer to **Appendix (5)** for a worked example of the data and **Appendix (6)** for a full list of codes, categories and themes identified within the process of elaborating materials. To give a short overview in the main body of the thesis, below is a table with all the themes discussed at each session:

	Pair / individual interview	Themes as reflected in prompts	Other themes that emerged
1	Pair (probing interview to break the ice)		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants' overall linguistic and educational background • Language and identity • Problems experienced while studying and residing abroad

			<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences • Relationship between my English and my Russian
2	Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Participants overall linguistic and educational background • Language and identity • Problems experienced while studying and residing abroad • Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences (this theme was mentioned in prompts, but participants asked the researcher to discuss it at the later stage) • Relationship between my English and my Russian 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ideologies surrounding different languages (attitudes and values) • Accent • Positioning in communication – me vs. others • Stereotyping • Ideal English • Peculiarities of communication process
3	Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Language and identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural differences

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Relationships between my English and my Russian • Ideologies surrounding different languages (attitudes and values) • Accent • Positioning in communication – me vs. others • Stereotyping • Ideal English 	<p>and cultural adaptation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions of English in Russia • Opportunities that English offers • Opportunities that Russian offers • Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses • Friendships and networking while abroad • Governments and SA
4	Pair	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Positions of English in Russia • Opportunities that English offers • Opportunities that Russian offers • Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Trip home for Christmas • Family's and friends' expectations • Inequalities • Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey • Benefits of SA • Peculiarities of

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Friendships and networking while abroad • Governments and SA (that theme was left out for the next interview due to the time constraints) 	<p>communication process</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural differences, adaptations and affiliations
5	Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Family's and friends' expectations • Inequalities • Governments and SA • Benefits of SA • Peculiarities of communication process • Cultural differences, adaptation and affiliations 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peculiarities of communication process in the classroom • Peculiarities of communication process outside of the classroom • Peculiarities of communication process related to different languages influencing each other • Peculiarities of communication process related to cultural differences and

			<p>cultural clashes</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peculiarities of communication process related to my past and present linguistic ideologies • Strategies to cope with problematic situations in communication process (excluding inequalities) • Strategies to cope with problematic situations related to inequalities • Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey
6	Individual	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey • Peculiarities of communication process in the classroom • Peculiarities of communication process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voice and inequalities • Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses • Benefits of studying in the UK • Russians abroad: who

		<p>outside of the classroom</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Peculiarities of communication process related to different languages influencing each other • Peculiarities of communication process related to cultural differences and cultural clashes • Peculiarities of communication process related to my past and present linguistic ideologies • Strategies to cope with problematic situations in communication process (excluding inequalities) • Strategies to cope with problematic situations related to inequalities 	are we?
7	Pair	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Voice and inequalities 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Changes I underwent

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Benefits of studying in the UK • Russians abroad: who are we? 	<p>throughout my SA journey, incl. the current research (concluding remarks)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Cultural differences and cultural adaptation (in a long-term perspective) • Future plans: anticipating re-entry shock
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Table 7: Themes discussed at each interview

5.2 Data analysis

5.2.1 The last stages of the thematic analysis: reorganising the categories

Thus, as elaborated in 5.1.1.2, the data generation was followed by entering the final stages of thematic analysis. I went back to all the categories that emerged out of the transcribing and coding procedures and started looking for thematic conceptual links amongst those in order to come up with a whole, integral picture of my analysis. I printed all the categories and used manual colouring as a helping strategy (Badwan, 2015). I also kept in mind that the main theoretical focus of my study is the concept of voice (voicing), that I approach from different theoretical and analytical angles. Being a visual learner, I used several mind maps to show clearly the links between

the categories, all of which led to producing the final mind map as showcased below (Fig. 11). This mind map clearly demonstrates the theoretical model of my research inquiry as discussed in **Chapters 3** and **4**, with the concept of voice placed into the centre of study and being approached from various perspectives. Notably, apart from theoretical lenses used for considering the data coming from thematic analysis, the final mind map also features analytical **Lens 5** implementing the small stories approach.

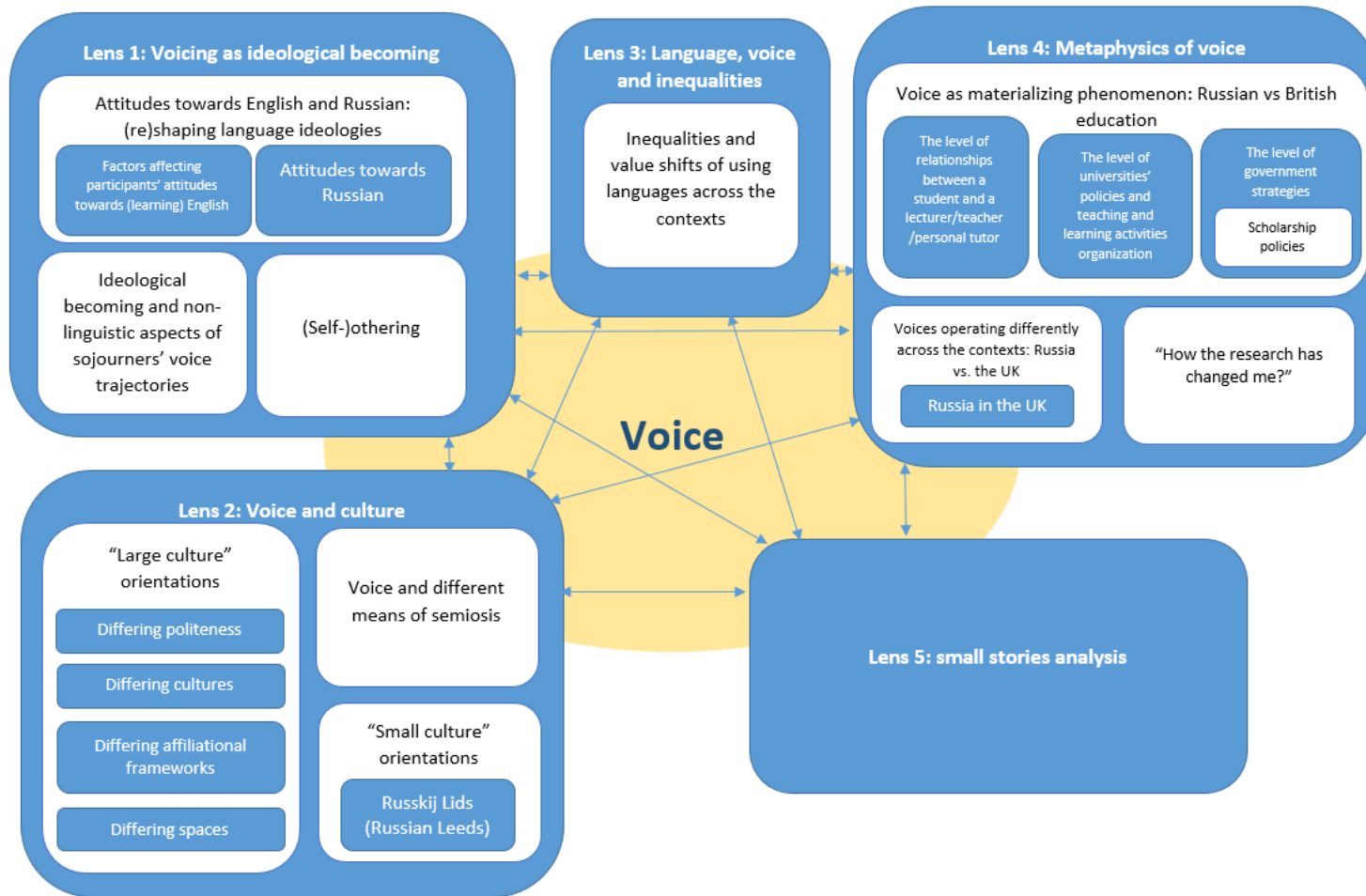


Figure 11: Final mind map

Thus, the mind map features the structural organisation of the research with the concept of voice being put at the centre of attention and approached from various theoretical, analytical and methodological (**Lens 5**) angles. The arrows feature the dialogic and intertwined nature of the relationships amongst the lenses, which resonates with the idea of intersectionality as one of the study's core features (see 1.3.1). That stage was followed by the small stories analysis.

5.2.2 Lens 5: small stories approach

Following Georgakopoulou (2007, p. 17; 2010) I argue that “participants’ exploitation of conversational (interactional) structures and mechanisms makes visible extra-situational resources”, that interlocutors employ when pairing “storytelling (interactional – in general) participation roles with larger social identities”. However, due to the time/space constraints, within the general framework of small stories analysis I widely draw on a particular “type of small stories” – shared (joint) stories – that, as was discovered during the pilot, was proved a useful instrument in examining participants developing their voices in the process of negotiating identities. Georgakopoulou (2007, p. 50, **my emphasis**) explains the term as follows:

*Shared stories ... an umbrella term for stories that are oriented to in interactions as familiar either because they have been told in the past or because **the events reported in them are known to all or some of the participants, regardless of whether they have been narrativized in the past or not.***

Though only vaguely distinguished as a particular type of narrating activity, the instances of individuals (co-)developing the story based on some common

ground have been addressed in the research literature. Baynham (2006) elaborates the concept of generic narrative that emphasises the typicality and iterativity of the events; Riessman (1993, p. 18) refers to habitual narratives that “are composed of thematically organized incidents that occur regularly” and that constitute the integral picture of the past (Carranza, 1998). These types can refer to the shared story co-production, but, still, the genre and the type of this narrating activity has not been researched enough. Stapleton and Wilson (2017, p. 61), whilst referring to shared narrative templates (Wertsch, 2002), argue that the discursive, pragmatic and interactional dynamic threads surrounding the shared narrative composition process and its links to extrasituational identities is an underrepresented topic in the literature. Widely drawing on Bruner (2004), Bakhtin (1981) and Vygotsky (1987), Wertsch (2002, p. 22; 2008) discusses the phenomena of collective remembering and public memory (Bodnar, 1992) that he sees as an emergent polyphonic dialogue rather than a large “body of information that is somehow encoded, stored and retrieved”. This shifts analytical orientation towards considering the development of a (shared) narrative – ideologically stemming from the collective remembering – as a tool that individuals use for their identity co-construction, and, thus, their voicing practices (Wooffitt and Clark, 1998; Zimmerman, 1998).

Seeing collectively co-constructed narrative as variously a process of individuals making sense of their lives (Ricoeur, 1984), an interactional zone (Georgakopoulou, 2007), and a dynamically co-created site for individuals’ voices (Wertsch, 2002, 2008) problematises the typifying genre-based approaches towards investigating the story-telling (Baynham and Georgakopoulou, 2006; Bamberg and Georgakopoulou, 2008;

Georgakopoulou, 2014). Approaching the process of shared stories co-construction from the position of the research participants entering the dialogic space of narration where their voices – as well as the voices from the inner organisation of the story – intersect (Wertsch, 2008) manifests departing from a purely genre-based framework but challenges the use of the term *shared stories*. In order to address the latter, and, following Zidjaly's (2009, cited in Haslett, 2011) application of Goffman's (1981) ideas, the current inquiry proposes the use of *shared co-production format* – helping to open up any restricting typifying boundaries and emphasising the performative and interactional side of storytelling. The use of the term also resonates with Bell and Pahl's (2018, p. 105) discussion of co-production as promoting analytical justice and resisting inequalities – or a framework “which operates *within, against and beyond* our present in order that its potential might be protected, realised and expanded”. While directly linking their elaboration of the term with neoliberalism critics, Bell and Pahl (2018, p. 108) write:

Co-production can 'bring air into a closed system'. It can empower 'communities' to collectively construct new lifeworlds, it can help resist potentially damaging policy or development and it can unleash alternative social forms that exist within the social body.

I do not argue for the use of this term as a substitutive for the *shared-stories* notion; this might be successfully implemented as a particular type of narrating activity. However, bearing in mind the analytical focus of the current inquiry (considering the concept of voice from different perspectives) I do argue for pushing up the theoretical boundaries and paying attention to the ways participants (co-)develop their voices in relation to each other. The use of the

term *emphasising the performative aspects* of narratives aligns with the core idea of the small stories perspective. As the **Lens 5** analysis will demonstrate, the then-intuitive decision won itself over; when at the re-reading transcripts stage the analytical lens spotted the episodes of participants' co-developing not only the shared stories but disagreement as well (see 6.5.1.2). The use of this term has eventually addressed the analytically problematic situation of participants entering into disagreement but still applying the same strategies as used within the shared-stories co-construction process. This created a paradox of a semantic ideological discrepancy and interactional dynamics affinity. Approaching disagreement from an analytically neutral perspective of seeing it as a co-constructed practice addresses the criticism of the existing studies considering it as a dispreferred (Sacks, 1987), face-mitigating (Leech, 1983), taxing (Waldron and Applegate, 1994), destructive (Heritage, 1984, p. 268) phenomenon (Sifianou, 2012). Instead, many (inter alia Georgakopoulou, 2001; Sifianou, 2012) argue for approaching the phenomenon of disagreement in a positive light – carrying the potential to strengthen interactants' relationships. Thus, considering disagreement as participants' voices intersecting within the co-production format theoretically acknowledges the variability of interpretations, as well as philosophically promoting analytical justice in terms of departing from considering it in a negative light. The latter aligns with seeing any experience as context-dependent and unique, eventually providing an opportunity to distinguish between different factors influencing individuals managing disagreement (which would not be possible if seeing it only as a negative encounter). The concept of co-production format, therefore, theoretically becomes a foothold where the voices of individuals intersect not only with each other at many different levels (e.g. semantic,

agentive, etc.) but also meet the voices of others from the factors surrounding the communicative event. The term co-production format – as applied to individuals co-developing the shared story, or constructing disagreement – opens up the possibility of uncovering the polyphonic complexity of the communicative event.

In conclusion – and circling back to the main reason for implementing the shared co-production grid – the choice of putting the episodes of individuals entering the co-production format into the centre of the research’s analysis might be better explained by the intention to see – through the micro-lens of small stories perspective – how the research participants co-construct their identities and co-develop their voices *in relation to each other*. This does not imply that other episodes should be considered analytically irrelevant; however, I chose the episodes where the research participants’ voices intersected the most (Wertsch, 2002, 2008) in order to see them operating at full capacity.

5.2.2 Advancing transcription techniques

After re-reading the transcripts of the pair sessions several times, I identified the episodes for analysis. In order to observe the principle of holistic inquiry, I intended to cover all the interview rounds and involve all the participants.

Eventually, I identified the following episodes:

Timur and Margo (1st interview; 00:53:43-00:56:31)

Alisa and Yana (1st interview; 00:37:45-00:40:15)

Timur and Margo (4th interview; 00:54:13-01:00:10)

Irina and Kristina (7th interview; 00:37:57-00:42:02)

In order to delve into the small stories analysis I re-transcribed the chosen episodes using more advanced transcription conventions (see 5.1.2.2). Since this fine-grained approach to analytical procedure description is inherent to the elaboration of analysis findings, it has been presented in the **Lens 5** section.

5.2.3 Producing the report

Data analysis was followed by producing the report. I was constantly mediating between the guiding literature, the mind map and the data itself.

In order to accommodate the wider readership and due to participants choosing Russian during the interviews, I faced the issue of translating the extracts. I followed Badwan (2015) in her decision to mediate between literal and communicative translations, with the former attempting to transfer the form of the utterance (grammar, syntax, etc.) and the latter its semiotic content and communicative goal (Newmark, 1988; see also Komissarov, 1990). When translating the extract chosen for showcasing the outcome of thematic analysis, the content of the quotes was the chief aim of the translation.

However, when elaborating the abstracts for the small stories analysis I paid attention to the form of the utterances as well. With the understanding that the latter is quite a fine-grained analytical lens (featuring such micro-details as intonation, inhalation and pauses) I was trying my best to transfer both form and content. It is important to emphasise within the research on voice that, even though I did refer to the translated extracts from the participants' answers as 'quotes', it nevertheless means that those are rather translated references to the original quotes – that “reflect the original, but have been recreated” (Halai, 2007, p.344).

As seen from the final mind map, all findings coming from the use of different theoretical approaches are intertwined with dialogic threads. This feature eventually found its reflection in the report as well: I interconnectedly refer to all five across the following **Chapter 6**, the outcome of the analysis chapter.

Chapter 6: Research analyses: five lenses

Introduction

This chapter presents the project's five groups of findings which emerged out of considering the data through five different theoretical, analytical and methodological lenses. Since these leading theoretical and analytical frameworks are essential for the analysis (eg the first group of findings is mainly centering around Bakhtin's ideas of voicing and ideological becoming), I refer to these groups as **Lens 1, 2**, etc. This chapter elaborates the features of the participants' sociolinguistic experiences and identifies any similarities and differences across the profiles. In order to exemplify the points made in thematic analysis, and showcase the flow of analytical thought, quotes are used to illustrate individuals' experiences. The quotes are very often incorporated within the text – which conceptually places the thesis at the intersection and within the dialogic polyphony of the researcher's, participants' and reader's voices. In addition, to remind of the theories informing each lens and to see the links between the data and existing frameworks, some sections contain short remarks on the fundamentals of the study – even though the discussion of the analyses in the light of existing theories comes later, in **Chapter 7**.

6.1 Lens 1: voicing as ideological becoming

Our ideological development is just an intense struggle within us for hegemony among various available verbal and ideological points of view, approaches, directions and values. The semantic structure of an internally persuasive discourse is not finite, it is open: in each of the new

contexts that dialogise it, this discourse is able to reveal ever newer ways to mean.

Bakhtin (1981, p. 345)

Lens 1 section starts by elaborating the individuals' sociolinguistic activity from the perspective of ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963, 1981) and, while considering the process of voice development as a constantly evolving "collection of meanings" (Delp, 2004), looks at the participants' lives from a satellite view (Kell, 2011). In seeing ideological becoming as a core factor of life, and a process inherent to any system (Bakhtin, 1981), **Lens 1** thus addresses many different aspects of participants' lives (in comparison to other lenses' findings centring around particular aspects), and considers their long-term trajectories. Due to this extensive coverage of many stages of individuals' lives (not only the specific period when participants were on SA, but what was and might be happening before/after their sojourn) I decided to start with this **Lens**.

The section is structured as follows: I first discuss participants' voice trajectories through the lens of their ideological becoming as it relates to them learning/using English, then move onto the prism of individuals' native language attitudes. The concept of language learning motivation is used here as a bridge to understanding participants' voice trajectories (Harvey, 2014). In other words, **Lens 1** celebrates the idea of individuals' ideological becomings being performed through voicing and narrating their life with different semiotic codes – with the desires (Motha and Lin, 2014) and motivation to learn how to operate those turning out to be a core element of their voice trajectories (*when*

I use the language, I voice my thoughts; therefore, if I want to voice my thoughts, I need to learn the language).

6.1.1 Attitudes towards English and Russian: (re)shaping language ideologies

Through adopting the longitudinal perspective, this section elaborates participants' language ideologies and their changing attitudes towards English and Russian. It explores the factors affecting individuals' ideological shift, both before and during the sojourn, as relates to their (changing) motivations to learn English and the evolution of their relationships with Russian.

6.1.1.1 Factors affecting participants' attitudes towards (learning) English

In this subsection I shed light on the factors contributing to shaping participants' relationships with English – starting from the very beginning. I put the factors as they appeared in my interviewees' lives in chronological order – so as to make it more convenient for a reader to trace their *ideological becoming* and see the things through the eyes of sojourners themselves.

6.1.1.1.1 Family influence

Starting from the earliest stages of each participant's language learning history, parental influence and family upbringing were the first (and at that time, foremost) factors contributing to forming individuals' attitudes towards English. Each individual's parents contributed to their linguistic ability development, because knowledge of English was considered to be one of the most essential things in life. All participants underwent some additional training in terms of their English skills – mainly because of the low level of language education offered in regular schools. For example, after the first year at a regular school, Timur was transferred to a school focusing on studying

languages (English and French); Irina used to attend English language courses when she was a teenager (14-16 years old); Yana had a private English tutor when she was in Year 5; and Alisa was supported by her parents from the very beginning of her school years – from the very start of her acquiring English (1st interview; 00:10:07-00:11:01):

My parents were living in the USA before I was born, and, of course, they were helping me when I was learning English at school... They were supporting me... When I could not do something, my mum was helping me with my homework, they considered English as a very important thing to have in your arsenal.

As for the other two participants, Kristina and Margo: their parents' valuing of English language abilities came slightly later in their language learning histories. Kristina explained that even though she had good teachers when she was at school and university, when it came to passing IELTS, she was taking private English lessons – which, again, would never have been made possible without financial support from her parents. Margo's parents expressed their appreciation of her good studies through ascribing English a certain value and objectifying it – as a present for finishing the university with flying colours, they paid for her English language courses. However, as with the others, both later mentioned that they could feel that their parents considered it very important for their children to know English – due to the better life and job opportunities available to those who can speak English. Margo (1st interview; 00:11:42-00:11:54) said:

Yes, my father has always liked English. He thought that it is very important and I somehow got the same attitude.

As for other members of participants' families influencing their learning dynamics, only Timur mentioned someone apart from his parents. He said that he "met" English even before school – through exposure to the language coming from his elder brother who was teaching him to read the Latin alphabet.

When directly asked about their families' contribution to their language learning dynamics, everyone except for Alisa said that they did not experience any pressure and did not feel any appreciation coming from their parents and other family members; they did not see that their parents had ascribed any value to English. However, when I specifically pointed to the details of their biographies mentioned above, all of them agreed that their parents considered English language knowledge a very important asset (primarily in terms of having better opportunities in the job market and to live abroad in better living conditions). This would explain why they received so much financial and psychological support from them. Kristina compared her own experience with what is happening now with her younger sister (2nd interview; 00:05:16-00:06:27)

*Yes, English is very important for my parents, that is true, especially for my mum – and my sister now... Oh this is a disaster... **We** have these problems with her English teacher at school and my mum is really upset about it... Thank God I didn't have those problems during my school years.*

When talking about her sister's problems, Kristina extends the agency boundaries for the whole situation – through the use of the collective we, which in turn means that English language problems are of high importance

not (only) for her sister but for all of the family as well (including Kristina). Admitting that English had great value for their parents, all participants agreed their families played an important role in their English learning – if not the most essential. (At the beginning of their English language journey it was the one and only reason for them to learn it.) During the last pair interview Timur said (and Margo agreed with him) (7th interview; 01:14:07-01:14:38):

They put me onto the way of learning English language, they felt how important it is – and that was the reason why I was learning English at that time, but my own appreciation and valuing of English came later in life.

Overall, each participant considered their parents directing them to learn English as something that should be taken for granted – moreover, none of them resisted that ideological framework. (They all started learning English and were trying their best to fulfil that task.) Even though they all told me that their own valuing of English came later in life, and that their first steps in learning English were directed by their parents, the fact that family influence did matter at that time manifested them “assimilating the words [and voices] of others” (Bakhtin, 1963), or their first steps in their ideological becoming in terms of their language learning histories. More to the point, individuals assimilating ideologies coming family influence factor itself captured them facing authoritative discourse (Bakhtin, 1963) that they later learn how to balance.

6.1.1.1.2 English value management

Thus, all sojourners started their English language *ideological becoming* from assimilating the words of their parents. Later, as they grew up, they all started

assigning (as Timur said) “their own” values to English through discovering that English might become an asset for a high-profile image and a tool for winning prestige – not only in the job market but also in everyday life. Those factors guided participants’ motivation dynamic to learn and use language.

Meeting the requirements of “ideal” identities

Having departed from the family influence framework, participants started assigning particular values to English. Another ‘type’ of voice had appeared slightly before participants started distinguishing in the overall assemblage: the voices of participants’ teachers and educational institution authorities. In comparison to the family impact factor, all participants clearly saw the ‘otherness’ of those voices. When asked about educational institution ideologies (*Did being good at English carry the same value as being good at other subjects?*) all participants agreed that, through the attitudes of teachers, tutors and headmasters, English was prioritised before other disciplines. As Margo and Timur noted (others agreeing), the value of English at educational establishments was informed by the overall high ideological esteem attributed to knowing it. Kristina referred to media and policy-makers’ strategies as nurturing an ideology of prestige associated with English (see 2.1.1). Irina said (1st interview; 00:15:42-00:16:04):

English was a kinda cool subject... And I could feel that attitude coming from the teachers.

However, the most noticeable change (in comparison to the family impact factor) was that when speaking about time spent at school, they started to distinguish their own and others’ desires. The most important thing for them

was to study English to achieve the ideal image of a good and diligent pupil.

Yana said (1st interview; 00:43:56-00:45:32):

*I always had good marks in every subject, including English. Everyone in our family had good marks, so I step by step perceived this – it became important for myself as well... Then at school I wanted to get good marks; it was important for **me**.*

This quote clearly illustrates the smooth shift from drawing on family values to developing their own attitudinal framework. While putting some additional emphasis on and “overarticulating” those words, Kristina claimed that knowing English “was essential for me”.

Similarly, Alisa (1st interview; 00:12:24-00:12:37) said:

I was learning English at school as I wanted good marks in everything.

Timur (1st interview; 00:17:20-00:17:39) added:

I was a diligent student which is why I was putting in effort in studying English.

It is clear that once they all grew older in terms of their English learning ideological becoming, another prominent component became more salient in their motivational dynamics: fulfilling the requirements of their ideal identities, incorporating aspirations “to better identity options in the future” (Badwan, 2015, p. 58).

English as a tool for getting prestige

As participants started “approaching this process more deliberately and putting more conscious efforts into learning English” (Yana, 2nd interview; 00:07:34-00:07:41), they faced another factor linked with the issues of language

connected with power, epistemology and identity (Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity, 1998).

Margo and Timur arrived at the point of associating English knowledge with prestige earlier than the others. They both mentioned that when they were in the seventh and eighth grades, they started listening to English songs as part of their overall image of a “cool, Westernised person”, which was also maintained through the use of other means of semiosis: such as clothing, make up, etc. Margo was learning English to understand the songs of her favourite bands and to sing along to them. Timur at first pursued the same goal – for him English songs were a *destination* for his English learning. However, when he realised that English might become a valuable asset, not just in terms of maintaining the image of a “cool guy” but also in terms of career opportunities, listening to English songs became the *means* of learning English. He experienced a shift in his ideological/motivational framework and extended the notion of prestige associated with English towards including better career opportunities. From then on, he was learning English not *for the sake of* understanding the songs but rather *through* understanding the songs. What he also emphasised in talking through that point of his English language journey was that another factor started moving to the forefront of Timur’s motivation: “enjoying the process of learning and using English” (2nd interview; 00:03:12-00:03:20).

It is interesting that, while enjoying her image as a cool girl listening to English songs, Margo also maintained an ideological dialogue with her father.

However, whereas it was he who had initially cultivated her positive attitude

towards English, at the time of Margo's realisation of the prestige that English language carries, she promoted her love to English songs to her father.

It should come as no surprise that across all the profiles English was associated with positive and empowering functions, such as better job opportunities, boosting a career, travelling, an ability to live and function normally worldwide, opening up your cultural horizons, and earning intellectual capital (making yourself smarter through training your brain). As mentioned earlier, the prestige accompanying English language knowledge played a crucial role in participants' attitudinal and motivational framework development. Margo's comment below is a case in point (4th interview; 00:32:45-00:34:01):

... when I realised that through English I could get MUCH better job offers and more prestigious placements and opportunities, it became very important for me. Yes, and it is still very important – for me English means importance, prestige, good job, no matter where – both in Russia and abroad. This is a must-have.

When discussing the empowering functions of English, including as a tool for winning prestige, Margo and Timur primarily talked about it in terms of their work, whereas others spoke in terms of their social lives. This may be because both Timur and Margo initially had much more work experience than the other participants. However, as the interviewing stage progressed towards the end of the data collection, all the participants talked about the importance of English language skills for getting a good job. Kristina was the first who mentioned that she values English because it frees her work opportunities; she was the first because during her studies she was applying to work at

British and international companies. Alisa (4th interview; 01:28:23-01:28:40) said:

English is important for me, for my career. It is vital, I would say, for me if I want to get a good job.

Returning to English as a tool for winning prestige as it relates to everyday sociolinguistic practices, both Alisa and Kristina enjoyed talking English in public in Russia. Kristina referred to situations when she started talking English in shops, banks, etc because she “really enjoyed getting all this attention”. Apart from that, Kristina also noted that it was a good practice before coming to the UK – but, still, she did like the attention and the feeling of “having something that not everyone has”, which was the chief reason. This part of her motivational framework build-up on the prestige and unique nature of English and related cultural assets was aligned with Margo’s and Timur’s perspectives. While they used English songs, clothing and make-up styles to look prestigious and “cool”, Kristina referred to linguistic practices.

As with Kristina, Alisa (3rd interview; 00:45:32-00:47:01) enjoyed the status that English gave her when she used it in Russia:

...it raises you up above all – it gives you the status, the power, the prestige [...] makes you unique in some sense. I remember when I was with my friends in Saint Petersburg, when we saw foreigners, my friends were like: “Alisa, Alisa, your English is super cool, talk to them”. That is really cool. I enjoy it so much.

This extract is clearly demonstrative in terms of Alisa’s voice development: her good English was that necessary element that gave (and still gives) her voice

in this kind of situations, that makes her voice the most significant of all the other voices (of her friends).

The fact that participants started to value English much more, using it as an asset to get prestige in many different aspects, including everyday sociolinguistic practices, better work, study and life opportunities – clearly intersects with positioning theory. Their valuing of English came from understanding how much they would be valued in others' eyes – either in the job market or in everyday communication with friends. That said, it becomes quite obvious that positioning English as something with intrinsic values comes from assimilating the words of others – their friends, employers and general beliefs about English – which, in turn, move them forward in their ideological becoming.

6.1.1.1.3 Expectation vs reality gap: moving to the land of fabled others

The data confirm Badwan's (2015, p. 145) claims on moving across time and space as incorporating "moving from 'imagined' Britain to 'real' Britain", which "offers individuals the opportunity to test their previously held attitudes towards their English and their linguistic goals and views". Once the participants arrived in the UK, they all experienced shock – though in each case that shock was of a different nature. Everyone except for Alisa confirmed that their expectations of English and what they experienced in reality were two different things. Those who had experience of communicating with English people before (or like Timur were exposed to "naturally occurring" English on TV and the Internet) directly linked that difference to the differences in English accents. Some individuals claimed that they did not like the variety they

experienced and regarded the Yorkshire accent with quite negative connotations. Margo (3rd interview; 00:29:13-00:31:24) said:

My first day here was the strangest and the most awful day ever! [...] The second I left my dorm house to buy some food I realized that it's not only the culture shock about women not wearing stockings when it's cold, etc., but the language as well! I could not understand a word. It got better with time but I still hate the Yorkshire accent...

Though Alisa did not refer to the language shock itself, she did claim that she did not like the Yorkshire accent (2nd interview; 00:16:14-00:17:35):

I like the way people speak in London, and that is how I try to speak though I know that I rather have American accent... But I really cannot understand what Yorkshire people are saying – and very often it is not because I don't know something from their culture or whatsoever... That's because I merely can't understand a word!

Others expressed a cold attitude towards Yorkshire accents, highlighting that they did not expect to hear it. As with Alisa, Margo, Timur and Kristina did not like the accent as “it is really difficult to understand what you are being told” (Margo, 2nd interview; 00:13:23-00:13:35); Irina and Yana referred to the lack of prestige (stigma) associated with this variety.

Even though most participants (everyone apart from Margo, who favoured the pronunciation of people from Scandinavia) aspired to achieve native-like pronunciation, they all highlighted that it is “definitely not a Yorkshire accent that I would like to get” (Irina, 2nd interview; 00:20:34-00:20:40). Furthermore, all participants claimed that they preferred to communicate with people from countries where English is not L1. Reasons outlined for that include not being

able to understand native speakers (“It’s like sometimes you listen to them and you are like what the hell are they talking about and you switch off”, Margo (3rd interview; 00:19:27-00:19:49)) as well as being put in a subordinate position in the power communication hierarchy (“I feel one level lower when talking to them – it might be only my own perception but still I can’t deny that it affects the communication”, Alisa (3rd interview; 00:37:25-00:37:51)). Diverging from the other participants, Yana, in the beginning of the data collection, said that she wanted to communicate only with British people. However, at our second meeting she had changed her attitude – aligning hers with others’ ideas in regards to communicating. She stated that she enjoyed “building up the communication networks with the Russian-speaking community because they can understand me from inside out” and “talking to international students for whom English is not their native language, because they can understand me superficially – in terms of my language”. Other reasons related to participants feeling inferior when communicating with native speakers are discussed in

Lens 3.

All referred to a certain mismatch in registers – in terms of what they expected to experience in the UK and what language they were actually using. For example, Kristina (2nd interview; 00:14:35-00:14:47) said:

My English is too academic. And people make fun of it. I have to learn the real English.

Only Timur said he had not experienced particular difficulties in understanding slang and colloquial expressions (though he later added that he did have problems understanding what people told him), claiming it was due to his love of watching TV series in English. However, he claimed that he lacked “the

academic English”, which was why he “had to take English courses” (which he did not enjoy). The most frequent explanation related to the poor English teaching practices in the participants’ native country. Margo said (1st interview; 00:23:19-00:23:36):

No one would ever be able to graduate from school or uni with good English. Oh, c’mon, even when attending courses there’s no guarantee of you learning the language!

Yana, a participant with a linguistic background, said that the quality of teaching English depends only on the teacher – and that “you have to be lucky to get a good one”. Irina agreed, saying: “What language I learnt back home and what language I use now are two, not completely but still different, things” (1st interview; 00:31:25-00:32:08).

Though four individuals were aware there are a lot of other nationalities residing in the UK, they were “sincerely shocked to see how many Englishes exist and how big the gap between each two varieties is” (Timur, 1st interview; 00:51:01-00:51:15).

“What is English? There is no such thing as one English, there are *many Englishes*”

When discussing attitudes towards English, the gap between participants’ “initial expectations” (Kristina, 2nd interview; 00:12:11-00:12:15) and their actual experienced sociolinguistic reality was a hot topic. One of the most shocking experiences was “amazingly a lot of different varieties of English” (Irina, 2nd interview; 00:28:12-00:28:23). All interviewees agreed that even though they were “theoretically aware” (Margo, 2nd interview; 00:15:47-00:15:49) of great variability in forms – accents and dialects of English – they

most often thought about it in reference to the dichotomy between British and American accents, and not “what a colourful medley English language landscape actually is” (Yana, 2nd interview; 00:16:31-00:16:52). Furthermore, they all said that in Russia teachers did not emphasise that there were many different varieties of English and promoted, in the participants’ words, quite a monolithic (Hall, 2012) view of English. For instance, Yana (2nd interview; 00:15:27-00:15:46) said:

For us there were only two: American and British English. And everyone liked the British one, I really don't know why they never talked through the actual situation as it is in the world.

The idea of many Englishes eventually blossomed in participants discussing attitudes not only to English as a wider umbrella concept of “the most needed language in the world” (Margo, 4th interview; 00:21:14-00:21:16) but to its varieties as well, including the concept of the best and ideal English.

Unsurprisingly, the ideas expressed by individuals differed to a great extent.

Yana, “admiring everything British”, said that the only English she acknowledges (and wants to speak) is the very standard form of British English, “a pure, distilled language without any regional or social infusions and accents” (2nd interview; 00:44:31-00:45:15). This view resonates with her earlier statements that children should learn English from classical books and grammar manuals – where the standard norm of the language is captured in the best possible way.

Irina said that “all accents have the right to be in this world” (2nd interview; 00:26:15-00:26:21), but, while referring to non-native linguistic varieties, added that “the presence of such a big number of accents might be very upsetting for

native speakers as *it spoils the language*" (2nd interview, 00:26:39-00:26:53; *my emphasis*). When talking about the best and ideal English, Irina used metaphorical images: she described an old couple living in a very secluded village that has not experienced any influence of foreign variations of English. She herself highlighted that her views are quite "traditional and conservative" – and that being a non-native she would "never be able to achieve that level of competence I am aspiring to" (2nd interview; 00:25:11-00:25:34).

Margo, on the other hand, claimed that "native speakers'" English "is the worst I [have] ever heard", while also stating that "you cannot understand anything they say because of their accent and sometimes slang words". For her the best variation was "people from Scandinavian countries", who "practically don't have any accent [...] don't chew the words when they speak", and whose speech "isn't filled with the words that are barely used by normal people" (referring to very specific slang words and regional colloquialisms) (2nd interview; 00:28:11-00:29:14). Her perspective includes a negative attitude and ideologies towards the presence of accents and any 'flavouring' words and idioms in speech as a factor impeding communication. For Margo that was one of the reasons she wanted to get rid of her Russian accent – to achieve the higher level of 'understandability' of her own English, which, in turn, may help her to make her voice louder.

In a similar vein, Alisa mentioned that the best and ideal variation for her was British English (though she mentioned that only once), but, in tune with Margo, she emphasised the 'understandability' of a language as the most important factor. Timur and Kristina did not refer to specific variations, for them the most

essential aspects of the best and ideal English were not the absence of accent but speech accuracy and fluency – as applied to understandability.

Even though Alisa, Yana and Irina claimed that the ideal English is the native-speaker variation, they did not say that they were learning it in order to achieve native-like competence. Quite conversely, everyone apart from Yana, told me that the most important thing for them was to make their English understandable enough to communicate with others. Furthermore, when directly asked about the non-expected linguistic heterogeneity's impact on their motivational dynamics, all five agreed (first stated by Irina) that, in theory, if they came to the UK and never faced that (cultural and linguistic) superdiversity, they most probably would be aspired to some other gains.

Thus, upon arrival in the UK, the participants' ideological becoming envisaged entering polyphonic dialogues, not only with many different people, but ideological conceptual entities, such as different varieties of English, and their past expectations. That eventually led to their voice – as well as language learning motivation trajectories – being guided into some as-yet unexplored directions.

6.1.1.1.5 “We live in and in English now”

In addition to the expectation vs. reality gap, participants were referring to the issue of “being a fully-fledged member of a new society” (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:35:26-00:35:41), because, as Kristina (2nd interview; 00:23:45-00:23:51) put it, “we live in and on English now”. Before coming to the UK, participants valuing English and their motivation to learn it were closely connected to first their families valuing English and then the empowering functions that English knowledge carries in itself in both Russian and international contexts.

However, once they moved to the UK, another factor – integrating into a new society cluster – came to the fore.

All participants expressed concern that they might lack the linguistic knowledge to function well in a new context. The mismatch in individuals' expectations of English and the sociolinguistic reality of the UK, caused by the poor quality of English teaching in Russia, was a factor in different sorts of problems. The most frequently mentioned ones were issues with academic performance and the inability to properly socialise. According to the participants, this was the main reason they continued learning English.

However, during our fourth meetings (which coincided with them getting the results for the first assignments) the participants expressed virtually no concerns about their academic English, since they realised that they functioned well enough for their studies. Kristina (4th interview; 01:23:15-01:23:19) even said:

I can feel now that my English is WAY too academic.

She said the same earlier – at our second meeting; however, at that time she was referring to her inability to function well in a new social setting. At the fourth session she was talking about the irrelevance of worrying about her “bad English writing assignments skills” (Kristina, 4th interview; 01:23:01-01:23:04).

Before realising that they could actually do well in terms of academic performance, all the participants were attending various language workshops (except for Alisa – as she explained later, she chose another strategy – reading as many academic papers as she could). However, once they

received their grades, they stopped. (Timur stopped right after the first session).

6.1.1.1.6 “I want to get rid of my accent”

The problem with accent turned out to be something that brought all the participants' voices together. Across all the profiles having a Russian accent was considered irrelevant in the context of studying and residing in the UK. As with Alisa and Yana, Irina said (2nd interview; 00:12:34-00:12:39):

I know I speak with an accent but I really want to eliminate it as much as I can...

Though less rigorously, Timur and Kristina (2nd interview; 00:26:15-00:26:27) explained that they wanted to get rid of their accents because they “want [their] English to be correct in all aspects including pronunciation”. Margo (2nd interview; 00:10:12-00:10:24) added that she “really like[s] when people say that I don't have Russian accent”.

However, when exploring the reasons for participants experiencing a strong desire to lessen their accent, no one mentioned the low value associated with a Russian accent. However, it should be mentioned here that individuals did admit that English with non-native accents carries less value in the contemporary sociolinguistic arena – but, amazingly enough, no one referred to the *Russian* accent, in particular, having less weight. Moreover, when asked directly. *Why do you (they) want to eliminate your Russian accent?*, they admitted that it was quite hard for them to find an answer. However, at our third meeting Margo mentioned a point that at the fourth session, was agreed by others. She said that her desire to eliminate any accent was informed by

disrupting the prejudiced idea of Russian people not being able “to learn English well enough to get rid of the accent”.

When others saw this point in the prompts, they straightaway agreed with it. Timur (3rd interview; 02:37:16-02:37:35) claimed that by no means did he want others to think of him as *not Russian* but he still “want[ed] them to see the uselessness of that stereotype that Russian people talk English like in bad movies”. Kristina, Irina (4th interview; 01:15:42-01:15:54) and Alisa also referred to the stereotypical depiction of Russian people speaking “with a very harsh accent as propagated in Hollywood blockbusters”. Yana agreed but still mentioned that for her the most important thing was to make her English “distilled and pure” (3rd interview; 01:47:38-01:47:41).

Returning to the different values associated with different varieties of English, Timur (3rd interview; 01:15:41-01:15:44) also mentioned that he was “really afraid of soaking up an Indian accent” from his flatmates. He explained that an Indian accent was associated with lower value in comparison to his own, Russian one. Others, as already mentioned, did not refer to a Russian accent, specifically, when talking about the varieties carrying less weight in terms of the economic hurdles of neoliberalism – it was mentioned, though, that the native-like accents do stand out in the crowd of other Englishes.

6.1.1.1.6 “I was a different person before when I was using different languages”
 Eventually, we arrived at the point of discussing changes in identity initiated by using different languages. The way interviewees approached the concept of self as related to using linguistic resources goes hand in hand with the elaboration of different identity facets as depicted by Benson et al. (2013).
 When talking through their reflexive identity dynamics as connected to the use

of different languages and in terms of the impact different languages have upon it, participants answers might be located along the so-called 'degree continuum' (Fig. 12):

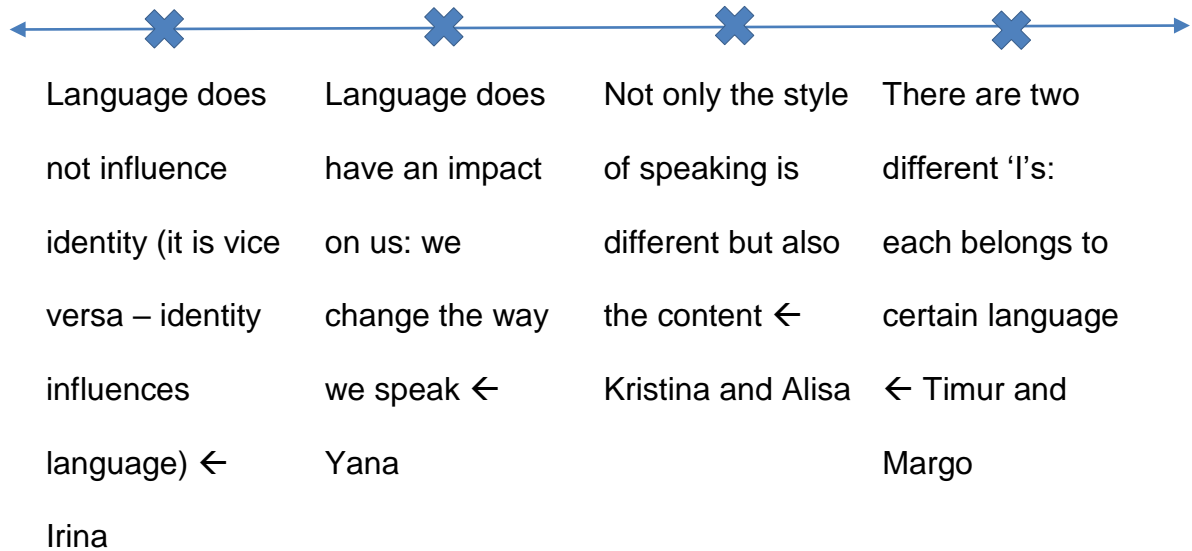


Figure 12: How language affects identity

At our first, second and third meetings Timur and Margo were talking through the issue of using different languages as clearly linked to not just behaving differently, but also “feeling that there are two I’s – English and Russian ones” – which does not depend on “geographical location” (1st interview; 00:57:01-00:57:12). Margo said (1st interview; 00:56:01-00:56:29):

When I speak English I am more relaxed, I am funny, I smile much more... When I speak Russian I am more serious, much more serious. I can't imagine that I am in a club and I am approaching someone and start talking Russian, no I will never do that, but if I am speaking English – it is not difficult at all, I am much more easy going when I speak English [...] I am two different Margos.

While referring to two “different personalities”, Timur said that he-English is “more reserved and sometimes stupid, less smart and easy-going and breezy” (1st interview; 00:57:35-00:57:40) in comparison to he-Russian.

Kristina (2nd interview; 00:30:27-00:31:53) said that even though she does “live in and on English while in the UK”, she never experienced that she had two identities as Margo and Timur did. Furthermore, she even reacted quite sarcastically, saying that “having two identities is the beginning of schizophrenia”. However, she did admit that speaking either English or Russian changes her “way of speaking and the content of discussion”:

There are themes that are better left mentioned while speaking with a foreigner [...] And the way I speak also changes: you have to exaggerate, overarticulate practically everything, some jokes will be necessarily lost within this process as you will have to explain these and the funny element is gone...

Even though Irina (Irina, 3rd interview, 00:23:17-00:24:57) found herself on the left side of the continuum, claiming that the language does not change her identity at all (“it is rather vice versa”), she later admitted that, firstly, she avoids some themes while talking to foreigners, because “we should respect other cultures and try not to impose our own thoughts and opinions... since we are in international surroundings”, and, secondly, that she is “becoming more reserved and less emotional” when speaking English (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:04:12-00:04:16). However, she then added that this might be the culture influencing her linguistic behaviour rather than just the language – she found it quite difficult to separate those two concepts. From our fifth meeting onwards she continuously referred not only to verbal modes of developing her voice,

which underwent certain changes under the influence of new linguistic and cultural surroundings, but also other means of semiosis, such as clothing – an idea which was later taken on and developed by Margo, Kristina and Timur as well (see section 6.2.2).

Each participant referred to the concept of politeness, saying that as a linguistic entity itself, English is much more polite than Russian, which makes them automatically more polite when speaking English. According to their answers, this even changed the way they spoke Russian. However, everyone except for Alisa and Yana regarded that feature quite negatively – as “something artificial and superficial – in comparison to Russian’s deep affection [meaning that Russians are polite only when they truly mean it]” (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:12:39-00:12:52). Towards the end of the data collection stage, all participants highlighted that, irrespective of them speaking English in Russia before the sojourn, the most linguistic and cultural influence they experienced was during the sojourn – and not only reflecting the people they were communicating with. They linked that to the background influence and to continuously developing the collective image of the people they are surrounded by – “more tolerant, open-minded” (Yana, 4th interview; 00:48:13-00:48:19), “culturally aware” (Irina and Kristina, 4th interview; 00:20:51-00:20:58), “keeping up work-life balance” (Timur, 4th interview; 00:38:11-00:36:28), “not thinking what to wear” (Margo, 5th interview; 00:43:35-00:43:42), etc. This reminds us of the concept of superaddressee – as elaborated by Bakhtin (1963). Furthermore, the overall atmosphere of “a freer society” has eventually led to participants pronouncing ideas they would not want to pronounce in their native country.

As the research progressed, others aside from Irina changed their opinions about the complex relationships between languages spoken and identity. Yana firstly claimed that she changes her way of speaking, carefully choosing the what to say without having two 'Is' inside; however, at the third interview she told me she felt there were "two identities", adding that "they don't contradict, but rather complement each other" (Yana, 3rd interview; 01:12:01-01:12:12). During our sixth meeting she told me that "those two identities have merged into one – integral, cohesive and finally complete". She said, over time, she stopped feeling two 'Is' inside of her – and started feeling that those are parts of her very complex and multi-faceted identity, "the aspects, but not completely different entities, of the same, real and integral me" (Yana; 6th interview; 00:37:21-00:39:15).

Similarly, Timur, at our last individual meeting, was also saying that he was "feeling more united and integral". It is very interesting to note how he was reflecting on his own identity dynamics development (Timur, 7th interview; 00:45:22-00:49:12):

Before I clearly felt like I am two different persons when talking either Russian or English, but now it's more like adaptive behaviour. I don't feel like I have two different identities now [...] but my behaviour is different. I come here and I've become more polite, I come home and at first I am like here – the same smiley and polite and people love it, and I honestly like that people love it... But then, as time passes, I adapt to Russian reality and I behave in the same way as before – with a grumpy face and a grumbling mode on.

Here again one can see how Benson et al.'s (2013) framework of multifaceted identity works – Timur was quite clearly manifesting the existence of different sides of his identity with diverse dynamics happening within this one big phenomenon.

6.1.1.2 Attitudes towards Russian

When discussing individuals' attitudes towards different languages, quite a big chunk of the data collection was devoted to talking through participants' (changing) relationships with their native language – Russian. Very interesting, and, in some sense, converse dynamics were discovered when analysing Margo, Yana and Alisa's trajectories. In the very beginning of the data collection (yet during the participants' recruitment) Alisa was continuously repeating that she would be “really glad to participate in this study because I miss Russian people and speaking the Russian language so much”, which clearly manifested her strong positive attitude towards her native language. She expressed the same opinions during our first, second and third interviews – every time we met she stressed that speaking Russian was very important for her and she did not want “to lose this very essential part of my culture, and the part of my identity” (Alisa, 2nd interview; 00:04:03-00:04:13). Moreover, during our second and third individual meetings, she expressed strong concerns that, being unable to use Russian in everyday life, she was running the risk of experiencing very strong L1 attrition. Notably, those discomforting feelings were exaggerated when the voice of her father was coming into play with her ideological becoming. He expressed negative attitudes towards Alisa's switching to English, which was happening due to her inability “to

quickly find most relevant words in Russian while I was talking about my study, life in the UK and friends” (Alisa, 2nd interview; 00:07:12-00:07:31). In other words, her father was trying to bring home to Alisa *how important her native language is* – and, according to her words, she penetrated the same attitude. Interestingly, at our very last meeting, she mentioned that the situation – though not in terms of Russian language ideologies – with her father had started to turn around, that she had begun to influence his way of thinking. Alisa said that she managed to persuade her father to find a more positive attitude towards her American accent through referring to the cultural artefacts, such as films, music, etc. That resonated with Margo’s experience of firstly assimilating the words of her father in regards to English learning motivation, then reorienting them and filling it up with her own ideas (see section 6.1.1.1.2).

Alisa did not have *the same strong* concerns on her L1 when she was living in Sweden: at that time those feeling were compensated with her choosing a Russian language and literature module at school, and with strong family policy of using only Russian at home. Interestingly, as will be later talked through in subsequent sections, in the beginning of her SA journey she was also trying to surround herself with Russian culture – through listening to Russian music, watching Russian films and TV series, following Russian bloggers on social network platforms, attending Russian culture-related events (such as concerts of Russian musicians) and so on. At our later meetings (particularly at the 6th and 7th interviews – i.e. towards the end of the data collection phase) when talking through that experience, Alisa highlighted that she was never able to fully understand *why* she was doing so – particularly, bearing in mind, that, she would never watch those in Russia or Sweden as

they were “complete rubbish in regards to their quality, like *Moya prekrasnaya nyanya, Molodezhka* [referring to a poor-quality Russian TV series]” (Alisa, 6th interview; 00:36:40-00:37:03). The shift happened after Alisa’s trip to Russia – the thoughts about which she started revealing at our fourth session. Starting from the fourth session, Alisa stopped talking about her desire to meet Russian people and practice the Russian language – but despite that change in ideological orientation, she was still accidentally expressing positive attitudes towards mastering her native language. For example, during the last session, which was conducted in pairs, Yana made a complement to Alisa and said that her Russian improved. Alisa reacted in a way that surely demonstrated her positive ideologies towards Russian (as well as her family’s attitude towards Russian) – she said that she is “really glad to hear that” and that her “dad will be happy” (Alisa, 7th interview; 02:30:23-02:30:49).

Conversely, Yana changed her ideological orientation from avoiding speaking Russian (first two sessions) to valuing everything connected to that language. During the second session she said (Yana, 2nd interview; 00:20:14-00:20:27):

I don't know why, but I'm not looking for Russians, it's them who found me.

Her valuing of Russian came at exactly the same time that she saw “it’s very prestigious to master that language abroad” (Yana, 3rd interview; 00:42:28-00:42:43). Her ideological shift was demonstrated by her story about “a British guy that everyone admires” (and that she started admiring as well) due to the fact that “he said that he knows the most difficult and beautiful languages in the world – RUSSIAN AND JAPANESE” (2nd interview; 00:30:11-00:30:28). When talking about that man, she highlighted the fact he considered the

Russian language one of the most difficult and beautiful languages in the world – increasing the volume of her speech and using exaggerated intonation (while ar-ti-cu-la-ting these words very cle-ar-ly). It is surprising (even for the participant herself) that she did not tell him that she wanted to put her Russian on hold in order to soak up as much English as she could while being on sojourn – quite conversely, she told him that she values the Russian part of her identity. When reflecting on that situation in subsequent interviews, she once again highlighted that this encounter marked her ideological change towards her native language – because she saw an actual example of a person who thinks speaking Russian carries prestige. When discussing that situation at a later stage of the research, Yana also discussed not only her own, but also that man’s reaction, to the fact that she knows Russian. She said: “his immediate reaction was that he referred to Russian as one of the most beautiful and difficult languages, and that he will keep learning Russian and reading in Russian, and then – he asked me to host an international event together... so, I got valued for the fact that I can speak Russian and that I am Russian” (Yana, 3rd interview; 00:38:15-00:38:52). Yana referred to the fact that she was valued for both her knowledge of Russian and “good English without strong accent”. When I specifically asked, which of the two points was decisive in relation to that man’s invitation to host an international event, she said that it was a combination of two. Furthermore, she explicitly stated that she believed it was not only her ideologies that changed but her counterpart’s as well – at least in relation to the “stereotype of Russians not being able to learn English” (Yana, 6th interview; 00:20:25-00:20:38).

In addition to that, during our third meeting Yana talked about her discovery that mastering the Russian language and culture abroad does carry a certain

amount of prestige, which surprised her. Since then she started not only looking for Russian people to communicate with but also trying to use “any opportunity to be in touch with Russian culture” (Yana, 3rd interview; 00:31:40-00:31:57), such as listening to Russian music, reading Russian books, participating in Russian language- and culture-related events, etc (after the third session she even asked me to print out some chapters from the Russian book she was reading). Up until the end of the data collection she expressed the same views of the Russian language – that she valued the fact that she speaks “the great and mighty Russian language” (a famous Russian collocation) and she is part of “such a great culturally as well as historically rich country as Russia” (Yana, 6th interview; 00:25:34-00:25:51). As discussed in the subsequent section on the cultural dimensions of investigating the concept of voice (**Lens 2**), at that time she was trying to immerse herself into as much Russian culture as she could find while being in the UK. She became a member of a Russian-speaking society in Leeds, volunteered at a Russian school, and tried to take any opportunity to participate in Russian culture-related events in London (such as major Russian celebrations and so on).

Margo’s attitude developed in a similar direction as Yana’s. At our first and second meetings she said that even though she thinks it is very important to master your native language, the Russian language is “like any other language that exists in the world, there is nothing particularly cool in being able to speak it” (Margo, 2nd interview; 00:20:03-00:20:19). As for the concerns of undergoing through the process of L1 attrition while being abroad, she did not have any: she said that she never thought about it and that the most important thing for her “is improve my English through using it as much as possible” (Margo, 2nd interview; 00:25:11-00:25:22). However, at the fourth interview

(conducted at the time of Russian Leeds small culture blossoming), she said that she “don’t want to substitute the time spent on speaking Russian with time devoted to speaking English anymore” (Margo, 4th interview; 00:40:01-00:40:17). She also added that in regards to using these languages she wanted to find a balance, because she “want[s] to improve English, but I still feel that I can express myself fully only in Russian” (Margo, 4th interview; 00:42:13-00:00:42:25). Over time, for Margo Russian acquired the status of a means through which she communicated with other Russians (including her counterparts in Russian Leeds) and was also an instrument for “relaxing the mind”. Thus, here we can see the so-called switch in her orientation; when earlier (at our first three meetings) she told me that she felt much more relaxed when speaking English in comparison to speaking Russian, from around the time of conducting the fourth interview, she was primarily referring to Russian as an instrument to “relax the mind and be yourself” (Margo, 4th interview; 00:42:37-00:42:44). Margo’s shifting language ideologies were inextricably intertwined with changes in her culture attitude framework. As discussed in subsequent sections, the increase in Margo’s valuing of her native language coincided with the formation of the Russian Leeds small culture.

Irina’s, Timur’s and Kristina’s attitudes towards Russian were – in comparison to Alisa, Yana and Margo – stable throughout the whole data collection journey. Both Irina and Kristina said that for them the Russian language is a very important part of their identity that they “don’t want to lose” (Kristina, 3rd interview; 00:23:11-00:23:17). This is why both individuals expressed concerns when discussing the problems of not being able to talk about many things in Russian without using English. However, their trajectories diverged towards the end of the data collection stage: Irina was still worrying about her

not being able to “use Russian properly” (Irina, 6th interview; 00:14:01-00:14:08), while Kristina was quite calm, saying that “as long as I come back to Russia, everything resumes to its normal” (Kristina, 7th interview; 01:12:35-01:12:55). When discussing his attitude towards Russian, Timur continuously referred to the same metaphor throughout the data collection stage; he compared the feeling when he speaks Russian or realises that he can master Russian to “the feeling of getting off the ground, the feeling of flying” (3rd interview; 00:19:11-00:20:00).

In the middle of the data collection stage all the participants claimed that “seeing that Russian language and culture are actually valued abroad was quite a surprise” (Margo, 4th interview; 00:45:34-00:45:51) for them. Yana, Irina and Kristina clearly indicated that they were surprised at the lecturer’s reaction to the fact that they come from Russia, which shifted their native language conceptualisations towards the positive. Participants specifically referred to cases of “tutors admiring the Russian language’s beauty” (Yana, 4th interview; 00:31:15-00:31:27), “people’s interest towards our culture and language” (Timur, 4th interview; 00:43:28-00:43:29), “university’s policies emphasising the importance of every nation and the existence of many Russian courses in town” (Kristina, 4th interview; 00:45:12-00:45:31), “my friends and teachers expressing sincere interest to my language” (Alisa, 4th interview; 00:33:01-00:33:28), “the existence of different organisations for teaching and spreading Russian language and culture” (Irina, 4th interview; 00:47:28-00:47:41), etc. Margo mentioned that she did not know that her native language carried any value abroad – nor was she aware of the interest people abroad have in learning Russian and using Russian cultural elements in their lives (such as wearing clothes made by Russian designers or

containing Russian culture-inspired prints, selling Russian classics books, etc). Irina (4th interview; 00:48:51-00:49:04) said it was “such a surprise when I saw it with my own eyes the way people here are into Russian”. That discovery and related encounters led them to reassess their native language attitudes as well since they then saw how “Russian is treated abroad” (Kristina, 4th interview; 00:50:15-00:50:17). Claims about how their attitudes towards their native language changed over the course of their sojourn initiated my interest in trying to discover the mechanisms of individuals’ reorganising their native language ideological framework – as will be discussed later in **Chapter 7**.

However, although individuals expressed the idea that Russian is valued at the level of communication with friends, teachers and different organisations, they all still felt “quite a cold attitude... in the media” (Alisa, 4th interview; 00:35:14-00:35:37). Irina explicitly referred to what is happening in the world of politics, claiming “this is really bad that because of the attitude of politicians, they make it very difficult for us to move across the countries, like we are super bad or dangerous or infected” (referring to the TB testing) (Irina, 4th interview; 00:50:13-00:50:35). Kristina said (4th interview; 00:52:26-00:52:43):

I’m not surprised by the fact that we are bad as they put it on TV. And it’s not just about the nationality – it’s about everything, culture, language...

Agreeing with that Timur (5th interview; 00:43:11-00:43:47) said:

Well, yeah, you can see that like overall thing it’s like over you and sometimes you see this in people’s attitude of course, that’s how propaganda works essentially nothing surprising in this...

Although none of the individuals claimed that their attitude changed due to the “propagated demonisation of Russian language” (Kristina, 5th interview; 00:52:02-00:52:17), it led them to reassess the so-called instrumental potency of their native language. Thus, for example, some of them experienced unjust treatment from other people – and in order to explain this, they referred to the “demonisation of Russian language”. Timur, Margo, Irina and Kristina also discussed the possibility of using Russian as a means of “frightening people” (Timur, 5th interview; 00:47:15-00:47:20). Irina theorised the following situation (Irina, 5th interview; 00:31:24-00:31:43):

Imagine you are walking in the dark, no one is in the street and someone approaches you... You just start talking Russian or with Russian accent – and problem solved!

Margo also shared a story about a taxi driver who “even changed his tone of talking to more polite when heard our exaggerated Russian accent, and then also took only half of the fee for driving us home” (Margo; 5th interview; 00:46:08-00:46:36). Though without any narrative contributions from their sides, Alisa and Yana (7th interview; 01:37:11-01:37:24) said that they had never experienced that kind of situation – but nevertheless “think that it is possible to use Russian like this”. In addition to that, as was discussed in section 6.1.1.1.6, ideologies at this level influenced the motivational dynamics of the participants’ English learning as well. The research participants agreed that they wanted to get rid of their accents because they wanted to disprove the stereotypical image of a Russian not speaking good English propagated in films and media discourse.

The participants' choice of language for the interviews might also be interpreted as a marker of their language ideologies. All interviews were conducted in Russian, except for the third interview with Timur, who chose English at that time because he wanted to practice it but after the session said that he would "never chose English for interview again, because it impedes" him from fully expressing his thoughts, ideas and opinions, as well as "me myself" (Timur, 3rd interview; 03:47:11-03:47:35). However, the reasons participants listed for choosing Russian were quite different. Thus, Kristina and Irina said that for them it would be strange to speak English with a Russian person; Alisa highlighted that speaking Russian prevents L1 attrition; and Yana and Margo said that they can express themselves better when using Russian.

6.1.2 Going beyond the language learning motivation: ideological becoming and non-linguistic aspects of sojourners' trajectories

The analysis has indicated that the phenomenon of ideological becoming has encompassed more than the linguistic aspects of participants' voicing practices. As shown in the extracts from the participants' interviews below, "assimilating the words of others" very often, if not always, means penetrating the cultural modes and behavioural patterns as well. For example, during our second session Timur was expressing concerns not only about soaking up the accent and the manner of speaking of his Indian flatmates but also starting to behave like them. When discussing this phenomenon, he literally cited Bakhtin (1963), saying that he was assimilating the words of others, the words of his immediate surroundings, but "there is nothing to be worried about" because "it

all goes away when I return to Russia” (Timur, 2nd interview; 00:06:11-00:06:23). Kristina, when talking about this cultural influence, seemed to be on the same page with him, saying that “of course, all this environment has an impact on not only the way we speak but also the ways we act and behave, including the emotional component of our voices, but once we will have been surrounded by the things that are usual for us, we, our identity change as well, so there is nothing to worry about” (Kristina, 2nd interview; 00:33:26-00:33:48). During our sixth meeting, Timur said similar things about acquiring some English-driven features of behaviour; however, instead of expressing concern about that, he claimed that he liked it. Timur (6th interview, 00:15:45-00:16:16) **my emphasis**) said:

I come home and I am smiley and all like this, and people like me and thus I like it... I was enjoying it and I was glad that English culture had this impact on me... Of course, when the time goes by, you become as usual – as you were before moving to the UK – but that’s a different story.

In contrast to Timur talking about his flatmates, in this case of ‘English culture impact’, he did not express any concerns – conversely, he claimed that he actually liked that English language-driven effect. Positioning English as an instrument for gaining prestige, this and similar phrases that Timur used to describe his change indicate that it was not only the English language helping him stand out from the crowd but the very *modes of behaviour associated with the English language and British culture* as well.

Some other participants (everyone, except for Yana) expressed similar opinions – that having lived in the UK for some time, they experienced a shift

in their conceptualisation of many different things, such as being polite, being 'timewise' (in terms of separating the time devoted to work and study, and the time they spent on their personal development and friends and family), and so on. These themes were largely and primarily discussed with reference to English or British culture (in its 'large' rather than 'small' understanding (Holliday, 1999).

The analysis of that aspect of the participants' ideological becoming has revealed a very interesting paradox in their development; albeit through penetrating the words, and, therefore, ideologies and opinions of others, these very features became salient for the participants only when they found themselves surrounded by the people without them. Similarly to Delanty (2003, p. 135), who says that identity issues come to the fore when the self "is constituted in the recognition of difference rather than sameness", participants were most sharply seeing the others' features in themselves when they happened to be surrounded by those who did not have these personality traits. Timur, Kristina and Alisa were mostly talking about these and related issues once they returned to the UK after going home or to other countries (Italy in Timur's case, and Sweden in Alisa's case, which at our 6th meeting she referred to as home as well); and Margo, Yana and Irina talked with reference to online communication with their friends and relatives in Russia. Thus, bearing the above ideas in mind, individuals' voice development might be depicted as happening at the intersection of two processes; coming closer to others (UK) through assimilating their voices, on the one hand, and moving away from others (Russia) through cognitively and culturally distancing themselves. This, in its turn, implies that individuals were in a constant process of subconscious self-othering – very much in its traditional

phenomenological sense (but still with a hint of the Bakhtinian anti-monologist idea of unfinalisability). Since the issue of being “aliens” in different contexts has been given a lot weight across the research participants’ profiles, it has been deemed most suitable to put it under a separate heading.

6.1.3 (Self-)Othering: good or bad?

Ideas described in the previous section led my investigation towards analysing that very paradoxical phenomenon of (self-)othering. Participants discussed it – talking about the way they feel while acting and speaking within different contexts and to different people. Their attitudes towards this phenomenon could be metaphorically described as paradoxical as well. When talking about the context of Russia, on the one hand, they loved the feeling of “standing out of the crowd” (Yana, 3rd interview; 01:43:13-01:43:20), “one-of-a-kind” (Kristina, 3rd interview; 00:30:45-00:30:51) and “being unique and not like everyone else” (Alisa, 3rd interview; 00:40:27-00:40:37). On the other hand, all of them (except for Timur – only slightly) expressed concerns about not being able to communicate with their friends and families as they used to do before the sojourn. Similar attitudes were expressed when we were discussing the phenomenon of otherness in the UK context; however, not being able to fit into the cultural and societal frameworks abroad was not considered the same big problem, as – following official discourses of presenting sojourners as migrants - they were “others in the UK” (Timur, 3rd interview; 00:34:27-00:34:38). Below is a demonstrative extract from Irina’s (5th interview; 00:12:34-00:13:10) discussing the negative effect of othering – in relation to people in Russia:

Very often I see it when I talk to my friends and relatives in Russia... I am different now, I have, how to say, different values now, and they are the same... I am really afraid that when I come back to Russia, I won't be able to maintain the same close friendship with these people as we don't understand each other anymore...

Here, Irina, in her projected reality, is talking about what one of my pilot study participants called 'ghettoisation'. In other words, at both sites, either the UK, the place of their temporary sojourn, or Russia, the country of their origin, participants did not feel themselves fit – as before in the case with Russia, or as expected before the SA. That raises doubts about the very nature of SA experiences as SA is positioned in many documents celebrating academic sojourning as a way to broaden students' cultural horizons (Yahyav, 2017) and develop their interpersonal skills (Davies, 2012). Although it is undoubtedly true that, quantitatively, academic sojourners increase the number of their contacts while abroad, qualitatively, these contacts very often stay at the level of 'just contacts' (despite individuals' desire to develop dense friendship ties out of these contacts). Thus, instead of developing interpersonal skills, individuals might find themselves being left out – across both the contexts of their country of origin as well as the SA destination. Participants started talking about not being able to fit in during the third round of interviewing, in December 2017, and that was exactly the time, according to the interviewees, of the formation of their own small culture (Holliday, 1999), the genesis of *Russkij Lids*.

6.1.4 Summary

This section has shed light on the intricacies of the research participants' ideological becoming – in relation to them learning and using English and Russian. In addition to the factors affecting individuals' ideological framework around language, it has highlighted how they arrived in the UK with particular expectations of the sociolinguistic landscape they were about to delve into, before they experienced the mismatch between their ideas and the reality. That eventually led to the destabilising the sense of self and debilitating dynamics within the individuals' identities, which resulted in the self-othering phenomenon as a response to experiencing the gap between two realities.

This section makes certain references and even concludes by opening up the discussion of cultural perspective on voice – setting up the stage for elaborating the analytical outcome of considering the data through **Lens 2**.

6.2 Lens 2: Voice and culture

6.2.1 The journey commenced: “Large culture” orientations

In the very beginning of the data collection stage all participants referred to the concept of culture in its 'large' sense (Holliday, 1999). Having arrived in the land of others (Bakhtin, 1984), stepping into the critical experiences phase (Block, 2007), individuals' orientations within their new sociolinguistic reality were primarily linked with the opposition us versus others (Delanty, 2003). The most discussed concept – in relation to orienting themselves between two poles of us and them (Wodak, 2007) – turned out to be the phenomenon of politeness.

6.2.1.1 Differing politeness (as one of the most distinctive features of 'otherness')

All participants referred to the concept of politeness. In some sessions, the topic appeared on its own (Timur, Irina, Kristina, Alisa), when at other meetings (Margo, Yana) it was initiated through discussing the prompts. For Timur, Irina, Margo and Kristina the issues of politeness came to the forefront of the discussion because exactly that trait "became the reason for the first collision of interests" (Margo, 3rd interview; 00:33:14-00:33:26) in the UK, while Yana and Alisa claimed that they never experienced open confrontations out of differing politeness issues. That point might be the reason why the discussion initiated different reactions from the interviewees. When comparing "the two modes of behaviour" (Kristina, 2nd interview; 00:33:15-00:33:21), Irina, Kristina, Timur and Margo were quite obviously favouring the "Russian, true politeness" (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:12:52-00:13:01). Alisa's responses were at first quite neutral, and then positive towards favouring the English cultural mode of behaviour. As for Yana, she opted for the latter from the very beginning of the data collection stage and never changed her mind on that matter. When explaining her position, she said (Yana, 2nd interview; 00:34:27-00:34:48):

*I've always been more like an English person, not like a Russian...
Which is why for me this politeness is quite natural thing to have, see
and experience.*

Agreeing, during our third meeting, Alisa said (3rd interview; 00:23:12-00:23:34):

Yes, here Brits are always polite. For example, salespeople are always saying 'love', 'sweetie', 'sweetheart', 'honey', 'darling', but it does not mean that they truly love you – it is just their cultural feature.

When saying so, she did not express any particularly positive or negative attitude towards the way people construct politeness in the UK. However, later, at our fifth session she added (Alisa, 5th interview; 00:10:27-00:10:51):

It's a pleasure for me to see it, I am not saying it's bad, not at all. It's like showing that you are treated in a good way, nothing else, so why not enjoy it?

In contrast, others were saying that “people here are much less heartfelt and sincere” (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:12:00-00:12:07). If for Margo, Irina and Kristina it was a feature that you “have to take into account when living in another culture” (Kristina, 3rd interview; 00:25:37-00:25:49), Timur saw it as a problem impeding his communication with people (3rd interview; 2:05:26-2:06:03):

How can they do this? I don't understand it. They first smile, they are all friendly at our meetings and then they can pass you by without even saying 'Hello!!' [...] I can't talk to this kind of people, I don't understand British people.

Irina's reaction was quite similar though not as sharp (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:42:25-00:43:17):

I can't understand English people – the way they dress, communicate, date others [...] Of course, I don't show this, I'm not from here, I should respect their traditions, but if I really want to talk like really talk – sincerely, without faking anything, of course I go for Russians...

Kristina agreed on that (3rd interview; 01:20:04-01:20:39):

It's a miracle for me how people in the UK actually LIVE. All superficial, nothing goes deep, and this British politeness... They've got this smile and then they can do whatever with this smile. They can set you up, they can screw your blood test, they can kill you with bad news... but at least they've got their smile. WHY?

What should be also mentioned here is that, irrespective of individual reactions to the politeness issue, this theme turned out to be a doorway leading to the discussion of other culture-related issues that led to the destabilization within individuals' selves – and them experiencing roles (Byrnes, 1966), culture (Adler, 1975) and identity shock (Zaharna, 1989).

6.2.1.2 Differing cultures: missing the Russian culture or refusing to accept the other one?

Discussion of politeness eventually gave rise to elaborating the theme of differing cultures. When talking through different politeness issues participants primarily referred to British culture; later, they were orienting their sociolinguistic experiences in relation to cultural heterogeneity (Jackson, 2014). For Margo and Timur this stage coincided with the sharpest sense of themselves as having two identities (see section 6.1.1.1.6).

In the beginning of the data collection, Margo was stating that she was trying her best to communicate with the British people. However, at our third interview she claimed that she decided to opt for the international students rather than British groupmates, which did not work for her either (Margo, 3rd interview; 00:37:48-00:38:35):

I cannot communicate with them, they are either rude or messy and sometimes I just don't open my mouth, but it pisses me off [...] they won't listen, or PRETEND they didn't hear me... That's the same in uni with these Arab people, I have to PROVE first that I know enough and even then they just won't listen to me so I have to redo all the project on my own...

At the fourth interview she even claimed that “British people disappointed” her and the “international cannot understand” her and these were the reasons she reassessed her communication with Russian people.

When talking about the way he was seeing and dealing with different cultures, Timur referred to his Indian flat mates that, according to his words, were influencing the way he talked (manner and accent) and behaved (see 6.1.2). However, though he did not like the impact “Indian culture has had on” him, he said that “adopting other culture traits” is part of the socialisation process, which sometimes “helps in communication”. He also said that once “I go back to Russia, I change again”, later highlighting that “of course, it would be a different me, not like before the UK” (Timur, 3rd interview; 03:15:02-03:17:11).

Apart from his flatmates, Timur also mentioned other cultures that he stepped into in the contact zones (Pratt, 1991). In all the cases when sharing his views on communication with “people from those cultures”, he was quite consistent in stating that “they are nice, but I can't go deep in conversation with them, and that's not because of the language, that's because of the culture, they don't understand me, I don't understand them” (03:18:11-03:18:41).

Kristina seems to be on the same page with Timur in terms of not being concerned about the effect culture has had on her – and similarly to him, she

later stated that she actually “transformed in such a way that I very much doubt that I can become the old one” (7th interview; 01:09:37-01:09:49). However, even though she claimed that she “kinda enjoy[s]” networking with people from other cultures, she clearly felt that communication with those people was limited – either “thematically, linguistically or culturally”. Similarly, Irina added that every time she was communicating with people from other cultures, she felt that she had “to every time prove something like I can’t relax” (3rd interview; 00:27:03-00:27:12). She also emphasised that “the feeling of discomfort when in contact with people from completely different surroundings is normal” (6th interview; 00:41:35-00:41:51).

In seeing themselves as opposed to the culture of others, both Irina and Kristina referred to the concept of Russianness. They said that in comparison to other nations the critical experience of residing abroad brings Russians “closer to each other” (Kristina, 4th interview; 01:00:13-01:00:16), when abroad they “always help each other if needed” (Irina, 4th interview; 01:00:21-01:00:25). Margo added that it depends on the country Russian people live in – and shared a story about her friend who “faced hostility in the Russian community in Brazil” (5th interview; 00:26:15-00:26:27). Having read that in prompts, Kristina (6th interview; 00:30:34-00:31:07) refined her view (others later agreed on that point):

It may depend on the country, I agree. Maybe the more tensions Russians are experiencing in the country, the closer they get? Let’s say in America, all these things with the Cold War continuing – and the ties amongst Russians are quite strong there. And Brazil – there are no

such tensions as, let's say, here. C'mon, we don't even need visas to go there, of course there are no tensions. (laughter)

Starting from the very beginning everyone, except for Yana, claimed that they were missing their native culture – Yana got on that track later, at our 3rd meeting. In terms of their relationships with Russian culture, some referred to an essential point. For instance, Irina claimed, that she was trying “to keep her Russian spirit and maintain the Russian atmosphere” (Irina, 2nd interview; 00:16:11-00:16:19) through listening to Russian songs and watching Russian movies – but, when elaborating that, she could not understand why she was doing so, either out of her desire to resist a foreign, alien, ‘other’ culture, or homesickness. The same happened with Alisa and, partly, with Yana. Alisa told me that she listens to “only Russian bands and watches only Russian movies and TV series” (Alisa, 6th interview; 00:38:01-00:38:15); however, she was clear about why she kept doing this. She said, that at first she was doing so due to her desire to keep “this Russian core in myself” and her strong reluctance to absorb the “other” culture – even though she did seem quite neutral when talking about how she was dealing with other cultural differences. However, as the time passed by, the latter factor faded away.

In Yana’s case, in contrast with Alisa and Irina, she might be said to have experienced a slightly reversed situation. She claimed at first that “it is not simply I feel like home here, *it is my home here*”, while also mentioning that she wanted to “disengage herself with any Russians and anything Russian, in order to soak up as much British culture” as she could (Yana, 2nd interview; 00:22:13-00:22:27). However, during our later sessions, she conversely stated, that “that experience of living and studying abroad made me value my

Russian origin, my Russian heritage, my Russian culture, and eventually my Russian language” (3rd interview; 02:05:02-02:05:27).

6.2.1.3 Conceptual deictic shifts: differing affiliation frameworks

From the third interview onwards the research participants started seeing their cultural ideological/affiliational frameworks shift. When in the beginning (at the very first meeting) all of them were straightforward and sure in defining their spatial orientation (“home is home, abroad is abroad” – Kristina, 1st interview; 00:10:34-00:10:40), as time passed, that conceptualisation turned out to be problematic and vague. Only Yana, though, referred to the UK context as home, when others claimed it was Russia. Even Timur, a participant who stated every time that he misses home, from the 4th session onwards started seeing the UK context as “becoming more and more comfortable to normally function” in (Timur, 4th interview; 00:05:12-00:05:23. The peak happened at the 6th session (**my emphasis**) when he stated the following (Timur, 6th interview; 00:10:26-00:10:52:

*Literally yesterday I caught myself thinking that it is so cool here... I don't even want to go home. This place feels like home. This place can be home. This **place is kinda home.***

Alisa started referring to destabilising and “confusing” feelings after her trip to Russia for the Christmas break. She said that even though she had missed the environment, once she spent some time at home, she realised that she was “somehow different” and that she “can’t say that I belong to that place anymore” (4th interview; 00:20:46-00:20:58). When I asked her if it was the same when she went to Russia during the years she lived in Sweden, she said

that she started experiencing the feelings of “being outsider everywhere only when I moved to the UK to study abroad”.

Other participants also referred to the change in their sense of belonging – the shift affected not only those who went to Russia for the Christmas break (Timur, Kristina, Alisa) but also those who stayed in the UK (Margo, Yana, Irina). The latter group said that even though they did not go and, thus, were not physically present in their native country, they were still “virtually experiencing Russian reality – through communicating with family and friends via Skype, social network platforms and messengers” (Irina, 4th interview; 00:03:32-00:03:49).

Kristina also experienced a shift in terms of her national affiliation framework – at the first session she told me that she defines her national and cultural identity as half-Georgian and half-Armenian; however, at the end of the data collection stage, she referred to herself only as Russian. When I pinpointed that, she was at first surprised, but then she explained (Kristina, 7th interview; 00:12:52-00:13:30):

The critical experience of studying abroad [...] made us value that we are from the same country and eventually erased some differences amongst us, as they appear to be in Russia [...] the most important thing, for me and for us now, is to become homogeneous, to be similar, rather than different from each other.

6.2.1.3 Differing spaces: we are others everywhere

Although the large culture orientation (Holliday, 1999) has been coordinative for participants during their sojourn – they did use the poles of Russian, English, Indian and other cultures as a compass to orient within the

sociolinguistic reality, by our third and fourth sessions, another framework arrived to the fore. The SA experience did destabilise the interviewees' sense of belonging (Pellegrino Aveni, 2007; Badwan, 2015), which, with the disturbing environment of sociolinguistic superdiversity and cultural heterogeneity in the background, eventually led to participants experiencing self-othering (see 6.1.3). All individuals talked about the "feeling that you can't fit anywhere" (Margo, 3rd interview; 00:40:12-00:40:17), "not at home, neither abroad" (Kristina, 4th interview; 00:32:19-00:32:26), because "you are not the same as people there, and, at the same time, different to people here" (Timur, 4th interview; 00:08:14-00:08:21). This ideological and affiliational destabilising shift has eventually led to individuals changing the very way of conceptualising culture – and arriving to the point of seeing it as rather dynamic, shared and living process (and not as a static entity). Having experienced confusion from the "large culture" conceptualisation, the research participants began to understand culture in its "small" sense (Holliday, 1999) – and, simultaneously, in a shared, relative, fragmentary, dynamic, mediated and even contested sense (Jackson, 2014). That shift opened up a doorway to some new sociocultural practices and allowed for the co-construction of such spaces, where individuals' voices achieved much greater audibility (Blommaert, 2005). Indeed, the midpoint of our data collection journey celebrated the individuals' own realisations (and, thus, narrative reflection) that they were involved in the process of small cultures co-construction.

6.2.2 Voice and different means of semiosis

Before elaborating on the process of small culture formation as revealed within individuals' narratives, I turn my attention to the fact that the respondents themselves are linked to cultural differences in the large sense. Participants realised that it is more than a verbal code to help them make themselves heard. Even during the pilot study, one of the participants said that clothing might become "a very loud instrument – sometimes much more efficient than words in expressing your opinions and claiming your beliefs" (B, 2nd interview; 00:43:12-00:43:22). At that time he was particularly referring to a situation when he wanted to wear a hoodie with a picture of Putin on it in order to claim his Russian identity. In the same fashion, three participants in the main project referred to this feature of their voice trajectories as well. Out of all individuals, for Irina, Margo and Kristina the issue of having to change their regular clothing style was the most sensitive. Margo claimed that she had to start wearing different types of clothes (excluding "nice dresses, skirts and heels" – Margo, 5th interview; 00:30:18-00:30:25), first of all, out of safety considerations. In addition to that, individuals also referred to the "cultural influence" (Irina, 5th interview; 00:16:27-00:16:32). Margo said that at some point she changed her opinion regarding her style and started wearing clothes that she earlier considered strange (5th interview; 00:31:21-00:31:43, **my emphasis**):

*I think it all happened because **I got affected by that surrounding environment** of complete lack of taste... and, of course, because **I even subconsciously wanted to fit in.***

Irina and Kristina (4th interview; 02:01:16-02:01:20) expressed a similar point of view, saying that they “really miss wearing normal clothes like heels, suits, skirts and blouses”. However, what is interesting here is that in contrast to Margo, Irina and Kristina managed to “find a balance in terms of clothing” (Kristina, 7th interview; 00:28:53-00:28:57). They started wearing shirts, which did not contradict their sense of style on the one hand, and still let them fit into “this others’ society” (Irina, 7th interview; 00:29:58-:00:30:00). The reason why Margo’s trajectory turned out to be quite different from the one of Irina and Kristina can be explained with the use of the concept of *femininity* – as defined by the participants themselves. In the beginning of the data collection stage all three negatively pinpointed that they were “becoming less feminine in the UK” (Kristina, 3rd interview). However, as time went by, Irina and Kristina changed their attitudes to the concept of femininity and basically re-evaluated it (Irina, 7th interview; 00:30:43-00:30:59):

I have changed, inside, I realise now that clothes should be first of all comfortable to wear and that you can still be feminine enough in a shirt as well...

Margo, on the contrary, ideologically, has not changed her attitude towards femininity, as Irina and Kristina did; she, in contrast, was not able to “accept the way people here dress” while being equally negative when evaluating her others-inclined clothing style at the beginning and at the end of data collection. The reason for that might be that she “was not hanging out with groupmates” – in contrast to Irina and Kristina, who often communicated with course mates, which might lead to Margo’s lack of desire to fit into this society of others.

However, the clothing issues have not been identified as gender-specific.

Timur also referred to the use of this semiotic channel to get one's voice heard and taken on board. He said that as soon as he arrived in the UK he bought "a typical British cycling suit" – and that he was "pleased to be identified as a British cyclist" when wearing it (3rd interview; 01:38:01-01:38:16). However, as time passed, he changed his opinion. For our 4th meeting Timur wore a hoodie with the word 'Leeds' on it, saying that he didn't "want to be identified as British anymore". When being asked how wearing that hoodie might help him in that, he answered (Timur, 4th interview; 00:12:25-00:12:48:

No British person would wear clothes with names of cities on it – it's like wearing a T-shirt I love Moscow while living in that city, no one does it... I like Leeds, I like Leeds University, I am not from here – that's what I'm saying. I don't want to be perceived as a British. I want to be perceived as a Russian living in Leeds ...

Margo (4th interview; 00:12:56-00:13:00) also referred to her desire to buy clothes with British symbols – in order to then wear in her native country, which "would make me cool". Irina agreed on that point as well. Alisa (4th interview; 01:00:01-01:00:07) said that due to her clothing style, "I very often get identified as a European person, which I quite like". All agreed that clothing might help to make their opinions heard across context: eg, when referring to the UK, Timur said that through clothing "you bring home to people that you study in the UK, you are cool, and everyone listens to you" (Timur, 4th interview; 00:13:22-00:13:36). With this reference to the UK context, and even though she said before that she was enjoying her image as "a European person", Alisa confessed that she "will buy a sweatshirt with Russian cultural

symbols” (4th interview; 01:03:38-01:03:44) in order to initiate a respectful attitude from others. Yana also mentioned that she was looking for a Pavlovo Posad shawl (a shawl with an authentic and very recognisable pattern associated with Russian culture).

6.2.3 Small cultures

In addition to seeing culture in its large sense, the research participants also referred to that concept through the lens of Holliday’s discussion about the importance of applying a more micro, emergent and context-driven perspective while considering this phenomenon. The shift from considering culture in its large sense to the “small culture” perspective happened in the middle of the data collection stage. Before delving into the small culture exploration, participants came to an understanding of cultural complexity not only in a negative light (as a destabilising phenomenon) but also as a factor *enriching identity*. Having started mentioning it during the third and fourth rounds of the data collection, they all arrived at the point of summarising their changes at our last meetings. Thus, Kristina, Alisa and Irina claimed that they became more linguistically and culturally aware during their SA journeys (7th interview). Yana, Alisa and Kristina said that due to the exposure to different “peoples, we became more mature” (Yana, 7th interview; 01:31:15-01:31:27) as well as experiencing “personality expansion” (Kristina, 7th interview; 01:25:36-01:25:41). Margo and Timur (7th interview) primarily highlighted the feelings of destabilisation but even they referred to “widening the horizons”, “training the brain” (Timur, 7th interview; 00:25:33-00:25:49), “becoming more flexible”, “learning how to respect yourself and others” (Margo, 7th interview; 00:27:03-00:27:21), “learning how to put yourself in other person’s shoes” (Kristina, 7th interview; 01:26:17-01:26:30) etc.

Thus, starting from the middle point of our data collection, individuals referred to culture in its small sense – through talking about the groups they happened to participate in. For instance, Yana was mainly talking about her university group; she first mentioned it as a separate cluster at our third meeting. One of her most prominent phrases during that session was: “I am home here. My classmates make me feel home here. And, overall everything is so home for me here” (Yana, 3rd interview; 02:07:13-02:07:27). Later on she also said (Yana, 4th interview; 00:47:23-00:47:40):

This is like my family. We are all coming from different countries and that is what unites us, of course, apart from the fact that we are all on the same course.

She herself highlighted the cultural diversity as a pertinent feature of that small culture formation. Amongst the social practices pertinent to their grouping were regular meetings after classes, parties at weekends, homework discussion, etc.

Alisa also referred to her university friends – though her experience was slightly different from Yana’s, even though it originated from the same contact zone. When Yana was talking about her university group, she mentioned that there were a lot of nationalities, *including* British people – and she said that she did not see much difference “between them and other international students” (Yana, 4th interview; 00:49:15-00:49:21). When Alisa was describing her university friends, she emphasised that she did not consider British people international students, which, according to her words, led to not accepting them into the small culture group she found herself in. She said (Alisa, 4th interview; 00:51:03-00:51:29):

I very often cannot understand what they are saying – partly because of the language, but that is only half of a problem. [...] it's like we are guests here, and they are home, no, I feel more comfortable talking with people the same as I am...

Apart from the university friends both Alisa and Anya (as with all the other participants) were referring to the small culture of Russian speakers that was eventually named *Russkij Lids* (*transl.* Russian Leeds). Since this was the formation that all the research participants were referring to, I consider it under a separate subheading.

6.2.3.1 *Russkij Lids* (Russian Leeds)

Apart from interacting with university friends, all participants said that they also communicated with Russian-speaking people, which became (although at different stages) a big deal for all of them. Alisa was very eager to find Russian friends when I first met her; she gladly agreed to take part in the research without any hesitation and even hugged me when I finished explaining what it would involve. However, starting from the second interview, she stopped mentioning how desperately she wants to meet other Russians. Moreover, by the end of the data collection stage she said that she is closely communicating with one Russian girl but that girl was a part of her team of international friends from the university (see previous section).

In Yana's case the situation was reversed; at first she did not want to communicate with any Russian-speaking people, but then, at our second and third interviews she confessed that she "is missing Russian culture" (Yana, 3rd interview; 02:01:46-02:01:49), which led her to seek it out. At our third meeting

she told me that she found a school organised by Russian-speaking people (mainly Latvians and Lithuanians), who hired her as a volunteer. As she told me towards the end of the data collection stage, even though her university group was her “main team of friends”, this Russian-speaking school “has metaphorically become a very important link to my own culture” (6th interview; 00:10:14-00:10:36).

However, all the participants (*including* Yana and Alisa) referred to the concept of *Russkij Lids*. Kristina was the first one to talk about it, during our third meeting. At that time we were discussing what Russianness – as a concept – means, and Kristina said (3rd interview; 00:34:16-00:34:35):

I think this is normal that when we are abroad we are helping each other, there are much fewer Russians here than in Russia, we are surrounded by other nations, even though this is very interesting but still quite destabilising experience, we support each other... Even like this Russian Leeds we support each other in there...

When I was writing the prompts for the fourth meeting, I did not refer to that *name* specifically (as I did not want to somehow label this phenomenon and somehow validate the way Kristina named it); however, during our discussion Timur, Margo and Irina themselves mentioned that collocation. The reason for that turned out to be quite simple: they had a Facebook chat group called ‘*Russkij Lids*’, where they were communicating on a daily basis, as Irina (4th interview; 01:27:34-01:27:47) said, discussing “practically everything: problems, interesting themes, and also sharing news, scheduling our meeting and many other things”. What also should be mentioned here is that this chat group was created in October – as soon as they all arrived, met each other

and other Russian-speaking people, but they started using it *quite* actively towards the end of the year, in December – and *very* actively from the end of January. Slightly before that, in the beginning of December, they were all having a Russian party, which was attended by every participant except Timur (he said that he “so desperately wanted to go home in November that I forgot about this Russian party” – Timur, 3rd interview; 02:10:27-2:10:40). When asked if he wanted to attend that gathering, he answered: “Of course, I would love to... I was so stupid when I forgot about it and bought tickets in order to leave as soon as possible”. Interestingly, later on, during our fifth session, Margo referred to that meeting as an event pre-empting the most productive phase of the Russian Leeds co-construction (Margo, 5th interview; 00:34:07-00:34:20:

Well, that event in December... that was really some kind of a beginning [...] you know, we became closer to each other. And then we started all those Thursday nights and so on...

Timur and Irina also referred to the end of January as the “heyday” period for this small culture formation. They explained that exactly at that very moment, when those who went to Russia for a Christmas break returned “fresh and not homesick anymore” (Timur, 4th interview; 00:07:13-00:07:16), they started “not just communicating on a daily basis, but also meeting every week” (Irina, 6th interview; 00:10:11-00:10:15). Those meetings include going shopping together, attending sport sessions at the gym, going out and throwing parties and picnics, etc (in addition to all that, Irina, Kristina and Margo were gathering in order to study together). All of them referred to meetings on Thursdays – as a landmark day for their small culture social ritual. Thus, it had eventually

become the common social practice for all the participants – in pretty much the same fashion as talking on a daily basis on Facebook Messenger. However, Kristina, Yana and Timur were not attending those gatherings on a regular basis but still considered themselves members of Russian Leeds. Alisa completely stopped attending the meetings at around the fourth interview, but was still referring to herself as a member up until the sixth – when she confessed that she left the Facebook Messenger group. Apart from Thursdays, individuals were also meeting each other (not necessarily all together) on other days.

Participants also started to produce some discourse markers, which they were then using in our pair interviews and online communication (not only in their chat group but also while publicly discussing their deeds on Facebook and hashtagging pictures on Instagram). Instances of those markers include the following words and phrases: четверг (*transl.* Thursday), as the day when they most often were meeting and partying; наркоман штоле (*transl.* Are you a drug addict?), as a slang exclamation phrase used to express a high degree of surprise, etc. The example below (4th interview; 00:25:43-00:25:58) demonstrates the use of the word “Thursday” as a Russian Leeds discourse marker, which was used to signal that individuals belong to the same group or share an aspect of their identities (*I know this word, you know this word, but not others, so we are similar to each other, but different from others*):

Margo: *And then I was like, I don't understand you, I can't understand what you are telling me, and then he's like blah blah blah*

Timur: *Not as on Thursday right (laughter)*

Margo: *(laughter) No, of course not*

In this example Margo was telling a story about meeting a man that she did not manage to find common ground with during the conversation, when Timur interrupted her stating that her experience was different from what is happening “on Thursday” (where her opinions are valued, accepted and understood). Thus, the very word “Thursday” here has been metonymically used as a discourse marker signalling that (1) Timur understands her, and (2) that they both belong to the same grouping, which is made visible through the shared knowledge of some very particular semantic connotations of the word.

When asked why they were using those phrases, Margo and Timur firstly told me that they were doing so just because it “is funny” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:22:14-01:22:15). However, when questioned if the use of those words demarcated them from other people – either within online interactive space or during face-to-face communication with “others” – they said “definitely yes, because of course no one understands us, they could only guess, this is kind of cool, everyone knows that we have this Russian Leeds, but not everyone can be a member of it” (Timur, 7th interview; 01:25:02-01:25:06). The latter remark was said in relation to the fact that being able to speak Russian was not the only factor that determined becoming a member of Russian Leeds small culture.

When giving a summary about the main features of that cultural phenomenon, Margo (7th interview; 01:26:08-01:26:25) highlighted the following:

In Russian Leeds you don't have to worry about not being yourself – you don't need to pretend someone you are actually not... You are not afraid of doing stupid things, or saying something silly, or making

*mistakes, because you are 100 % sure that **you will be accepted** anyway...*

Kristina and Irina (7th interview; 00:46:27-00:46:39), during our last meeting, expressed similar opinions. Irina said (and Kristina agreed):

*When talking to Russkij Lids people, I know that I don't need to fit into the frame or fulfil someone's requirements. **I am valued and liked just the way I am...***

While demarcating the Russian Leeds members from other people who live in the UK and speak Russian, Yana (6th interview; 00:30:47-00:30:58) highlighted that “we understand each other because we are studying here, abroad, and we experience the same difficulties, and this pressure is kinda what unites us”. Similarly, Alisa referred to “being able to get help whenever you need it” (4th interview; 01:47:08-01:47:16). One of the most important factors of creating and then “maintaining” the membership of Russian Leeds was the acceptance of its members “the way they are – without any trying to pretend being someone else” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:26:45-01:26:57). When directly asked how it is all connected to the use of linguistic resources, the research participants agreed that within this small culture they do not need “to worry about the way I speak” (Timur, 7th interview; 01:27:10-01:27:14), “to carefully choose the themes for discussion” (Irina, 7th interview; 00:50:37-00:50:45), “to be embarrassed for the language mistakes” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:27:28-01:27:34), or “to be afraid that my words won't be *taken on* by the interlocutors” (Kristina, 7th interview; 00:51:12-00:51:20, *my emphasis*). Yet at our fourth meeting, Alisa also mentioned that she did not have to worry about “talking wrong”. The same freedom in terms of expressing opinions, not

worrying about making mistakes, and the ability to choose any theme for the discussion was specifically linked to the Facebook Messenger group as well. Thus, here we can see how the facets of reflexive and projected identity (Benson et al., 2013; Badwan, 2015) – as linked to language value shift across time and space (Hymes, 1996; Blommaert, 2005, 2010) – come to the fore. The audibility of participants' voices and the obstacle-free communication space happened to be at the core of the small culture formation.

When discussing *other* reasons for Russian Leeds formation, Kristina (5th interview; 00:47:11-00:47:28) also mentioned political tensions surrounding Russian people in the UK, specifically:

We are kind of making our little Russia abroad – this is really interesting why it is happening... Yes, partly, because of our 'help-your-compatriot' nature, but what is also important here is that we are going through quite a critical experience – and political tensions have arisen due to Russia's playing hard with nations, making this experience even more critical...

All highlighted that one of the key features of Russian Leeds formation “is not just about speaking Russian, it is more about being Russian abroad” (Kristina, 6th interview; 00:20:35-00:20:44). Kristina quite directly associates the ability to speak a certain language with belonging to a particular (culture) group (ie, speaking Russian = being Russian). With the application of the longitudinal lens of analysis we could easily see Kristina's conceptual shift in here – as she earlier identified herself as being Georgian-Armenian (without linking her cultural and national belonging to the languages she speaks), but later on,

during her sojourn, she started primarily identifying herself as Russian (as the quote above perfectly demonstrates).

Returning to the features of Russian Leeds as a small culture formation, Margo and Kristina mentioned that they consider this phenomenon as one of the “most supportive and best things that ever happened during that study abroad experience” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:28:02-01:28:09). Timur (7th interview; 01:28:33-01:28:47) also said that “if not for this, the time in Leeds would be much sadder and more sorrowful”, and that, overall, “without our Thursdays it would not be that pleasant an experience”.

However, not all interviewees happened to be participating in co-constructing that small culture to the same degree. For example, once Alisa returned from Russia (after her Christmas break), she started experiencing something that she called “cultural confusion” – she could not understand what culture she belongs to. She said (Alisa, 4th interview; 02:03:37-02:03:56):

I arrived in Saint Petersburg, and I realised that I'm different now... I was kind of always slow, I couldn't catch up with the rhythm of the city even though it's not Moscow... Of course, when time passed by, I managed to fit into all these... But at the same time I realised how different I actually am...

At the same time, she was still communicating with others within the Russian Leeds group – which was happening up until our 6th meeting, when she confessed that she left the Facebook Messenger chat. Leaving Messenger was also the reason for not considering herself part of a Russian Leeds small culture formation for Yana. Alternatively, both of them stated that they would

rather “hang out more with university friends”, with Yana also mentioning her friends from the school where she was volunteering at.

At our last meeting the point of “what happens next” after the sojourn was another issue that worried the research participants. They expressed concern that they would not fit and be able to communicate with their pre-sojourn friends upon their return to the home country. As for the Russian Leeds grouping in particular, Timur, Kristina, Irina and Margo said that they “do hope that it will be there anyway” (Kristina, 7th interview; 00:53:48-00:53:53), even in the condition of “being apart physically” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:31:20-01:31:23). When asked why it is so important for them, Irina said that “because we’ve become a family” (Irina, 7th interview; 00:54:03-00:54:06) within which they themselves were understood, and their voices – valued and taken on board.

6.2.4 Summary

This section has provided insights into participants experiencing shifts in their conceptual orientations in terms of culture. In doing so, it has revealed how the factor of sociocultural heterogeneity (Badwan, 2015) influenced the sojourners’ voice trajectories – and not only in relation to the verbal code but to the use of other means of semiosis as well. **Lens 2** featured the process of participants’ identities and affiliational framework destabilisation, which has eventually made them looking for possibilities to find a solid foundation for developing their voices within the ‘critical experience’ (Block, 2007) of SA. Seeing culture as not only dynamically formed within the contact zone (Pratt, 1991) but itself being a contested zone (Martin and Nakayama, 2010) featuring inequalities

and value shifts (as will be explored in the next section on **Lens 3**) has eventually led them to co-construct their own, small culture space – where they were able to use their voices to their full capacity.

Lens 3 elaborates on inequalities as they relate to participants' voicing processes in the light of the language value shifts experienced with immersion into the contested zone of culturing.

6.3 Lens 3: Language, voice and inequalities

Another theme that appeared to be significant was the intertwined discussion of language, voice and inequalities – widely elaborated within the works of Hymes (1996) and Blommaert (2005), who argue that not all languages are equal in terms of values that people ascribe to them – which might clearly affect voicing process (see 3.3). This lens sheds light on how the overall discourse of attributing unequal weight to different linguistic resources across the context might impact sojourners' experiences of voicing and lead to ideological shift in relation to their reflexive, projected and recognised (facets of) identity (Benson et al., 2013).

6.3.1 Inequalities and value shifts of using languages across contexts

Once they entered the “new market of symbolic exchange” (Kramsch, 2015), being displaced from the environment with a low general level of English into the “native speakers space” with new “rates of (linguo-symbolic) exchange” (Badwan, 2015), all participants claimed they experienced some negative sides of being a newcomer in “the others' land” (Timur, 2nd interview; 00:07:35-00:07:37).

The very first thing mentioned was a fear to communicate in the classroom, which resonates with the Hymesean discussion of linguistic relativism:

“Students may come to a class [...], believing their normal speech intrinsically inferior, and leave with that sense of stigma never having become known” (Hymes, 1996, p. 211). Alisa told me that due to the presence of native speakers in the auditorium, she is very often “afraid to answer the lecturer’s questions or ask” (Alisa, 2nd interview; 00:10:41-00:10:45) about something that she did not understand before. At our third meeting she continued elaborating that theme through comparison of her behaviour in Russia and in the UK (Alisa, 3rd meeting; 00:30:45-00:31:03):

I very often prefer not to talk in front of a large audience... But at the same time I realise that if I were in Russia and if the language was Russian, I wouldn't behave like this – I would be definitely talking...

Irina expressed a similar view, while also adding that when she wants to ask the native speaker something, she would “think twice whether I really need it” (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:25:48-00:25:53). Similar to Timur, she also said that in case she misunderstands something she “would rather ask one of my course mates but not the lecturer” due to her “being embarrassed for my language” as well as an inability to “ask twice in case I don’t understand something” (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:26:38-00:26:51). In addition, Irina also said that before meeting her supervisors for her thesis discussion, she had to “make up an agenda for this and even learn some phrases by heart” – again, in order not to be embarrassed by her “poor knowledge of English” (Irina, 5th interview; 00:20:27-00:20:34). Timur also said that when he “doesn’t understand what other people are talking about, I think that I am super stupid” (Timur, 2nd

interview; 00:13:11-00:13:15). When specifically referring to the classroom discourse, he also noted that “it is annoying that I can’t be as smart as in Russian” (Timur, 3rd interview; 02:21:38-02:21:41). Kristina (2nd interview; 00:39:12-00:39:20) mentioned that problem as well, when saying: “I hate that I have to be super slow, like stupidly slow when formulating the phrase before actually pronouncing it”. Yana said that she “very often get interrupted by others during the round table discussions”, that she also linked to her not possessing “perfect native speaker English” (Yana, 5th interview; 01:10:25-01:10:33).

All participants except for Yana mentioned that they experienced the same problem of “silencing” (Irina, 6th interview; 00:20:29-00:20:31) their voices outside of the classroom as well. For example, Alisa (5th interview; 00:45:13-00:45:38) said:

I also have this problem when I am, for example, in our kitchen, and there are my British flatmates as well, I can’t talk to them because, I very often just can’t understand them or I don’t think they would understand me [...] and at these very moments I clearly see that they are somehow higher in their position because, you know, they are native speakers and all these things...

Many linked inability to communicate with British people with the lack of a sociocultural component within their English-learning history. Kristina, Irina and Margo associated that gap in their “learnt and used Englishes” with “poor English teaching practices in Russia” (Margo, 3rd interview; 00:25:07-00:25:17) – both in public and private educational institutions. Interestingly, all interviewees said that they prefer to communicate with “other non-native

speakers” – due to the absence of the feeling of their “linguistic superiority” (Margo, 3rd interview; 00:26:13-00:26:26).

When comparing their communication modes across different contexts (eg, classroom, shops, gym, etc), Margo, Irina, Kristina and Alisa referred to the situations when they could not “remember very simple words, say, in the grocery, I was trying to remember the word for dill...” (Alisa, 5th interview; 00:49:08-00:49:15), but at the same time “being able to recall complex terminology from the assignments” (Margo, 5th interview). Those encounters were also considered “yes, funny, but still embarrassing” (Irina, 5th interview; 00:23:37-00:23:40) – as well as associated with the feeling of being a “weirdo talking academic English in these off-license shops” (Kristina, 5th interview; 00:44:35-00:44:40). All participants expressed concerns in regards to their academic performance – however, in the middle of the data collection stage, when they received the (positive) feedback for their first assignments, those concerns faded away.

In all the situations described above the most salient aspect of identity turned out to be the projected facet (Benson et al., 2013, p. 19); it was the individuals’ own perceptions of their English language skills that were accentuated in the examples above of participants’ unequal linguistic positioning within their everyday encounters. In other words, they were rather orienting their meta-analysis inwards – towards their own inner framework of language ideologies and the way they themselves saw their English within that framework.

However, that was not always the case; quite often the central position in participants’ narratives was occupied by the reflexive identity facet, or the one *recognised* by others (Benson et al., 2013, p. 19). For example, when

discussing the process of getting jobs in the UK, all the participants agreed that “having an accent” (Irina, 5th interview; 00:48:22-00:48:24), or even “overall possessing a non-native English” (Timur, 5th interview; 00:34:12-00:34:16), would profoundly affect the process of “getting a good job here” (Margo, 5th interview; 00:55:02-00:55:05). Many were not just theorising the situation of facing inequalities when looking for a job – but sharing their experiences of trying to get a good internship or job placement.

Very often some other elements – namely, the elements of culture and nationhood (Andrews, Kinnvall and Monroe, 2015) – came to the forefront of the research participants’ sociolinguistic encounters, meaning that very often the communication problem did not centre around language issues only but around culture as well. For example, Margo (5th interview; 00:48:35-00:48:47) said:

I sometimes see that attitude, I experienced that kind of situation when you say that you are Russian and people just go away... I had this before and I don't know why they do this... I couldn't do anything with that...

When experiencing that kind of situation all female participants said that they “could not do anything with that” (Yana, 5th interview; 01:15:34-01:15:38), even though “that is quite upsetting and all about inequalities when you get judged and assessed by your language or nationality” (Alisa, 2nd interview; 00:19:01-00:19:06). In contrast with that, when dealing with the problems connected to his identity as recognised by others, Timur claimed that sometimes he was trying to make clear to his interlocutor(s) that he did not like “being treated unequally because of my language skills, culture and nationality” via making

jokes or even sarcastically mocking those people who “were judging me for [...] not who I actually am” (Timur, 3rd interview; 01:24:11-01:24:46). Quite a similar view was expressed by a male participant from the pilot study, who said that in similar situations he “did not keep silence, but quite openly” resisted that inequality discourse. Thus, when it comes to individuals choosing to (openly) state or silence their resentment when experiencing inequalities, gendered power positioning might come into play (West and Zimmerman, 1983; Coates, 2004).

Furthermore, when discussing the issues of nationhood and citizenship, all participants referred to the “inequality-nurturing” visa policies – mostly in relation to the pre-sojourn periods and the “government exhibiting its power to control our post-SA trajectories” (Kristina, 5th interview; 00:36:29-00:36:33). Yana also said that even when actually being on SA, having successfully passed through the “visa discriminating rules”, “we are still controlled subjects – they can throw us away anytime” (Yana, 5th interview; 01:19:06-01:19:14). One interviewee summarised others’ position in the best way possible:

Though there are a lot of Russian people here – sometimes I feel like I’m in Moscow, and it seems like there are no such physical borders as we used to have; however, these visa restrictions remind us that we are immigrants, and these ideological stereotypes propagated by the media create another more complex and invisible barrier between our countries.

Unsurprisingly, the theme of inequalities went hand-in-hand with the concept of stereotyping. One of the most common stereotypes that all the participants

faced in regards to their language-learning abilities was that Russians could not learn English language well enough.

In addition to that, all participants faced cultural stereotyping – and they all openly linked this concept to inequalities as well. However, the strategies of dealing with this kind of inequalities varied; some people preferred to silence their opinions due to some different reasons – eg because they did not want to enter the conflict situation – Alisa, Kristina, Margo. Others did not feel confident enough – both linguistically and psychologically – to confront this stereotyping – Kristina, Yana, Irina. Some claimed that living in the country of others simultaneously disempowers them and places into the subordinate position as “we are ourselves aliens here so we should respect their [native speakers’] views, opinions and ways of thinking” (Irina, 3rd interview; 00:29:37-00:29:41). In contrast to the strategy of non-reacting, Timur and sometimes Margo as well choose the strategy of resisting the stereotyping through making the jokes. For example, at some point Timur (3rd interview; 01:26:02-01:26:11) claimed:

Yes I do face stereotyping but, I think arguing with these people is stupid, you will not be able to persuade them. When people are asking me, if I really drink vodka all the time, I’m like, of course, I pour it into my cereals every morning. (laughter)

Other participants, who preferred not to confront stereotyping, also stated that even though they silenced their voices, they considered discussing those unpleasant and often offensive experiences afterwards liberating and, in some sense, empowering. Having shared a story about inequalities, Yana (6th interview; 01:38:50-01:38:54) said:

...this is so good that I am telling you this now...

Having told me a story about a girl from Mongolia calling her country an aggressor (and “not paying justice to the fact that it was Mongolia who invaded Russia for over 200 years”) Kristina (6th interview; 00:45:17-00:45:27) stated:

Oh my God, I couldn't tell anyone about that – this is good letting it go away from my heart.

This clearly resonates with the consequent section on consideration the liberating potential of voice. However, since the extracts above feature the ways the research participants dealt with inequalities, I decided to include it here.

Margo, Timur and Yana referred to the word ‘гастарбайтер’ (*transl.* ‘migrant worker’), which has negative ideological connotations in Russian as a slang and non-politically correct word denoting an immigrant worker one of whose most distinctive features is a lack of Russian language knowledge. Timur was directly comparing himself with a ‘гастарбайтер’ at our second and third meetings, but then stopped. During the 4th interview he said that he felt better, because he stopped experiencing communication breakdowns due to him misunderstanding people because of their language or vice versa (people misunderstanding him because of his English), and “somehow managed to fit for a bit into the surrounding culture” (Timur, 4th interview; 00:27:46-00:27:50. However, at our last meeting he mentioned that word once again – but that time he was rather making a joke about how to get vaccination in the UK (Timur, 7th interview; 00:48:26-00:48:30, **my emphasis**):

*If they don't understand you, I'll go with you next time (laughter) two **gastarbeiters**. (laughter)*

As time passed (namely, at our third meeting). Kristina told me that she experienced the reverse in terms of her place within the power hierarchy of sociolinguistic practices. She shared a story about her becoming an “interpreter between the lecturer and my Indian coursemate” – due to misunderstandings arising from the latter “speaking with a very strong accent” (Kristina, 3rd interview; 00:49:30-00:49:50). Having started as an “occasional encounter”, as time went by, it eventually became an established discursive practice: “I do this now on regular basis, everyone knows it” (Kristina, 5th interview; 00:21:05-00:21:12). She stressed that “that guy was the smartest person on our course”, while also highlighting that “this is very sad that he had to experience this kind of uncomfortable situation” (Kristina, 5th interview; 00:21:30-00:21:42). When elaborating her own and other participants’ answers, Kristina (5th interview; 00:24:27-00:24:33) later claimed that “it is true that very often we are assessed by the first impression we make, including what comes out from our mouth”. Irina (5th interview; 00:23:58-00:24:10) referred to that issue as well, saying that “it is very unfair because it doesn’t matter if you are super smart or so, you just think that you are stupid as you see this look of misunderstanding or when people directly point to your linguistic imperfections”.

The individuals also noticed that if in Russian sociolinguistic reality their English was a tool for gaining prestige (see 6.1.1.1.2), then in the UK it might have served as an instrument for oppression. In addition to Margo sharing the cases when people refused to communicate with her on the basis of her national language and her citizenship, Alisa shared the following story of her friend (Alisa, 3rd interview; 00:51:03-00:51:26):

One of my friends had this situation when she had this argument, and she was right, she was 100 percent correct, but at some point, when her interlocutor, a native speaker, instead of giving the proof-points, started correcting her language mistakes. That was upsetting...

When talking through their post-SA trajectories, Irina and Kristina (4th interview, 01:31:14-01:31:29) also referred to the way English language testing might become an instrument for “screening out the unwanted candidates” during job interviews – which, according to them, is “very sad and unfair”, as “insufficient knowledge of English doesn’t mean that the person is not proficient in the field”. Alisa agreed that it is a manifestation of inequality as well.

However, it was not only English the research participants managed to see the pragmatic potential of for linguistic practices. As was already articulated in 6.1.1.1.6, individuals also referred to the power of speaking English with a Russian accent – as an attempt to reverse the situation with the “demonisation of Russian language” (Kristina, 4th interview; 01:36:14-01:36:17) and related cultural assets to their benefit. Those claims eventually highlighted the (super) diverse nature of participants’ ideological dynamics and value shifts – as well as the very individualistic nature of their voice trajectories.

6.3.2 Summary

This section has explored the process and the outcomes of the research participants experiencing value shifts as they move across contexts and time, which led to confusion about the rules of and roles in the interaction game, increasing tensions surrounding their SA. In addition, the feeling of destabilisation experienced by individuals in relation to their identities and

voices (in terms of its value) eventually led to discovering the latter's pragmatic potential. Through seeing *which* values are ascribed to different languages in different contexts, participants arrived at the point of seeing *how* their voices could be used across the spaces, a meta-realization of how the instrumental power of voices varies across contexts – which is elaborated in **Lens 4** section.

6.4 Lens 4: Metaphysics of voice

As stated in **Chapters 1** and **3**, the current enquiry rests on the principles of dynamic dialogism as applied to any aspect of the research, starting from the first outline of the research design till the very last (though never-finalised) stages of analysing the data and producing the report. Yet, at the stage of collecting the data, the idea of dynamic dialogism was appropriated within the process of my own identity (my reminiscences about the past encounters) entering the dialogue with the data. In other words, I was adopting a *meta*-perspective – both as a researcher (when reflecting on the process of collecting the data as well as the data itself) and as a participant (when going back to my own experiences and reassessing those). When discussing the prompts, participants were going along the same direction: they talked through their previous talks – and voiced their opinions about what have been voiced before. These ideas led me to think about the importance of assessing the concept of voice in terms of its pragmatic implication – and shifting the focus from questioning the very nature – the *what* – of that phenomenon towards asking *how* this thing actually works.

However, even though my own meta-awareness of voice having an important pragmatic potential came quite early in the course of the research, I was not the only person who came across the idea. The participants themselves stressed the importance of highlighting that aspect of voice in the research and even said this factor was paramount. However, thematic analysis has showcased that they were mostly discussing the instrumentality, or the pragmatic implications, of voice in relation to a specific topic: namely, the differences in educational systems in Russia and the UK. Thus, this subsection features exactly these bits of the participants' narrative flow, ie, the chunks of the data within which they themselves highlighted the meta-awareness. Within those generated talks participants were assessing the instrumental potential of their voices not only in terms of the current research (*we now see how the voice is working – because through participating in the study, our voice is being operated as a tool for us to be finally heard*), but also in terms of their past experiences (*we also see how the voice was (not) working in the past*).

This subsection is different from others not only in the way it approaches the phenomenon of the voice. Due to some pragmatic reasons (namely, for the sake of my participants' confidence and comfort), many quotations included in that section are anonymous (through the use of, eg, "Xxx, 4th interview" or simply omitting the personal reference tag). I implemented that strategy for the sake of the participants', and, thus, my own, comfort and confidence. Most importantly, it was done at the request of the interviewees themselves.

Some points and quotes cited here might have been considered in the elaborating inequalities section. However, due to participants themselves quite

explicitly linking the points elaborated here with an opportunity to manifest their opinions, I have put those in the section exploring the metaphysics of voice and materiality of language.

6.4.1 Voice as materialising phenomenon: Russian vs British educations

Although everything discussed before may fall under the heading of ‘using voice as a materialising phenomenon’ – i.e. using an opportunity to talk through (all) the things that were and still are worrying them during their sojourns – one issue was pinpointed and stressed by each participant when we discussed how the research had featured their lives. All of them told me that discussing the issues of higher education in Russia and abroad was very important for them as it finally enabled them to vocalise their opinions and make their voices heard (at least at the level of research):

Yes, I didn't think about it before, and I actually thought that it's me doing a favour to you, but I know kinda feel that's this is important for me, I've never been that important before, and that's cool.

In addition to the meta-awareness brought by the discussion of education in Russia and the UK, participants started seeing the instrumentality potential in their voices *within the experiences* discussed within theme. For the reader's comprehension, it could be exemplified in a picture (see Fig. 13):

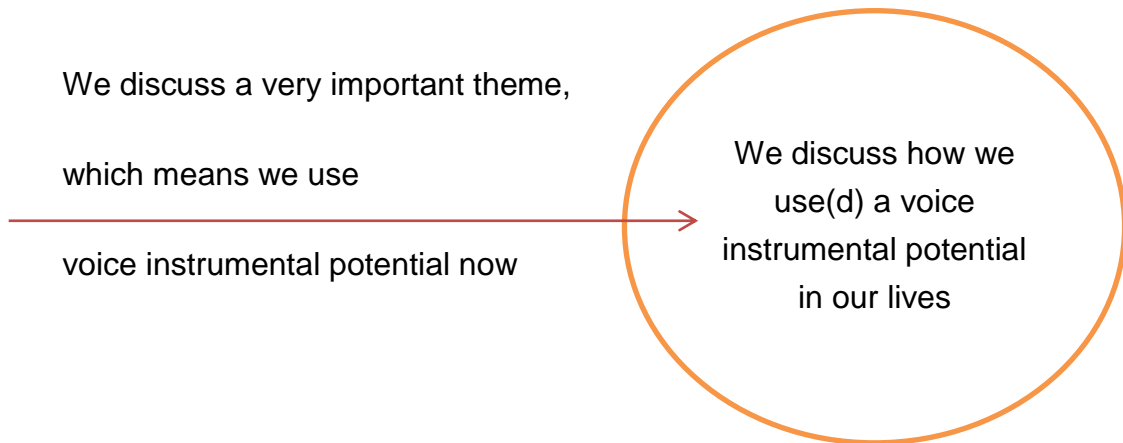


Figure 13: Meta-physics of voice

Irina's quote (5th interview) illustrates this shift in the topic framework (Brown and Yule, 1983; James, 1995). This was then followed by her elaborating her own past experiences of "not being heard" in her native country (Irina, 5th interview; 00:27:41-00:28:12):

I think it's important, it's important for me, and overall, expressing opinions is important, and I kinda feel valued for participating in the research, so my opinion matters, but, on the other hand, I'm thinking, say we were in Russia, I wouldn't be talking in the same way, I wouldn't have this feeling, no one cares in there about what students think... This is so sad, but if they listened to students, they would improve the system, but no one cares there, really, no one cares about our education system... This is funny, I wouldn't actually think about it if I weren't involved, if I didn't have this discussion that evoked all these feelings.

Similarly, Timur (6th interview; 00:51:12-00:51:23) added that "it's kinda my message that I would like to say through this research, again, this is even

more valued, as we are not in Russia, I don't think it would make a massive difference there".

I divided the points participants listed in regards to HE systems into several groups, in which each represents a specific level. Within each group I include the episodes where individuals themselves saw the instrumental potential of their voices. In other words, **Lens 4** addresses the materiality factor of participants' voices on two different levels:

- through discussing the very theme that led the research participants to discover the instrumental potential of their voices (while also doing justice to their desire to pronounce those opinions, as "it is important to talk about those issues" (Yana, 5th interview; 01:22:37-00:22:40) and "to elaborate those at least at the level of research" (Alisa, 6th interview; 00:51:17-00:51:20));
- through discussing participants' encounters related to the factor of the materiality of their voices *within this theme*.

6.4.1.1 The level of relationships between a student and a lecturer/teacher/personal tutor

In general, all participants said that, having spent some time at university abroad, they realised they do prefer the way student-teacher relationships are managed in the UK (in comparison to Russia). When characterising this preferable British pattern, Margo – word for word – repeated a phrase pronounced by one of my pilot study participants (B) when he was describing British system of education. She said, that "here teachers are at arm's length" (Margo, 4th interview; 00:35:50-00:35:53). Other individuals added that "here the teachers respect our opinions" (Timur, 4th interview; 00:36:20-00:36:23)

and that “here we are heard” (Irina, 4th interview; 00:36:38-00:36:41). Kristina’s quote during our fourth meeting was very demonstrative (Kristina, 4th interview; 00:37:01-00:37:22):

What we have in Russia is this image of a very distant and authoritative teacher, and, while that may be good at the age of the first three grades, when strict discipline is needed, later on, I don’t think it’s good. How can you bring up an independent person if he [a word person is of masculine gender in Russian language] is always controlled and suppressed? [...] Here you are treated as a human being, here you are respected, here your opinion is taken on board [...] here we are heard.

The last words explicitly state that in comparison to Russia, the voices of sojourners have an important pragmatic potency when it comes to the relationship between the student and the teacher/tutor/lecturer.

Although for much of her educational “conscious” experience Alisa was living in Sweden, she nevertheless confirmed that she also experienced the “perks” of very “uneven, unjust and biased” teacher-student relationships in Russia. For example, at our fourth (pair) meeting she shared some stories of when she was treated unequally – and experienced biased attitudes (both in positive and negative senses) (Alisa, 01:13:05-01:13:19):

Well, I remember, when I was a favourite pupil for some teachers – and I could do whatever I wanted, and I also was least favourite student for other teachers – and I remember I was sincerely afraid of saying a word in their classes...

Again, here we can see that within those descriptions voice occupies a central place. Though she had never studied at a Russian HEI, Alisa was still able to refer to her siblings' and friends' experiences (Alisa, 4th interview; 01:13:42):

My sister and my friends [...] are studying in one of the best universities in Saint Petersburg and, well, even in Russia [...] when they hear that I say that we here in the UK for example we can complain or we can even like ask for another person to assess our work, they are shocked because of course it is not possible in Russia.

Similarly, at our third and sixth meetings Kristina shared a story from her past educational experiences when she got treated unequally because “a teacher was gay and he, I REALLY don't know WHY, thought that I'm a homophobe, and I'm SO NOT!”. When I asked her how she dealt with that situation, she said that she could not do anything because “I was nothing, I was just a student in comparison to a very highly-positioned lecturer” (Kristina, 6th interview; 00:33:29-00:33:42). Timur (4th interview; 00:23:08-00:23:14) also mentioned that he very often saw how “people get good marks just because a lecturer likes them or vice versa”. Other participants also mentioned that they did not like the way teachers in Russia were treating students – in biased and non-objective ways.

Margo (4th interview; 00:23:31-00:23:49) agreed on that matter, and also added that in Russia “teachers very often don't know the subject well enough”, “use out-dated books from the time when project management didn't even exist in Russia”, and teach “manual old techniques instead of superfast software!”.

Though Timur disagreed at first, while relating that he actually had one teacher with “lots of practicum-based experience”, he (Timur, 4th interview; 00:24:01-00:24:07) still added that “of course, it does purely depend on the teacher, and like true professionals these are one in a million”. Notably, Margo and Timur made a direct link to the audibility of their voices, saying that “you can’t change the teacher, whatever you would tell them, they just stick to their plan and old-fashioned books” (Margo, 4th interview; 00:24:25-00:24:32).

6.4.1.2 The level of universities’ policies and teaching activities organisation

The next group of differences in relation to education systems in the participants’ home country and abroad (in the UK) turned out to be dissimilarities in terms of HE’s organisational framing of the teaching process. All individuals stated that in the UK the curriculum overall “is so much better organised” (Irina, 4th interview; 01:08:35-01:08:38). Margo (4th interview; 01:05:39-01:05:50) said:

When you are a student in Russia, very often you don’t even know your schedule... Plus, in Russia we don’t have like orientation weeks or the workshops to help students with educational process... Here the organisation is so much better.

Alisa (4th interview; 01:35:10-01:35:22) added:

I really like that here you can have this discovery module... It’s really helpful, especially when you don’t know which one to take, or if you are not sure if you want to pursue this way or not... And I know that in Russia the learning plan is quite strict...

Yana (4th interview; 01:35:49-01:36:03) agrees on that matter:

In comparison to my Bachelor years, here in Leeds you can adjust your schedule as you want to. For example, it doesn't matter if I do [...] management as my major, I can still go and attend the course of developmental psychology, and that's amazing, there're no limits in you striving for knowledge...

Even though the UK was the 'winner' in the overall discussion, Irina (3rd interview; 00:37:12-00:37:29) highlighted some drawbacks:

I like it here, but I think it's too international. I don't mind, it helps me to assimilate and not to feel like I'm any different from other students, but what they lack is that Britishness... I came here to see the British people and immerse into the British culture, and, for God's sake, to learn British English, but what I have here is seeing people from Latin America, eating Indian food, and picking up strange accents... I miss the Britishness, I want it more here.

She later emphasised the advantages of voice instrumentality potency. She said (Irina, 4th interview; 01:11:27-01:11:40):

I asked a guy from our office and he advised me to attend some events that I didn't know about before. That's nice that when you ask something you actually get what you were asking for. The same with the feedback that you gave once the module's finished – it kinda shows that our opinions matter.

Other participants also managed to see the voice's instrumental potency in relation to the educational institution's policies. Yana said (4th interview; 01:37:03-01:37:07):

They ask for your feedback here... I mean lecturers – that's unusual but really cool.

Kristina explicitly linked the good organisation of educational practices with the tradition of “listening to what students think” (Kristina, 4th interview; 01:16:22-01:16:34):

I think the reason why they do it so well here lies in the fact that they actually put themselves into the students' shoes. So they listened to what students tell them about their experiences, about their problems and issues with technical problems, teachers, schedule, etc. In Russia everyone is deaf.

Thus, even though at this level participants mentioned their voices less often, some were still making – both explicitly and implicitly – references to that phenomenon.

Another widely discussed point turned out to be the lack of resources that participants experienced in Russian universities across all the country.

Although they all knew it before coming to the UK, once participants arrived in Leeds, the conceptual “gap between two systems became unleapable” (Timur, 3rd interview; 00:48:49-00:48:53). Points mentioned most in regards to material resources support include “amazing and very thought-through libraries” (Kristina, 4th interview; 01:17:28-01:17:33), “provision of any services required for making the most out of your study” (Margo, 4th interview; 01:06:32-01:06:35), “attention to what students actually need” (Irina, 4th interview; 01:13:01-01:13:03), and the relevance of the students' feedback (“if I need something, I can just ask and I get it”, Yana, 4th interview; 01:38:17-01:38:21).

6.4.1.3 The level of governmental strategies

Within that subtheme there were two points that turned out to be very important for participants: they first discussed strategies that the Russian government has implemented so far, and then (from third and fourth sessions) switched to discussing the way the scholarship system is organised in Russia. It should come as no surprise that the Russian scholarship system was a very hot topic for interviewees since all of them, apart from Alisa, came to study in Leeds with financial support from the Russian government. All highlighted drawbacks were discussed in the comparison with British education and the reality the research participants were experiencing on their sojourn.

As for government strategies, the problems listed include corruption, cronyism, “badly thought-through reforms, which are most of the time disrespectful and a sham”, the lack of competent people who “actually received an education in the field of education”, stigmatisation of and the overall non-prestigious discourse surrounding the profession of educator (manifested through the media as well as “stupid phrases that the most powerful people allow themselves to pronounce in front of the whole country”), and very low salary rates that leads to truly smart people moving away from the country. When discussing those issues, Kristina (4th round; 01:19:03-01:19:15) said:

...here it is not like this, here you can actually ACHIEVE something, support your family while working in the field of education, in Russia you have to survive...

Other participants also agreed on that matter. For example, one of the individuals said:

Of course it's rubbish being involved in education in Russia – and it doesn't matter, which side you are on. If you are a teacher you have to survive there. No one cares.

Similarly, another interviewee added:

What can you expect from the country where the prestige of the teacher profession is so low that even the government people are laughing at it? Where one of them is saying: if you want money turn it into a business. THE LECTURESHIP INTO A BUSINESS! I mean are you kidding me? Seriously? [in English]

As an extension to the topic of the differences in governmental policies the research participants also referred to the issues of the scholarship organisation process and the grant-giving systems. However, due to the fact that, according to the interviewees themselves, that theme “hit a nerve” and manifested a clear genre shift, as anonymous stories, I decided to put this part of the analysis under a separate subheading. Three participants cited above also asked for their names to be anonymised due to them feeling uncomfortable about producing stories on the political order in their native country. However, it was the *theme of discussing scholarship policies* where participants' voices met in consensus on the anonymity stance.

6.4.1.3.1 “I know this is important but I'm a bit afraid to pronounce that”: scholarship policies

In order to address the issue of the research participants being uncomfortable when sharing their opinions on some matters but still wishing to do so, we agreed on me not using any names (even the pseudonyms) and specifying information in the final write-up. Notably, there were also participants who, at

first, did not want even to touch upon the above issues in their discussion. However, as time passed and, as one of them said, “the lid came off” (Xxx, 5th interview), those interviewees joined others in discussing the main issues of the grants organisation system in Russia. One of those individuals, before joining others in discussing the theme of scholarship policies, also mentioned that “my silence makes a better statement than my talking”.

Thus, to start with, all participants were referring to the problem of “having inappropriate, irrelevant people in the top management positions” (Xxx, 6th interview):

I know that in “xxx” organisation [an organization dealing with Russian students enrolled in HE institutions abroad] no one from the top management has actually received a degree from a university abroad. And that’s the government organisation. People there don’t even know how the process of getting an education works as they’ve never been involved in it. And they are controlling those who are getting it. That’s ... I don’t have any words. That doesn’t make any sense. It has nothing to do with caring about the citizenship or ruling the country.

That problem was then discussed in relation to other educational establishments in Russia as a general model for how these institutions and organisations function.

Five participants referred to the poor organisation of the very process of getting the grants in Russia – they found it very discomfoting and even unjust “to become like inanimate things” in the hands of those who handle their life trajectories. The points they listed in support of their claims were as follows:

1. The existence of a list of the universities individuals were “allowed” (Xxx, 6th interview) to enter, and, thus, the countries they were able to go for SA
2. Inconsistencies in the scholarship programmes’ implementation mechanisms (“They first say one thing and then – another”; “It’s very interesting how they change the contracts”; “they know nothing about higher education either in Russia or abroad, I doubt if they got one”; “... said that my diploma is needed the day after I submit the thesis”)
3. The existence of the list of the workplaces participants were able to be employed in at the post-sojourn stage – as well as the poor quality assistance in the questions of extending that list (“I really can’t see the point in having this list – it’s done to make our lives more difficult... which will already be negatively affected by the fact that we have to come back”; “the level of support they provide is extremely low if any”; “These people, they just do nothing”)
4. Operational agency managers’ interference with studying and working processes (“they can for example contact my tutor, asking how I am doing [...] how on earth should I develop good professional relationships, if I’m being controlled and positioned as a badly-behaved child?”)

In addition, all referred to the absence of any power that “would allow things to change”. Inwardly highlighting the instrumental potency of their voices, some shared the stories of when they tried to “knock until those who higher would hear” but failed in their attempts to do so, since “no one cares about what we

think”. When directly asked about the nature of the voices operating in the context of scholarship, one of them pronounced a phrase that was later solidly and commonly consented on (*my emphasis*):

*“We have **no voice** in there”*

6.4.2 Voice as an instrument being used differently across contexts: Russia and the UK

Due to the fact that participants were comparing education systems in Russia and in the UK with the inward orientation of seeing how their voices (as students, individuals, etc.) are valued in different countries, we – unsurprisingly– arrived to the discussion of how voice operates across contexts.

Agreeing with the pilot study analysis findings, the main project research participants discussed the theme of “not having the balls to say” (Timur, 7th interview) what they wanted to say in different contexts. Interestingly, during both projects the same theme of comparing educational systems revealed individuals feeling differently while pronouncing the same things in different contexts during the pilot study. More to the point, discomfort in discussing the problems with the education system in Russia seemed to appear when individuals referred to the higher level of education system organisation (such as the overarching ideologies in Russia, or the activities of the institutions and organisations’ supreme leaders, etc). Moreover, the fact that individuals taking part in the pilot study were talking through the same issues might allow us to make a general assumption about the nature of voicing in Russia.

This clearly resonates with the discussion of Russia's political regime as reviewed in **Chapter 2**. On the one hand, theoretically, voice might have more liberating potency when acting in contrast (as the effect of detergent can be more clearly seen in dirty water) and be used as an instrument in the context of managed and poor democracy (Colton and McFaul, 2003) and managed pluralism (Balzer, 2013). However, practically, it could not be realised to its full capacity due to the great power of what Krastev (2011, p. 8) calls a "non-ideological" regime featuring "new competitive authoritarianism".

In comparison with participants' stating that they do not want to discuss things in Russia and saying particular phrases, individuals claimed that when it comes to the UK, the context here is "more relaxed irrespective of tensions surrounding the relationships between Russia and the Western countries" (Kristina, 3rd interview; 01:13:14-01:13:18). Furthermore, the very fact that participants chose to share their opinions on some matters during the interviews that they would not discuss in another context characterises the context of the UK as more liberating. Margo initially described herself as "more relaxed when speaking English" (00:56:03-00:56:06). Despite her later changing that opinion towards favouring Russian, when talking about the sociolinguistic practices in the UK, she still highlighted being able to "freely express myself" (see 6.2.3.1). We can assume that the instrumental potency of voice acquires different colours when moving across time and space – and sometimes irrespective of language per se. Furthermore, elaborating the points discussed above in terms of participants' inward orientation on the voicing process, we could see that all of them – sooner or later – claimed that in terms of educational practices their voices are valued more in the context of the UK than their native country.

However, even though participants felt more freedom within their SA experiences in expressing their opinions on some prominent matters, they still experienced discomfort when directly reproaching or criticising someone or something or referring to particular people in charge. In other words, although still in the UK as a place, at some point they all experienced Russia as a space (Lefebvre, 1991).

6.4.2.1 Russia in the UK

The feeling of discomfort and inability to express their own opinions without any consequences did not completely go away when individuals moved to the UK. Even in a SA context, they still felt the (though invisible at the first sight) presence of Russian “authoritarianism” (Irina, 6th interview; 00:25:16-00:25:17). Participants expressed their discomfort in various ways. Some explicitly stated that they felt uncomfortable saying some things, some double checked that no one could later link the phrases to them personally, or implicitly emphasises this through the use of different discourse construction or other resources. For example, Timur, Alisa, Kristina and Margo continuously used hedging disclaimers such as “I have nothing against ..., but”. In Van Dijk’s (1995) terms, that strategy might be considered maintaining the impression of a positive self-description on the one hand, and, at the same time, to express disagreement on some prominent matters on the other. Furthermore, Margo, Yana and Alisa very often directed those words to the video recording device – as a lower-level mediated action realised through the channels of gaze and body proxemics, and contributing to the higher-level action (Norris, 2004) of implicitly “keeping face” (Brown and Levinson, 1987).

In addition to seeing voice as value, the phenomenon discussed in this section resonates with the idea of ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963, 1984). When voicing their opinions and thoughts – be this in Russia or in the UK, or even “feeling the presence of Russian ideologies” and taking on Russian ideological space stance – interviewees did this in relation *to others’ voices*. Those others that individuals found themselves entering the dialogues with included not only immediate surroundings, but also seemingly geographically distant ideological schemata, and not only the present reality, but also past experiences and possible future encounters. This reminds us of the concept of a *superaddressee* (Bakhtin, 1986) – as was elaborated in **Chapter 3** (see section 3.1.3)

6.4.3 Last meeting: “how has the research changed me?”

In addition to the liberating nature of voice, during our last (paired) meeting, I asked the interviewees some final questions about them participating in the research, which led us to discussing the meta- aspects of voice as well. Many said that via narrating their SA experiences, participants came closer to better understanding their own identity dynamics. For example, Kristina (7th interview; 01:20:46-01:20:55) mentioned:

I would never think about how my personality has changed if I were not participating in this research. I started understanding myself better.

Similarly, Alisa (7th interview; 01:33:16-01:33:22) claimed:

It’s interesting, when you talk about things that happened with you, you start seeing it differently, from the outside...

Yana too referred to narration as a mode of making sense of her life (Ricoeur, 1984). Timur and Margo said that they finally arrived at the point of

understanding their life choices – both before and during the sojourn. Irina also mentioned that digging through the identity dynamics would help her navigate her future experiences.

6.4.4 Summary

Lens 4 considers how participants themselves see their voices as instruments carrying certain value and power valences. It also touches upon some sensitive but relevant topics – on the consideration of interviewees' desire to see the elaboration of those quotes in written analysis. Approaching voice from the metaphysical perspective of seeing it as a power-laden instrument, the participants talked through the theme of differences in educational systems in Russia and in the UK – which turned out to be quite salient for them.

To conclude, this section has approached the concept of voice from a slightly different perspective, manifesting the shift in theoretical focus from the consideration of *what* the voice is (in relation to ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963), culturing (Holliday, 1999) or inequalities (Hymes, 1996) and scales (Blommaert, 2005) towards investigating its pragmatic potential and *how* it can be used across contexts. This, in some sense, makes a bridge to the next section – where the analytical lens changes its magnifying power towards more fine-grained small stories analysis and the consideration – again – of *how* participants develop their voice trajectories within the interaction flow, and *what* they manifest through this.

6.5 Lens 5: Small stories

This section features the analysis of voice through the lens of a small stories approach. For the reader's convenience, I divided it into three subsections –

each corresponding to the respective round of pair interviews (1, 4 and 7). Each of the three subsections explores the dynamics of participants' voicing process within the co-constructed interview (research) space and features the in-depth analysis of some episodes in that process.

As articulated in **Chapters 4** and **5**, the warrant for the use of the micro-lens for the analysis of voice comes from addressing the challenge to find an analytical bridge over the "debilitating dichotomy between local and large-scale contexts" (Hanks, 1996, p. 192). That discussion turns the researchers' attention towards the micro dialogical links amongst the ways talks are localised and organised within time and space, which are "vital constituents of [...] roles within social practices" (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 12). Applying the more micro analytical paradigm allows exploration of the links between "an interactional zone felt to be dedicated to particular purposes [...]" characteristically accomplished at certain institutional loci and felt to have at least a relative temporal stability, that elicits from speakers particular genres and registers of language" (Hill, 1999, p. 545) on the one hand, and individuals' voice trajectories from its satellite view (Kell, 2011). In light of this, identities and voices are "best traced in discourse through a micro-analytical emphasis on the details and sequential management of talk (see Wooffitt and Clark, 1998; Zimmerman, 1998)" (Georgakopoulou, 2007, p. 17).

In addition to the arguments above, as stated in **Chapter 5** (see 5.2.2), looking at a particular type of shared co-construction activity also addresses the lack of research on different types of (elicited) stories. In order to investigate this shared template without showing any bias towards a particular genre (as the analysis revealed that "shared mode" features not only the stories but also co-

construction of disagreement), following Bell and Pahl (2018), I adopt the term co-production format, which implies a more-or-less even distribution of the research focus onto all types and levels of narrating process.

6.5.1 First round of pair interviewing

Due to the “ice-breaker” nature of the first round, during the first sessions participants were “very shy and didn’t know how to act with each other” (Yana, 3rd interview, 01:29:16-01:29:20). Before departing on the analytical journey of the small stories analysis, and the consideration of participants’ entering the co-production format, I first make a few remarks in relation to where it all started. I start my analysis by saying few words about the conversational strategies of reacting to each other the individuals were using from the very beginning – many of which eventually become the landmarks for them entering co-production format.

Thus, in terms of the voice trajectories microcosm (Holliday, 2011) as co-constructed, most of the time the individuals reacted to each other’s words through the interjection of particular discourse markers into the conversational fabric, which either meant “I am getting what you are saying, I am listening to you” or “I agree with you” (see extracts 1 and 2 below respectively).

Extract 1 (Irina and Kristina, 1st interview; 00:04:41-00:04:45)

1 *Irina* *yes it was very useful for me*

2 *Kristina* *m(h)m ((meaning yes, I am listening to you))*

3 *Irina* *and then I was working...*

Extract 2 (Irina and Kristina, 1st interview; 00:08:02-00:08:07)

- 1 *Kristina* *I feel (0,2) that we will have to read a lot*
- 2 *Irina* *m(h)m:: ((/shaking her head intensely/ – meaning yes, I agree))*
- 3 *Kristina* *new literature*

The first round of interviews coincided with participants' conceptualising culture in its 'large' sense (Holliday, 1999; 2011) and quite ethnocentrically (Sumner, 1911, p. 11) seeing the beginning of their sojourns as an immersion into the sociolinguistic reality of us vs them (Wodak, 2009), or us vs others (Bakhtin, 1963; Van Dijk, 1999). Thus, it came as no surprise that when co-constructing the interview space they often appeared to manifest their own distinctiveness from 'others'. Consequently, that became exactly the point where participants' voice trajectories met in celebrating their identities' affinities (in terms of their expressed ideologies coincidence, or more pragmatic, agentive proximity of their voices; Alisa/Yana). In order to emphasise their voices agentively or semantically coming closer to each other, the research participants deployed a strategy that later becomes fundamental for them entering the co-production format. The strategy can be described as follows: when one of the interlocutors agreed on what had been previously said by the other, they repeated the phrase that their interlocutor had pronounced – and then, they either let the interlocutors continue with their turn or expand their answers, while getting more credibility for their opinions, and, therefore, their voices (see extracts 3 and 4 respectively).

Extract 3 (Kristina and Irina, 1st interview; 00:13:25-00:13:29)

- 1 *Irina* *I donno (0,1) this task is a bit strange (0,3) (laughter) I tried my best to write it down*
- 2 *Kristina* *(laughter) yes (0,1) me too (0,2) I tried my best to write it down*
- 3 *Irina* *but I still don't get the purpose of it*

Extract 4 (Kristina and Irina, 1st interview; 00:39:16-00:39:20)

- 1 *Kristina* *I was reading the newspapers (0,2) straight after I was coming home*
- 2 *Irina* *I was coming home and was trying to do some tasks [to get ready for the IELTS]*

The latter strategy of expanding the interlocutor's turn after repeating their phrases was later widely used by individuals when they opted for the shared story formation. Linking this to the idea of dialogicality and heteroglossia (Bakhtin, 1963), Du Bois (2007) uses the term *dialogic syntax* when describing this phenomenon. In my pilot study analysis I called it *mirroring* – as when employing that particular strategy, participants were not only repeating word-for-word what they heard, but also copying each other's micro- (speech volume, intonation, etc) and para-linguistic elements (head movements, gestures, gaze directions and proxemics). Timur and Margo used it twice towards the end of the interview, and Irina and Kristina used it from the very beginning and throughout the whole session.

With the pair Alisa/Yana, they used the strategy of mirroring, though for different purposes, within the co-production format of (shared) disagreement.

This discovery also added the point to the methodological decision of enlarging the investigation scope of the analytical lens – towards looking not only at the episodes of the shared stories but also disagreement co-production process. Assessing the ‘hows’ of participants being involved in a seemingly conflicting situation – and the ways their voices operate within these certain given settings – resulted in reassessing the very nature of voice as seen through the micro-lens of the small stories analysis. Thus, my analytical journey arrived at the point of considering not only the semantic affinity of participants’ voice trajectories as developed *in situ* (*we share a common history, we have the same view on and attitudes towards some certain things, thus, our voice meet at the point of ideological semiosis*) but also their proximity in terms of reflexive negotiation of agency (Zidjaly, 2009, cited in Haslett, 2011) (*we do have different opinions, I explicitly disagree with you, but we do pursue a common conversational goal*).

Hence, I start outlining the small stories analysis of specific episodes from the dataset. To remind the reader, within the small story analysis I was appealing to Bamberg’s (2006) framework of three levels of positioning (see 4.1.4).

6.5.1.1 Timur and Margo

Timur and Margo deployed the scenario of co-constructing the shared story twice within our first meeting – both of those episodes happening towards the end of the interview (00:41:56 and 00:53:47). The extract analysed here is the second episode of this: we were discussing how the languages we speak influence our identities (see **Appendix 7** for the original transcript).

Extract 5 (Timur and Margo, 1st interview; 00:53:43-00:56:31)

- 1 Timur the language is changing you /making a hand gesture, turning his head towards his shoulder/
- 2 Margo ye:s the language is changing you /mirroring interlocutor's non-verbal behaviour/ (.) (0,3) it is like like two faces (0,3) two identities (0,2) one Margo who speaks English is ONE PERSON (.) (1) and who speaks RUSSIAN (0,2) is someone different
- 3 Timur not necessarily only ↑Margo (0,2) Timur as well /mirroring interlocutor's non-verbal behaviour/
- 4 Margo yea::h (laughter)
- 5 Alena (laughter)
- 6 Timur Timur a lot (0,5) the English one (0,1) Timur because it is not his native ↑language (0,4) it is harder for him to express his feelings emotions harder well °don't know° to make jokes (0,1) HE IS SO LOWER IN DEVELOPMENT than Russian Timur (.) we::ll I (0,2) °I'd say so° (0,1) he is kinda the ↑same but because he is bad in expressing himself sometimes the second Timur considers this as something slightly not
- 7 Margo they seem to have conflict
- 8 Timur they seem to have conflict (0,1) yes
- 9 Margo WHEN ESPECIALLY YOU LISTEN TO SOMEONE (0,3) AND TEN TIMES YOU HAVE TO ASK [to repeat] SORRY (laughter)
- 10 Timur how can you consider this person smart
- 11 Margo bright

- 12 Timur intelligent
- 13 Margo yes there is something [rational] in all this
- 14 Timur (laughter)
- 15 Margo I think (0,3) that Margo from Russia ((Russian accent)) she is MORE SERIOUS (0,2) actually (0,2) English relaxes me °kinda° (.) (1) for me (0,1) for me it's more simple to say somewhere abroad ↑approach (0,3) people I don't know (0,3) and start talking to them make friends hang out (0,4) than I can't imagine approaching people in the club in Moscow and °starting talking to them and so on° (0,7) well unlikely (laughter) and when we abroad everything is more simple for us be=
- 16 Timur =because this very studying atmosphere=
- 17 Margo Yes
- 18 Timur =implies we are meeting new people (0,1) communicating with them=
- 19 Margo =freely=
- 20 Timur yes
- 21 Margo =and at home you are reserved
- 22 Timur Yes
- 23 Margo Yes

As mentioned before, this episode demonstrates the participants co-constructing the shared story. Looking at this extract through the prism of the first level of positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2006), or how the characters are

positioned in relation to each other, we can see that the narrative the individuals are developing here might fall under the definition of *generic narrative* (Baynham, 2005, p. 16), ie, a narrative where “a speaker, instead of recounting a unique and singular sequence of events, will [...] recount one that happened regularly or repeatedly to a particular group of participants over time” and emphasises the typicality and iterativity of this or that event(s), while suspending its uniqueness. The narrative developed in the episode does not follow the canons of the Labovian interpretation of the story. Instead, within the fleeting moments of narrative orientation (Hymes, 1996), participants talk through the “incidents that occur regularly, without a peak in action”, that form an overall holistic and background picture of participants’ lives – whether referring to their past, present, or projected future reality (Clifton and Van De Mierop, 2016, p. 6), what Caranza (1998) calls habitual narratives. The “habituality” and suspended uniqueness of the experiences is well traced within participants’ choice of (personal) deictic expressions. More to the point, throughout the whole scenario both individuals manoeuvre between the use of different pronouns – personalised ‘я’ (transl. ‘I’), ‘мне’ (transl. ‘for me’) – which highlights the individualistic side of their experiences; more generalized ‘ты’ (transl. ‘you’), which makes an attempt to find the links between the interlocutors’ experiences; and, finally, collective ‘мы’ (transl. ‘we’), which manifests the affinity of the participants’ practices. Thus, in terms of the characters’ organisation, there is no established set-up character in participants’ story(ies) but rather a collective image that interlocutors share within their narrative world – a point, which gives the idea that *there is a shared story co-constructed* by the participants a solid foundation.

The chosen extract demonstrates a very interesting paradox – even though the participants constructed the collective main character of their story, a person manoeuvring between “taking on different identities” (Timur, 2nd interview), and recalled the situations ‘fittable’ for both of their trajectories in general, they nevertheless used a technique that highlighted the individualistic nature of their experiences. From the very beginning of the extract interviewees alluded to very specific referents via their proper names. More to the point, in lines 2, 3, 6-10, 15, when defining the characters in their stories about their experiences, both participants used illeism, referring to themselves in the third person.

This might explain their deliberate intensification of the story’s global semantics (Van Dijk, 1996): the indexical shift in self-referencing and individuals taking up self-distancing stances complements the words about two different people existing in one person. In other words, the implicit message might be interpreted as follows: two of them exist – a Russian one and an English one – which means that there is a divergence of inner dynamics of my personality, and that is exactly what I demonstrate through referring to myself in the third person; plus, I am not taking up any of those faces, I am a *narrator* now. This aligns with the core nature of illeism as a phenomenon, which is theoretically based on the idea of (self-)distancing and detachment (Morinaga, 2015, p. 8) – and that is exactly what both participants were exaggerating in their talk: the separateness of two I’s and the distance between them:

...cooperative speaker may refer to himself with his own name, where it is in the common ground that all participants of a conversation know his

name. In this situation, illeism is understood as the realization of speaker's taking detached perspective on himself [sic].

In his seminal work on Dostoevsky's poetics Bakhtin, when discussing the idea of polyphony and heteroglossia, amongst other things exemplified this phenomenon through referring to the words of the characters, who used exactly the same technique – self-reference in the third person. When talking through this device employed by the author to create the polyphonic novel, Bakhtin (1963, p. 220) calls it “authentic dialogue of unmerged consciousness” and then says:

The whole work is constructed, therefore, entirely as an interior dialogue of three voices within the limits of a single dismantled consciousness. Every essential aspect of it lies at a point of intersection of these three voices, at a point where they abruptly, agonizingly interrupt each other...One and the same word, passed through three voices and each voice sounds differently.

As for other characters included in the participants' story world, analogous to Baynham's (2005) idea on generic narrative, these might be called generic as well: these are the people that the main character – or the collective image of a person manoeuvring between two identities – deals with. As for the geographical coordinates, the chosen chunk of the data is centred on participants talking about their Russian and English selves – which is why, unsurprisingly, they refer to the sites associated with these languages and mention some topographic names, in the forms of either nouns or adjectives (lines 6 and 15). Even though the narrative might be called generic and characterised with participants talking through some abstract terms, in line 15

Margo refers to more specific bits of her experience as it exists within her projected reality (which is based on her past encounters). Line 15 is the only time Margo seems to be intentionally diverging from the common path of having the collective character in the participants' shared story. Straight after applying the illeistic construction (through the use of a proper name – Margo – and third person pronoun), she switches over to the more personalised and very individualistic first person pronoun “я” (*transl.* I) and its derivatives. Her linguistic behaviour here might be explained by two points. First of all, before that chunk both participants, when comparing their English and Russian selves, were negatively evaluating the former – most widely in terms of their inability “to maintain proper communication” (Timur). This contradicts with what Margo said in line 15, when she claimed that it is actually simpler for her to communicate in English mode, because “Russians are quite judgmental in a sense, which is why I said that I’m kinda afraid of approaching people... people here are so much easier to start talking to... well, international students” (Margo, 2nd interview; 00:23:37-00:23:46). In other words, in terms of communication flow, this Margo’s move might be easily understood with her using some face-threat mitigating redressive strategies (Brown and Levinson, 1987). When claiming that she does find some positive sides of her English self, she contradicts this with the global semantic of the communication episode in general (that her English self is much poorer), which is why she, through the use of individualistic “я” (*transl.* I) and its derivatives, indirectly manifests that what she is saying is true for her and but might not be the same for her interlocutors. Secondly, during the whole interview in general and the episode chosen here in particular, participants seem to try their best to maintain a positive atmosphere during the event. (Even when they disagree

with each other, they were deploying various strategies to soften the contradiction.) Thus, here Margo tried to avoid the risk of setting up conflict (*I am expressing my own opinion, I am talking through my own experience, I do not know if the same things happened to you, so I will not generalise*). Having finished this passage about Moscow and returning semantically to her experiences of living abroad, she goes back to the use of collective “мы” (*transl. we*) and its derivatives. Even though the opinions she expressed semantically contradicts Timur, he nevertheless seemed to try to find common ground. In line 16 he refers not to the language difficulties discussed earlier but to being within a more relaxed student environment. He thus finds something similar in his and Margo’s experiences – in order to avoid explicitly showing their voice trajectories diverging from each other.

Returning to the phenomenon of illeism and approaching it through the prism of psychology, Morinaga (2015) gives another explanation that might be considered relevant to Timur and Margo using self-reference. Similar to De Fina’s (2009) idea of deictic shifts acting as positioning devices, Morinaga claims that the indexical shift (Sudo, 2010) in participants referring to themselves possibly means the speaker drawing attention to the semantics of the particular use of illeism:

*Illeism ... is understood as the realization of speaker’s taking **self-centered** perspective on himself.*

Morinaga (2015, p. 8, *my emphasis*)

He argues that the use of illeistic constructions (i.e. referring to yourself in the third person) might as well be seen as an estrangement device (Shklovsky, 1970) – used to draw attention to what is important for the individual at that

very moment. Furthermore, agreeing with Bakhtin (1963, 1981), the use of illeism as a device highlighting the distinctiveness that exists between different ‘identities within one’ individual, in the best way possible illustrates the polyphonic nature of their voice trajectories.

The second level of positioning analysis, the level of investigating how the story is interactionally framed within the conversational flow, reveals the research participants using the mirroring techniques in order to get closer to each other, manifesting the affinity of their identities and harmonic consonance of their voices. This technique is employed through the semantic channel (channel of the meaning) as well as the paralinguistic channels of communication (gestures). From the beginning, we can see how participants are practically mirroring each other: first Margo repeats the same gesture performed by Timur (lines 1, 2), and then Timur is appealing to the same illeistic constructions produced by Margo, while also semantically reiterating Margo’s turns (line 8). After that, having explicitly manifested that they are both “in the same boat” (Timur, 7th interview), and having positively accepted each other’s cooperative strategies of merging their voices together – in one polyphonic shared story, they start playing with the narrative flow like with a relay baton. Starting from line 10 they are both finishing each other’s utterances, picking those up from the middle of the turns (lines 10, 11, 12, 18, 19, 21), and even from the middle of the words (lines 15-16). Most importantly, *all* those moves were cooperatively met by the participants.

The third level of positioning analysis, namely the level of “wider” identities, the one that links the happenings in situ with individuals’ “extra-situational” agenda, has revealed that within this episode participants’ voices do resonate

with each other, which might mean that their wider voice trajectories have been developing in close proximity to each other. In other words, both participants were striving to make salient the same aspects of their identities, namely **(i)** a Russian living abroad; and **(ii)** a person experiencing a shift in language cognition: namely, a linguistic bifurcation. Both of these identities have become salient and been manifested by participants, primarily semantically, through open discussion of the encounters individuals experienced as **(i)** and **(ii)**. Most importantly, as analysis of the third and the second levels of the participants' positioning demonstrates, both were performing this symbolic manifestation not in contrast with each other's identities but rather in close affinity to them. That gives more credit to the claim that Margo and Timur were projecting their voices into if not the same but quite a similar direction when discussing their sociolinguistic trajectories in relation to their identities as Russian sojourners who go through the change in their language perception vectors (Gurevich, 2010).

6.5.1.2 Alisa and Yana

In contrast to the other participants, at our first meeting Alisa and Yana did not appear to co-construct a shared story – during the first meeting they more often expressed disagreement than accord with each other. However, when looking at the seemingly conflicting atmosphere of disagreement through the grid of the shared-stories template (eg, looking for strategies employed by other participants in order to launch and maintain the co-construction format), I came upon a surprising discovery. The participants *did use the mirroring strategies* (as with the shared story co-construction process analysed above), but that was not determined by them manifesting similarity of experiences and/or affinity of opinion. While expressing disagreement in various ways, they

were still maintaining the cooperative atmosphere of an interview event. Presumably, this agency point became a meeting point for their voice trajectories as those were being developed in situ.

Below is the analysis of an excerpt from the first session with Alisa and Yana; the episode analysed here happened in the middle of the interview (00:37:45), when we were discussing the attitudes towards English and Russian at government and individual levels (see **Appendix 7** for the original transcripts).

Extract 6 (Alisa and Yana, 1st interview; 00:37:57-00:40:15)

- 1 Alisa *I think this is very important to study your native language ((at school)) (0,1) I remember (.) I don't know about you ((addressing this to Yana)) but (0,2) ↑we (0,1) had that [subject at ↑school=*
- 2 Yana *[YES AND ((Russian adversative conjunction)) WE HAD IT AS WELL as they called it in Russian native speech ((the name of the subject)) (0,2) I don't remember we had this textbook (0,3) English language is ↓analytical there is a very specific structure of how you have to talk (0,5) and they are getting used to it from their birth (0,3) which is why they study only literature (0,2) Russian language is very different systematically (0,1) we can say the same using completely different ↑structures constantly changing those (.) in other words OUR LANGUAGE is wider in some sense (0,1) it has both structure and variability (0,2) and that is exactly why I think everyone should have this subject ((of studying native language)) in the curriculum (.) (1) IN ORDER TO USE THE*

LANGUAGE NOT JUST AS A MECHANICAL INSTRUMENT (.)

not to sound mechanically (0,2) but rather use it as a means to express and demonstrate your identity

- 3 Alisa *we:ll (0,1) in order to express and demonstrate your identity (0,4)*
I actually still think that English language has all these subtleties as well but we don't know about it because for us it is still ° a foreign language ° [A::ND =

- 4 Yana *[I WOULD ARGUE WITH [THAT*

- 5 Alisa *[I STILL [BELIEVE*

- 6 Yana *[in ↑English*
these subtleties (0,2) that we don't take into account (0,1) they belong to literary language (0,1) so as a rule they are not used in everyday ↓speech (0,5) and in Russian language there are too many things that people use in everyday speech and literary language and what constitutes the basis of the language (1) so this is not [purely] literary language (0,3) Russian includes both of these components (0,3) because it is not ↑analytical

- 7 Alisa *and what was the question ↑exactly*

- 8 Alena *we are discussing the attitude towards Russian (0,1) and English as native languages in Russia and in the UK /making a hand gesture/*

- 9 Alisa *as native languages in Russia and in the ↓UK /mirroring a hand gesture/*

- 10 Yana *in Russia and in the ↓UK*
- 11 Alisa *attitude towards Russian (0,1) and English as native languages in Russia and in the UK (1) I still think that ↑English is very rich and colourful language (.) EVEN SLANG (0,1) and sometimes even PARTICULARLY (0,2) slang (1) /turning her body to Yana/*
- 12 Yana */turning her body towards Alisa/*
- 13 Alisa *we just don't know ALL the structures in order to play with it as we do with Russian*
- 14 Yana *we don't know all the structures (0,3) I want to learn slang (0,3) still Russian (0,1) is different and kinda more complex in structure*
- 15 Alisa *still English is very vivid as well /smiling/*
- 16 Yana */smiling/*

At first glance, this extract might seem to illustrate the participants' diverging their voices. Indeed, although there is an attempt to *co-construct* the narrative (line 2), the individuals are rather distancing themselves from each other through the use of pronouns. In line 1 Alisa is semantically contrasting her experience with Yana's: "I don't know about you but *we had* that subject at school". And Yana is simultaneously reacting to this: when responding to Alisa's turn, she uses the Russian adversative conjunction 'a' (*transl.* 'and/but'), which marks her differentiating her experiences from Alisa's. In contrast with other participants using collective pronouns in order to highlight their affinity (both Margo and Timur, as well as Kristina and Irina, used the personal pronoun 'мы' (*transl.* 'we') as a point unifying their experiences –

lines 15, 18 in the previous abstract), in the beginning of the analysed episode Alisa and Yana separate each other's (both real and narrative) worlds: there are two different 'мы' (*transl.* 'we'). Not making communication any easier, Yana, having answered Alisa's turn about having native speech as a subject in the curriculum, very abruptly switches onto another (quite close, but still different) theme – the difference between Russian and English languages. Her linguistic behaviour might be interpreted as follows: she used her first phrase about having the same discipline at school as a way to get the floor (to take it away from her interlocutor: *you said it → I have something to add on this theme → I am answering onto your turn → I now have the floor → I can talk about what I want*) and then starts talking about what she wants. In her reaction on this, Alisa starts turn 3 with the adversative particle 'ну' (*transl.* well), then appears to semantically mirror Yana's behaviour – and then expresses her disagreement with her. In this turn Alisa uses the personal collective pronoun 'мы' (*transl.* we), that in this case has obviously acquired a unifying meaning (we – all the people who are non-native speakers of English). Turns 4 and 5 might be called the most problematic in the sense of maintaining the cooperativity of the talk; in their attempts to take control over the communicative situation both participants try the strategy of interrupting each other, as well as raising their voices. However, in turn 6 Yana refers to Alisa's use of collective unifying we, which presumably illustrates her not wishing to load the fire with fresh fuel and raise the conflict. Yana's use of we here might be even called mirroring – since this collective pronoun carries exactly the same meaning that Alisa ascribed before (we – not we-sojourners, or Russian speakers, but we – all non-native speakers of English).

Analysis of the semantic components of the ways the participants position themselves and are positioned by each other (the second level of positioning) reveals that they quite openly express their disagreement (lines 3, 4 and 5) – through the use of collocations with the verbs ('я бы **поспорила**' – *transl.* 'I would **argue**') and semantically playing with the interjections ('ну **на самом деле я все же** думаю' – *transl.* 'Well, I **actually still** think'; 'я все-таки **считаю**' – *transl.* 'I **still** believe'). In addition, in line 7 Alisa is using a very interesting strategy of contradicting Yana's opinion without letting Yana finish her utterance (as her turn in line 6 finishes at high pitch which does not correspond to the Russian intonation contour of finishing the utterance; Leed, 1965), Alisa goes back to the very beginning of the discussion, to square one, when referring to the formulation of the initial question. Even though this move breaks the chain of the communication flow, Alisa's strategy might also be interpreted as her desire to stop the conflict and reverse the flow of discussion by starting the scenario of 'researcher's question → participants' answers' from the beginning. This aligns with Yana's use of a dialogic syntax (Du Bois, 2007) strategy in line 6 – when she, analogous with Alisa, unifies her own, Alisa's and other non-native speakers' of English experiences. The rest of the extract is penetrated with participants' repeating phrases after each other (lines 10, 14, 15), mirroring each other's paralinguistic behaviour (lines 15, 16), and using their body position and proxemics (Davitti and Pasquandrea, 2016) (lines 11, 12) – that might mark their desire to maintain the cooperative tone of the talk despite their opinions diverging.

This takes us to the analysis of the third level of positioning –revealing a paradoxical enigma. On the one hand, the abstract analysis has clearly demonstrated that within the episode participants were semantically diverging

their voices through expressing contradicting opinions, meaning that their overall ideological dynamics as well as wider voice trajectories were developing at a distance from each other. However, more micro analysis of the first two levels of positioning has revealed that Alisa and Yana both used strategies that helped them to restore and maintain the cooperative tone of communication (mirroring, use of collective 'we', use of non-verbal channels, etc). This might mean that there was a point of agreement where their voices (as operating *in situ*) met each other. Presumably, that was the point of agency – the point of intentional and conscious maintaining of cooperative discussion within the interview space. Apart from the shared agency, the use of the collective pronoun 'we' does at least imply individuals manifesting their belonging to the same *group* of non-native speakers of English, which also brings their voices closer together.

Furthermore, irrespective of discrepancy between their language ideologies that comes to the forefront of the first reading analysis, the use of the collective 'we' (though it is not the same 'we' as elsewhere, eg, co-constructing the prototypical main character within the shared story world), mirroring techniques and body positions are links between the current episode and the shared stories formation as was (and will be) described in the earlier and subsequent sections, respectively.

6.5.2 Second round of pair interviewing

6.5.2.1 Timur and Margo

The analysis of the second pair meeting with Timur and Margo (the fourth one within the overall interview schedule) revealed that the session was full of participants co-constructing shared stories (total number is 12). They were

doing so when talking about cultural differences, the position of English in Russia, participants' educational experiences in Russia and in the UK, individuals' changing language ideologies, etc. This example, as with Alisa and Yana, was chosen on the basis of the number of different strategies employed while jointly co-constructing the story. (This example turned out to be the most diverse in terms of different types of lower-level actions used in the process of co-telling the story.) We were discussing the differences between participants' experiences of studying in Russia and in the UK. The shared story co-told by the participants within the chosen extract might be divided into sequential subsections which is another reason for this chunk to be analysed here.

Extract 7 (Timur and Margo, 4th interview; 00:54:13-01:00:10)

- 1 *Margo* *in Russia (0,1) you write with ctrl c ctrl v ↑ Wikipedia*
- 2 *Timur* *YES YES YES*
- 3 *Margo* *[that's] ↑all (0,2) without mentioning the source (0,3) so (0,1) [you] found CRAP on the internet through it ((Russian indefinite-personal grammatical construction))=*
- 4 *Timur* *=ctrl c ctrl v*
- 5 *Margo* *ctrl c ctrl v [that's] all 15 minutes*
- 6 *Timur* *yes (0,6) or ↑whatever (0,1) [you] submitted someone else's work (0,1) no one might notice nothing*
- 7 *Margo* *yes (2) so the quality of education is MUCH HIGHER (0,4) the way (0,1) HOW the things are taught (1) well in Russia you*

BLANKLY WROTE DOWN (0,3) copied the theory from the blackboard (0,3) here you are writing down ↑nothing (0,2) but you are being told so many things (0,3) and told the examples of projects from other ↑countries (1) Russian teachers (0,1) they simply don't know this stuff (0,2) well they've got ↓THEORY (0,6) that this should be LIKE THIS (0,2) well and consider this from different angle THEY DON'T EVEN ↑DARE

- 8 Timur at ours (0,2) the teacher ((student slang)) of military medicine was telling a lot of examples from other countries=
- 9 Margo well [it] means =
- 10 Timur =they were flying (0,2) to natural disaster places
- 11 Margo =he was ↓cool (1) I didn't have teachers like this
- 12 Timur (laughter) showing photos from Thailand (0,2) °when there was tsunami°=
- 13 Margo cool
- 14 Timur =there they are driving a ↑van (0,5) and a giraffe is looking into their window (0,4) °elephants (0,1) tigers are running along the ↑streets°
- 15 Margo well yeah then it's funny (0,3) [it] means was experience (0,4) and we further than the economic planning of ↑Khabarovsk (0,5) °and building companies of Khabarovsk° (0,3) they didn't see ↑anything

- 16 *Timur* *but YES you are right (0,6) here in general the quality of education is HIGHER (0,3) [they] assess people in an unbiased manner ((Russian indefinite-personal grammatical construction)) (1) at ours [they] give three ((Russian system of assessment grades, equals to C in the UK)) ↑for ((Russian indefinite-personal grammatical construction)) (0,1) for the very fact that he ((the word person is masculine in Russian language)) appears at the ↓exam=*
- 17 *Margo* *m(h)m ((marker of agreement))*
- 18 *Timur* *=or tried to do ↓something*
- 19 *Margo* *yes yes*
- 20 *Timur* *for the fact that (0,4) COPIED ASSIGNMENT from the internet ((Russian indefinite-personal grammatical construction))=*
- 21 *Margo* *=or simply put together ((Russian indefinite-personal grammatical construction))=*
- 22 *Timur* *=and sent ((Russian indefinite-personal grammatical construction))*
- 23 *Margo* *like an option (0,3) I AM IN A VERY BAD MOOD BECAUSE OF THAT YOU GET ONE POINT LESS ((imitating a Russian teacher)) (0,2) as well here [it's] not like this ((Russian impersonal grammatical construction))*
- 24 *Timur* *here like this (0,2) somehow in a unbiased manner*

- 25 Margo *yes (0,2) really unbiased*
- 26 Alena *m(h)m*
- 27 Timur *vot ((Russian discourse marker signifying the end of the narration process))*
- 28 Margo *or there (0,1) I LIKE YOU (0,3) which is why ((imitating a Russian teacher)) which is why you arrive in the exam and you've got automat ((Russian student slang, meaning that the student gets exam mark without actually performing and sometimes even physically appearing at the exam))=*
- 29 Timur *=SIMPLY BECAUSE I LIKE YOU*
- 30 Margo *here as well something like this is not ↓possible (1) everyone is at the exam and everything is according to the rules*
- 31 Timur *what else (0,1) we'll (0,1) that facilities here are BETTER (0,3) I was just surprised (0,2) that you could come WHEREVER YOU WANT AND PRINT WHAT YOU NEED*
- 32 Margo *people are hanging out in the labs (0,1) it is real well=*
- 33 Timur *yes*
- 34 Margo *=[they] can conduct research (0,2) especially those from natural science well chemistry*
- 35 Timur *chemistry building you are passing it by (0,1) so many different types of interesting equipment are there I don't know*

- 36 Margo we also have it yes (0,1) building lab in civil engineering
((English word)) is
- 37 Timur yes (0,2) plus (0,1) well (0,1) can see ((Russian impersonal
grammatical construction)) that people can use it calmly (0,2) if
they need it so [they
- 38 Margo [so you REALLY can in your field basically
WITHOUT ANY LIMITS develop your knowledge
- 39 Timur yes we don't have these facilities
- 40 Margo yes
- 41 Timur my friend is working in this (0,2) in a chemistry institute (0,3)
there there they have nothing (1) ° financing is very low° (1)
PEOPLE ARE GOOD (0,2) but financing is very weak
- 42 Margo yes (2) plus discipline (0,3) as Irina says (0,1) I (0,1) say (0,1)
didn't think (0,1) that because of five minutes [they] will take five
↓points ((Russian indefinite-personal construction)) (0,2) I am
saying WHAT DO YOU ↑THINK (0,3) so for her it was a
surprise for her (0,3) that [they] took five points from her overall
↑score ((Russian indefinite-personal construction)) (0,2) that
she was like FIVE OR TEN minutes (0,2) she about five or ten
minutes (1) and there ↑yes (0,2) you could put it off saying yes
I will bring it tomorrow yes I will bring it tomorrow ((imitating a
Russian student speaking)) we::ll ple::ase I will bring it
tomorrow ((imitating querulous tone of voice)) (0,3) and THAT

WAS WORKING (1) here it is not like this because everyone is on equal terms

- 43 Timur I also most of all like here (0,1) that (0,3) in comparison to school (0,1) university in Russia was a free ↓place you want (0,1) °attend not attend° (0,1) so no one forces you to do this (0,4) if you are not attending there (0,1) not working off what you ↑missed (0,2) you are not going to pass and you'll be ↓expelled (1) HERE IT IS EVEN FREER (0,1) than in Russian university (1) you can attend even LESS sessions=
- 44 Margo yes
- 45 Timur =can simply (0,2) CAN DO WHATEVER YOU ↑LIKE=
- 46 Margo actually ↑yes
- 47 Timur = BUT WHAT REQUIRED FROM ↑YOU (0,3) YOU HAVE TO (0,1) YOU MUST KNOW THIS YOU MUST LEARN IT
- 48 Margo YES
- 49 Timur and report ↓it (0,3) well so
- 50 Margo and REALLY KNOW STUFF (0,3) not like just barely
- 51 Timur YES and REALLY KNOW indeed
- 52 Margo yes
- 53 Timur so (0,1) here these personality traits are getting developed
- 54 Margo time management and so on

- 55 *Timur ye::s*
- 56 *Margo and everything else*
- 57 *Alena m(h)m m(h)m got it so here*
- 58 *Margo A:ND CONTIENTIOUS ATTITUDE (0,2) towards everything
what's happening*

The first level of positioning analysis reveals that – again – there are no specific settings in terms of the personal, geographical and temporal story orientation framework. As with analysing shared stories produced by other participants (see earlier sections), Timur and Margo were building their stories around a collective image where different voices –from **(i)** a typical Russian student studying in a Russian university, and **(ii)** a person studying abroad – merge into one character having both of those experiences, **(i)** and **(ii)**. They almost never use the proper names for the characters of the stories with only Margo using it, once – in line 42 when she refers to a person both participants and the researcher know. In a similar fashion, though not through the use of proper names, Timur refers to specific people as well – in line 8 he mentions his teacher of military medicine, and in line 41 he talks about his friend at a chemistry institution. Interactional dynamics analysis has revealed that the former example of Timur referring to a specific person is a contradiction to Margo's opinion (*I disagree with you and here is the proof – taken from my own authentic experience*), and the latter one shows him adding more weight to an opinion expressed by both participants (*I strongly support our common idea and here is another proof to this coming from my own authentic experience*). Margo and Timur very rarely use the personalising pronoun 'я'

(*transl.* 'I') and its derivatives (both individuals use these when implementing redressive strategies or to make their statements more credible), and much more often use the more unifying pronoun 'ты' (*transl.* 'you') and collective 'мы' (*transl.* 'we'). Furthermore, they both continuously use the Russian impersonal or indefinite-personal grammatical construction, the main feature of which is the omitted subject. All of these contribute to creating not a particular and specific, but rather a collective and abstract, image of the main character – a Russian student with experiences of studying both in Russia and abroad.

Furthermore, the chosen extract illustrates an unusual use of the personalised pronoun 'я' (*transl.* 'I'). In lines 23, 28, 29, and 42 the participants use the personal pronoun 'я' (*transl.* 'I') and its derivatives, when acting as animators (Goffman, 1974) and articulating the voices of other people from their past encounters. Interestingly, in terms of the episode's interactional dynamics and the second level of positioning analysis, lines 28 and 29 contain an explicit example of mirroring technique applied by the participants in the process of building up the shared story. Careful examination of the episode reveals that Margo's acting as an animator in line 28 is followed by Timur doing *exactly the same* – speaking the words of other people from his past encounters. More to the point, both participants are talking up the same character – the collective image of a typical teacher in Russia.

Participants play with the use of the second-person pronoun 'ты' (*transl.* 'you'); they most often use it to signify the main character of their story, a student with experience of studying in Russia and in the UK. The choice of second-person pronoun 'you' (instead of the distancing 'he/she' or very personalised 'I') is determined by two factors. These include individuals associating themselves

with this kind of person (*I am aware of all these things that I am talking through*); and their aspirations to merge their voices for the sake of creating one shared image of the main character of the story (*I am using you with the reference to the main character of a story, and in doing so, expanding the limits and increasing the 'holding capacity' of the main character that is not unique and specific but rather collective – and, most importantly, includes the interlocutor into this concept*).

Other characters mentioned in the story include those that a typical student with experience of studying in Russia and in the UK deals with while being educated at different universities: teachers (lines 7, 8, 11, 23, 24) and people in its most general and abstract sense (lines 16, 32, 37, 41). When in need to avoid tautology, no proper names or specifying identifications are used but rather the abstract pronoun 'они' (*transl.* 'they') and its derivatives. In addition, avoidance of over(use) of the proper names might as well be considered as the participants' lack of desire to disassociate their experiences from each other's – and to *merge* their voices in the common type of archetypal encounters rather than diverge them. Thus, the use of proper names might instead be considered a redressive strategy of backing up the participants' answers in order not to ruin the overall cooperative tone of the conversation – as a particularising strategy to earn credits for each individual's turns. Similarly to the Yana/Alisa episode analysed above (6.5.1.2), those micro specifying elements of the conversation fabrics can be considered as disagreements. However, even within these disagreement micro episodes, where the voices of individuals might be said to slightly diverge semantically, again, as was the case with Yana and Alisa, the agency level (featuring the common aim

maintaining the non-conflicting tone of the conversation) became the meeting point for their trajectories.

As for the geographical and temporal orientation, both individuals seem to frame their stories within quite abstract settings; their narratives fit the definition of generic narrative (the narrators do not refer to unique experiences). Most often they use abstract deictic spatial markers – words such as ‘здесь’ (*transl.* ‘here’), and ‘там’ (*transl.* ‘there’) – and use topographical names five times across the whole abstract. They do this when referring to Russia and Russian teachers (lines 1, 7 and 43), references without any specific meaning that form the contrasting framework within which to discuss differences between Russian and British educational experiences. The other two examples of Timur and Margo using topographic names involve them, as is the case with the use of proper names for the characters, performing contradictory or face-threat mitigating/redressive strategies (lines 12 and 15, respectively). In terms of the second level of positioning analysis, within these two lines one could see the mirroring technique used by Margo – she uses the topographic name (line 15 – Khabarovsk) straight after Timur does this (line 12 – Thailand), which might be explained by her aspiring to put her voice closer to Timur’s (*I do as you do because I am the same as you*). Assessing the process of the individuals’ co-constructing the story through the perspective of the third level of positioning analysis, it becomes quite clear that when doing so the participants’ main goal was not to share their unique experiences with each other and the researcher, but rather polyphonically get closer to each other and manifest the affinity of their identities and sameness rather than difference. When co-telling their stories, participants were metaphorically turning the most similar facets of their identities to face each

other – and, thus, making clear that they are the same in many senses, and that they do belong to the same group of Russian students having experiences of studying in Russia and in the UK.

The second level of positioning analysis, or the analysis of how participants were interactively co-constructing the shared stories within the chosen abstract, has revealed that the way they were sharing the tellership rights could be compared to dancing with the words. The overall process is started by Margo in line 1 when she begins talking about the way students submit assignments in Russia – when she starts the narrative by using the unifying pronoun ‘ты’ (*transl.* ‘you’), rather than more individualising ‘я’ (*transl.* ‘I’). In line 2 Timur straightaway catches the flow by expressing his agreement semantically. Having taken this on board, Margo builds up the next turn so as to exclude any references to specific people, places or situations – she does not use any pronouns or proper names, and even the grammatical construction she chooses is *indefinite*. This most probably gets interpreted by Timur as an invitation to join her in co-constructing the story – and in line 4 he does, but through the use of a safe technique (he mirrors what has been said by Margo in line 1). Margo willingly accepts Timur’s contributions to co-constructing the shared story through deploying the same semantic mirroring techniques (line 5) followed by both individuals expressing their agreement with each other and centring their narrative around a common abstract situation. The divergence happens in line 8 when Timur opens up a line with the specific ‘у нас’ (*transl.* ‘at ours’) and refers to his own authentic experience – different from Margo’s. In the middle of him saying so, Margo (line 11) accepts his truths and his values (*I do believe you and I do think the same as you – and consider the teacher cool in the same fashion as you do*). Then, in

line 15 she tries to use the redressive strategy, while referring to her own experience and giving some specific detail about her past (e.g. the use of proper name of the city). After that Timur goes back to constructing the shared story while explicitly admitting that Margo is right (he even emphasises it by raising his voice). Line 16 is again characterised by the use of indefinite constructions, which might mean that Timur goes back to the common abstract situation coordinative framework. Margo, at first, agrees safely with him, but not quite explicitly, through the use of discourse markers of agreement and not the complete words or phrases. After that, in line 21 she initiates “picking up the narrative flow” again, which marks her desire to keep co-constructing the story with her interlocutor. Timur answers her with the use of the same strategy in line 22, then builds up on their structural shared stories framework by introducing a new strategy. In line 29 he uses the mirroring technique again, but this time not simply repeating Margo’s words, but rather using the conversational pattern she uses – acting as an animator (Goffman, 1981) and speaking the words of another person (the same abstract person Margo was talking on behalf of). After that – till the very end of the episode they keep playing and dancing with the narrative flow (picking it up after each other as a relay baton, and latching onto each other’s utterances).

The third level of positioning analysis reveals an even better match in terms of participants’ identity characteristics. In analogy with the episode analysed from the first round of interviewing, through co-constructing the shared story world with the collective image of the main character, the research participants manifested their identity affinities (as both belonging to the groups of **(i)** students with experiences of studying in a Russian university, and **(ii)** people studying abroad). Both Margo and Timur expressed the same attitude towards

the situations described, and, even when their opinions were diverging, those still resonated at the level of agency (as they were both keen to maintain the overall cooperative atmosphere of the event), which gives more credit to seeing individuals' wider voice trajectories as developing in close proximity to each other's. As another explanation of the latter, this coincides in a timely fashion – and analytically aligns – with the individuals referring to the Russian Leeds small culture formation.

6.5.3 Third round of interviewing

Overall, the very last interviews could have been seen as concluding remarks meetings. The participants themselves admitted that the “atmosphere during the interview was like you built a house and now you are looking at what you did” (Timur, 7th interview; 00:57:51-00:57:56) – and compared it with “the way you assess your work from far after having put a brush away” (Kristina, 7th interview; 01:03:19-01:03:24). In order to restore the balance of analysing the different pairs' communication episodes, this section features an extract from an interview with Irina and Kristina. The analysed episode happened when we were discussing the reasons for studying abroad.

Extract 8 (Kristina and Irina, 7th interview; 00:37:57-00:42:02).

- 1 *Kristina* ye:s education abroad (1) it's fun (0,2) getting new experience
here (0,3) that you didn't have ↓before /looking at Irina/
- 2 *Irina* in Russia when [you] studying (0,2) and here different
↑assignments ((English word)) /looking at Kristina/
- 3 *Kristina* ↑tutorials ((English word))
- 4 *Irina* group ↑projects ((English word)) (laughter)

- 5 *Kristina* ↑workshops ((English word)) (laughter) we:ll (1) generally speaking (0,3) we::ll (0,3) apart from the fact that education here is really good (0,2) well (.) I thought
- 6 *Irina* I thought it's RELEVANT
- 7 *Kristina* for the experience (0,1) yes ↑for (0,3) I don't know (0,3) you yourself (0,3) you understand it (1) so to say (0,3) can't find [the word] (0,4)
- 8 *Alena* for general development
- 9 *Kristina* for general development (0,2) yes
- 10 *Irina* for ↑work /looking at the researcher/
- 11 *Alena* and in terms of profession as ↓well=
- 12 *Irina* because [you] know (.) (0,3) when you want to work for a company (0,1) where you will need it (1) and because I want to further work abroad (1) and (0,2) yeah well it's kinda funny
- 13 *Kristina* and [we] are even interviewed here (0,1) and we don't work (0,1) we study (0,5) now I get it (0,1) why Timur called it vacation=
- 14 *Alena* =quite long=
- 15 *Irina* =that kinda runs over time=
- 16 *Alena* =so as (0,1) it's already annoying=
- 17 *Irina* =that I want to work=
- 18 *Kristina* =but still it's funny= (laughter)
- 19 *Irina* =and [we] can party (0,2) °for some more time°

- 20 *Kristina* *pour some more (laughter)*
- 21 *Alena* *but want to work ↓ normally*
- 22 *Irina* *yes and ideally here (0,5) well ideally (0,1) I would finish my degree ((English)) (0,5) and I would stay here for work (0,1) well (0,1) YEAH it would be /showing thumb up/*
- 23 *Kristina* *degree ((English word)) (0,2) it's (0,1) of course it's cool (0,1) yeah (0,1) I finished university ((English word)) (0,1) in England /snapping the fingers/ it's really cool*
- 24 *Irina* *from the top 100 rating universities ((English word)) in the world*
- 25 *Kristina* *yep and friends (0,3) they I think they are really proud (0,3) of having this friend that won a grant (0,1) went abroad (0,2) I was I know a person my friend's good friend (0,6) she was saying that a friend of hers came to her and (0,1) he knew some of my friends (laughter) =*
- 26 *Irina* *= (laughter) and starts talking about you (0,3) experienced the same*
- 27 *Kristina* *and starts talking (0,5) that a friend of him has FRIEND that was awarded a scholarship (0,9) and is studying abroad (0,1) and then she's like (0,1) VOT (Russian discourse marker – connecting the parts of the story) (0,2) we have a friend (0,2) she was awarded a scholarship and is studying abroad (laughter) =*
- 28 *Irina* *=(laughter) yes and then details (0,3) VOT (Russian discourse*

marker – connecting the story) IS STUDYING IN ENGLAND=

- 29 *Kristina =YEAH IN LEEDS (0,1) and showing pics on vkontakte
(Russian social network platform)) or Instagram (laughter)=*
- 30 *Irina =and [they] get to understand=*
- 31 *Kristina =that [they] talk about the same person (laughter)*
- 32 *Irina (laughter) when remember (0.5) you were looking for Timur
/looking at the researcher/ ((addressing the turn to the
researcher))*
- 33 *Kristina yep you asked Ishan*
- 34 *Alena yeah (0,3) there was a case (0,4) you know Russians (0,5) yes I
do=*
- 35 *Irina =introduce me=*
- 36 *Kristina =his name is Timur (laughter)*
- 37 *Irina (laughter)*
- 38 *Alena (laughter)*
- 39 *Irina yeah and overall (0,3) friends before leaving (0,2) two of them
(0,1) they were like WELL DONE finally you:: (0,3) get it and so
on (0,3) because I've got two friends (0,2) that are basically on
the same page with me (0,5) in regards to all these things but
they don't do anything*
- 40 *Kristina ye::s they kinda tell you (0,2) [we] want the same but moving (1)
they lack dynamics*

- 41 *Irina* *yeah (0,3) and you are like (0,3) cra::p*
- 42 *Kristina* *yeah [you] don't think*
- 43 *Irina* *they won't do it (0,9) theoretically they would want to have it*
- 44 *Kristina* *and they're like cra::p this is so: cool ((imitating another person speaking))*
- 45 *Irina* *you are so:: lucky ((imitating another person speaking))*
- 46 *Alena* *well (0,4) just START doing something*
- 47 *Irina* *[YES*
- 48 *Kristina* *[YES*

In similar fashion to the earlier analysed episodes from other pairs, in the case of Kristina and Irina co-developing the shared story, we might see that there is no specific main character – even though it is present within the story's inner world. Instead, there is again a type of collective image puzzled up from common bits of participants' experiences – which basically constitutes an amalgam of their identity facets' characteristics. Both participants quite often use Russian (indefinite personal) grammatical constructions omitting the pronouns (lines 2, 12, 13, 19, 20, 21, 42), which points to them highlighting the sharedness of their experiences rather than the unique nature of encounters from the past. As for the use of the more specifying and personalising pronoun 'я' (*transl.* 'I'), within the episode the first person pronoun use did not suspend the co-development of the shared story. Instead, here one might notice the advancement of the techniques used for constructing the shared central character of a story. More to the point, in contrast to the earlier rounds, only at our last meetings did participants start using the first person pronoun 'я'

(*transl.* 'I') when referring to this collective image of the main figure. This might mean individuals becoming more comfortable in co-elaborating the shared persona – and *allowing it to come closer to their own selves, and, thus, speak for their identities*. In other words, through combining the stances of the animator and the author (Goffman, 1981) they merge the voices of their own identities and the identity of the archetype as co-constructed within the story. In line 25 the pronoun 'я' (*transl.* 'I') used by Kristina manifests the individual slightly diverging from jointly piecing the jigsaw template when she talks through her own specific experience, which her communication partner might now have had in the past. However, in a response to that, in line 26 Irina claims that she “experienced the same” – and since then the shared co-production mode might be said to have been restored.

The last round of interview analysis of the inner story worlds has also revealed that all participants referred to the continuous use of reference markers, including formulaic personations (Sebba, 1993, cited in Georgakopoulou, 2007). Most of the time this happened with reference to the Russian Leeds small culture formation – for instance, they continuously used words such as 'четверг' (*transl.* 'Thursday'), 'балкон' (*transl.* 'balcony'), phrases like 'наркоман штоле' (*transl.* 'are you a drug addict?'), third party lines such as “нормально же общались” (*transl.* “we were communicating well”), “конечно ДА” (*transl.* “of course YES”), etc. The abstract above demonstrates the use of such markers in line 20, when Kristina repeated a phrase used by participants at their usual meetings of Russian Leeds. At first glance, semantically, line 20 does not fit the overall narrative flow, but, considering this from the position of agency, this might mean the individuals' desire to highlight their positions as

members of the same small culture, which, in its turn, might be interpreted as their desire to manifest their affinity, sameness, and their voices proximity. The latter aligns perfectly with the interviewees' conscious efforts to co-create the archetypical main character.

Agreeing with other elaborated stories, the second level of positioning analysis shows individuals entering the co-production space in their co-construction of shared narratives. In contrast to the stories developed at the first meetings, the last round is characterised by more 'advanced' use of mirroring techniques (lines 5-6, 8-9, 22-24, 26-27, 34-35, 44-45). For instance, in lines 22-23 we can see the research participants do not blindly repeat phrases after each other but echo the use of translanguaging elements (degree → degree, university) and paralinguistic elements (gestures). Mirroring in lines 44-45 also goes beyond the semantic component of talk: in these lines Irina echoes Kristina's mediating between the roles of author and animator (Goffman, 1981). In addition to the mirroring techniques, the episode analysis demonstrates the abundance of the latched utterances – and individuals' finishing each other's phrases.

However, the techniques for the shared stories co-development were not the only factor advanced by the end of the data collection. The power relationships as structured within the interview space appeared to become reorganised. The hallmark feature of the last rounds of pair interviews was that at our very last sessions individuals went beyond the canons of typical interview, and, thus, shared the stories' co-construction. They merged their voices' power into one and opened up the boundaries of the shared stories co-telling when they invited the researcher to join them. In line 7 Kristina invites the researcher to

join the conversation through directly addressing the turn to me. In line 10 Irina accepts this invitation through the use of paralinguistic elements – when looking at and waiting for me to finish the turn (which I do in line 11). The semantics of line 10 do not say that Irina calls for her utterance to be latched (as might be considered as a stand-alone phrase), but her intonation upwards contour signalises that it is not ended, as in the Russian language the end of the sentence is characterised with the downward intonation contour (Leed, 1965, cited in Andrews, 1999). Furthermore, her use of the non-verbal mode (she was looking at the researcher when pronouncing those words) might as well mean that she was awaiting a response. Indeed, after the researcher's answer (in line 11 the researcher provided the synonymous response onto Irina's turn), she then again quite readily picks up the narrative flow and continues elaborating the topic of the conversation. This move might as well mean Irina manifesting that her position aligns with Kristina's who actually invited the researcher to enter the shared story co-production space. Lines 13-19 demonstrate the voices of all three operating within the co-production format towards co-constructing the narrative. Then, in line 20 Kristina closes up the common shared space – via throwing the phrase associated with the participants' small culture formation – which excludes the researcher. This might signify Kristina's desire to demonstrate her overall control over the situation of co-constructing the shared narrative, which problematises the power dynamics within the communicative event of the interview session – and showcases the research participants' advancing their techniques used for co-constructing the (shared stories) conversational practices. Lines 32-33 features the research participants' inviting the researcher to join them as well – however, this time it is Irina who initiates the move by directly addressing the

turn to the researcher (line 32). Lines 34-36 illustrate the researcher initiating the strategy of mirroring when taking on the stance of an animator in line 34, which is then caught up firstly by Irina and then Kristina. This might mean participants willingly acknowledge the researcher as having the tellership rights to contribute to the shared story co-construction. This advancement at the level of agency might also mean the research participants starting to become better oriented within their dialogical co-production framework, which coincides with them establishing the routines of their small culture formation and starting seeing the SA environment as similar to home.

6.5.4 Summary

To conclude, **Lens 5** has discovered that participants' voicings as considered *in situ* are a very complex and multileveled phenomena that involves different levels of ideological dialogue. The implementation of the co-production grid (rather than the shared-stories-only co-construction) has shown that even when participants' voice trajectories might be diverging semantically (i.e. at the level of ideas expressed in talk), they could still develop in quite close proximity and even meet at the point of agency (disagreement episode). Analysis of the episodes of shared stories co-construction has shown participants' implementing those to manifest their identities affinity, and thus, voice trajectories proximity.

That said, the next **chapter** opens up a discussion on the findings of all five groups coming from the analysis using five different lenses – in the light of the existing theories as those highlighted in **Chapters 3** and **4**.

Chapter 7: Discussion

Introduction

This chapter opens up a dialogue discussing the outcome of the analysis in relation to the research questions and in the light of the existing literature as outlined in **Chapters 3, 4 and 5**. The main aim of the project has been to investigate Russian SA sojourners' voice trajectories in the UK. It is hoped that the study provides a deeper insight into factors that influence the sociolinguistic dynamics underpinning sojourners' encounters, which, in turn, can enhance our understanding of the ideological shift individuals experience while moving across space and time and the impact of those "critical experiences" (Block, 2007) on the sojourners' identities and conceptual frameworks of reference. Being centred on the concept of voice, the project has also offered insights into the complex dialogues, as they relate to culture, inequalities, etc, that sojourners' voices enter – as well as featuring the social hurdles surrounding their encounters in the contact zone (Pratt, 1991). These carry important implications for the researchers theorising SA experiences and voice in migration in general, and people primarily involved in SA – (language) educators, stakeholders and sojourners themselves.

Thus, the discussion elaborates the study's analytical outcome in relation to established theoretical frameworks. It is structured as five sections, one per corresponding lens in **Chapter 6**. For the convenience of both the reader and the researcher, each section ends by re-engaging with the research questions. Celebrating the principle of intersectionality and the ideas of the philosophy of dialogism (see 1.3.1), I refer to all the lenses across the chapter, and the

discussion incorporates occasional references to quotes from the theoretical framework as well as participants' answers. This chapter is followed by the conclusion section, which moves its focus towards the final (though it could never be finalised), more holistic understanding of voice, as well as the research implications, limitations and directions for future enquiry.

7.1 Voicing as ideological becoming

Overall, **Lens 1** has indicated that the process of sojourners developing their voice trajectories emerged as an essential part of their *ideological becoming* (Bakhtin, 1963). Analysis has revealed that the two are inherently interdependent phenomena that could not be artificially cut out of the individual participants' lives in order to be examined "under the microscope" (Harvey, 2015). In tune with Bakhtin's (1963) and Voloshinov's (1986) writings on voice, Ihde (2007, p. 118) claims:

The voices of others whom I hear immerse me in a language that has already penetrated my innermost being in that I 'hear' the speech I stand within. The other and myself are co-implicated in the presence of sounding word... [my] experience is always already 'intersubjective'...

Quoting another prominent author, Taylor (1989, p. 36), Couldry (2010) also argues for the inseparability of voice and the process of becoming in this world: "I am self ... only in relation to certain interlocutors". In addition to **Lenses 1-3** demonstrating that the concept of voice is inherent to individuals' becoming (*I live through assimilating the voices of others, and, in doing so, construct my own identity*), **Lens 4** has also shown that even the research process (incl. data collection, writing prompts and analysis) – as part of both

participants' and the researcher's becoming – was considered, and actually was, a part of the voice trajectories for both parties.

In order to analyse the way the participants developed their voices in the UK, I considered their previous sociolinguistic experiences that had undoubtedly influenced their trajectories on SA. Overall, **Lens 1** covered the milestones of individuals' language learning/using histories. It thus highlights language as a main channel for participants developing their voices, which, in turn, are an essential part of individuals' *ideological becoming* in this world. By no means does it imply that the verbal code is the only resource for the realisation of voice. **Lens 2** demonstrated that, for example, clothing might become an important marker signifying both change in participants' ideological becoming dynamics and a shift in their consciously chosen strategies for making their voices heard. Following Tappan (1998), Harvey (2014, p. 71) claims:

Although voices may also be figuratively or symbolically expressed through discourses, it is the voices of sociohistorically specific, chronotopically located people that give rise to the embodied dialogical self...

This quote highlights not only the possibility of using many different channels for voice realisation, but also celebrates the very nature of ideological becoming as applied to voice – and as has been discovered in **Lens 1**, individuals merging the voices of others and then inferring their own, which becomes alive at specific times and spaces.

Discussing **Lens 1** shows that the analysis demonstrated that, though participants' overall educational and sociolinguistic backgrounds were quite similar, there were some very particular points that made their previous

experiences quite different from each other. For instance, all participants were formally taught English at school, and the overall ideological discourse surrounding learning English was practically the same; at the same time, some essential bits of their biographies – such as the city they came from – made their trajectories diverge from the very beginning. This might not be so noticeable in the earlier periods of individuals' lives, but it became much more evident as time passed.

Another important point in relation to the discussion chapter is that I intentionally avoided using the words “stages”, “phases”, “steps”, etc. when depicting individuals' ideological becoming. Following Harvey (2014, 2018) I argue for considering individuals' lives – as well as the voice trajectories – as dynamic, fluid, unfinalisable and un-cuttable phenomena.

The discussion has been structured in a similar fashion to the **Lens 1** analysis section – firstly, I go along the participants' English-language learning journey reflecting on the analysis through the prism of existing theories. Then I shift my focus towards participants' native language ideologies – and here I implement the synchronic procedure of slicing the data in order to see the mechanisms of ideological change. The section concludes by referring to the research questions – in order to make clear how the current discussion might contribute to existing theories.

7.1.1 English language learning motivation: implementing a diachronic approach

7.1.1.1 The beginning of a life-long journey: authoritative discourse and 'first seeing others' words in my own desires'

The analysis has indicated that the beginning of participants' English language learning histories was heavily marked by their families' and then, slightly later

– educational institutions’ influence. Having tracked their ideological and motivational framework shifts, analysis has clearly demonstrated, that, as with Putnam (2000), participants’ language ideologies (Kroskrity, 2004) have been fundamentally formed by the reciprocal relationships within their social capital dynamics. From the beginning the process of the sojourners conceptualising English (which then had a massive impact on their motivation to learn that language) entered a complex interplay of different establishments’ (participants’ families, institutions, states, etc) desires (Motha and Lin, 2014; Kramersch, 2014, 2015), within which these individual conceptualisations have become the full-fledged members on their own. To exemplify the latter, I refer to Margo’s statements, who first said that it was her parents’ (namely, her father’s) desire for his daughter to learn English (he enthralled her with learning the language), and then – vice versa, Margo’s turning him to listening to foreign (English-speaking) bands. Margo first absorbed her father’s words and ideas about the need to learn English, and then, having digested and processed those ideologies, exposed them to her father as a part of her own voice trajectories – and thus this time *turned him* into learning the language. When Margo’s father’s words came back to him, that was her new interpretation of practically the same idea that she soaked up in the past. In other words, when Margo’s father was telling her to learn English, he was referring to better job opportunities and possibilities to live in other countries. When Margo reflected it back to him, it was primarily towards an ability to listen to good music and understand the songs, through which (the language) he could secure access to better (and more prestigious) life assets. They both referred to social capital, while, at the same time, foregrounding different

components. Thus, Margo *absorbed, digested* and *re-oriented* ideas coming from her father's voice.

The same case can be used to exemplify another important point: namely, the dialogic relationships between the shift in the participants' conceptual and ideological frameworks and their life dynamics. As with Badwan (2015, p. 215), participants' "lived experiences in their home countries and in the UK have considerably affected how they conceptualized English", which affected "their attitudes towards it, the way they perceive themselves as users or learners of it, and further contributes to the perception of the role of English in their lives, and which type of English they would like to learn, speak and use".

In similar fashion to Margo, other participants also mentioned that it was first the desire of their parents and school teachers for them to learn English, after which they later saw their own words, ideas and aspirations. What individuals underwent through might be called "the process of selectively assimilating the words of others", then digesting, interpreting and finally re-orienting them. This conclusion goes perfectly well with Bakhtin's (1981, p. 143, **my emphasis**) reading on the phenomenon of voice:

*I live in a world of others' words. And my entire life is **an orientation in this world**, a reaction to others' words...*

In the same fashion, participants lived their ways through (re-)orienting their own trajectories within the land of others' voices – which they then assimilated and inhabited with their own emotional-volitional tones (Harvey (2014, p. 69) :

The dialogic self thus reflects the experiences of language learners, both within and outwith the language classroom. However, making those words their own, taking them from 'other people's mouths', is a 'difficult

and complicated' learning process (Bakhtin, 1981, p, 294)... The dialogic self is therefore a social self, thoroughly steeped in the voices of others...

Slightly later in the participants' lives there appeared another authoritative voice – the voice of their educational institutions. All of them referred to the prestige associated with 'doing good at English' that has been (and still is) continuously maintained at both educational institutions and state levels. However, that time – in comparison to not recognising their family's contribution to shaping participants' motivational trajectories – all of them stated that they could have clearly seen the "otherness" of that voice from the beginning of our discussing that phenomenon. In other words, when discussing family influence, participants claimed that they could not see how that factor impacted their language learning until they started reflecting on their past encounters. However, in the case of educational institutions, all of them admitted straightaway that 'those ideas were not' theirs from the beginning of us talking through that part of their experiences. In addition, at the moment of discussing their school years individuals started using the personal pronouns ('я' (*transl.* I) and its derivatives), which marked their overall tone of clearly seeing their own voices as distinct from others.

7.1.1.2 'Ideal me' as the loudest voice in the polyphony of inner dialogues

Having lined up the participants' voice trajectories within their early language learning histories (up to the secondary school years), we moved to discussing their subsequent life periods (see section 6.1.1.1.2). Since the moment we began talking about the fifth and sixth years at school, participants started referring to their relationships with languages practically always using personal pronoun 'я' (*transl.* I) and its derivatives. That marked the conscious

distinguishing of the individuals' own voices – voices with a unique and distinct emotional-volitional tone (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 33) within the polyphonic network of inner dialogues. That might be compared with the main postulates of developmental psychology; in analogy to children's self-awareness, participants first started differentiating the voices of others – and only then, in this polyphonic whirlpool of others' words and phrases, clearly saw their own trajectories and heard their own voices. When speaking about child development, Rochat (2003, p. 719) argues that the differentiation of a self happens only in relation to "others in mind". He then also claims that there are six stages of a child's self-awareness development, i.e. confusion, differentiation, situation, identification, permanence, and self-consciousness or "meta" self-awareness. Participants' distinguishing their own voices within the polyphony of others in their school years might be compared with the differentiation stage, whereas reflecting on those experiences could be analogous with the meta awareness level.

These developmental psychology ideas as applied to participants' voicing processes align with Bakhtin's seeing any voice as composed from the voices of others. Indeed, each individual's voice trajectory, as developed from the very beginning, found itself in the polyphony of other voices. As for the fact that participants could not distinguish the influence of their family's ideas but were able to recognise the influence of their educational institutions' ideologies might be interpreted with the use of the Jungian conceptualisation of the self. It should come as no surprise since, as was already discussed in **Chapter 3**, Jung's ideas resonate with the concept of ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963). To remind the reader, Jung defines the process of becoming as individuation, or 'achievement of self-actualisation' through mingling the

conscious (clearly distinguishable voices) and the unconscious (the voices that individuals were not able to hear clearly: eg, parental influence). In doing so, he argues that the self can be envisaged as an entity consisting of intersecting fields of ego, personal and collective unconscious: “the self is not only the centre, but the whole circumference which embraces both conscious and unconscious” (Jung, 1944, p. 41), or “the self is the hypothetical summation of an indescribable totality” (Jung, 1977, p. 107). Thus, for Jung (1973) the process of individuation encompasses the actualisation of the unconscious potential in the fulfilment of ego. Putting this grid onto the idea of participants’ voicing their lives, we can refine the model discussed in section 3.1.1 and depict individuals ideological becoming as follows (Fig. 14):

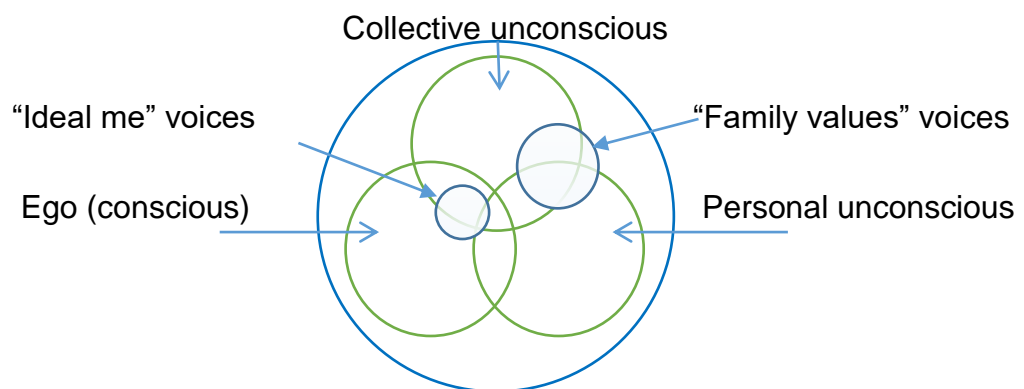


Figure 14: Analytical model of individuation process (self-actualisation) – reconsidered

In other words, without going into too much detail on psychoanalysis here (which could undoubtedly be further investigated in future research on voice), some voices (such as those coming from family values) were not that easy to separate out of the heteroglot space because they were acting within the fields of unconscious, and some (the emotional-volitional voices of individuals’ ideal mes) close to the conscious ego part. I consciously avoid using restricting semantic references in relation to participants’ ideological becoming (e.g.

stages, etc), the representation of individuals' individuation processes is schematically elaborated here on the understanding that the borders as depicted above are quite vague – and rather dynamically constitute the constant dialogue between some different elements of human cognition (such as different voices as those belonging to different domains of the self). However, we still cannot deny that there are different elements within the self's functioning system – the schematic use of which might contribute to our understanding of voices operating within one's identity and the meaning arisen at the borders (Bakhtin, 1963) between different clusters of voices. Returning to elaborate the representation of individuation and ideological becoming processes, in tune with what Bakhtin (1993, p. 33, *my emphasis*) argues for, we could see here how through hearing their emotional-volitional voices, for the first time participants feel themselves entering the inner dialogue:

*Everything that is actually experienced is experienced as something given and something-yet-to-be-determined, is intonated, has an emotional-volitional tone, and **enters into an effective relationship to me within the unity of the ongoing event encompassing us...***

Through this, the individuals first experience the power of their language learning motivation, the agentive potential of their voice, that sits at a “nexus between one's existence and the ability to author his/her words” (Vitanova, 2004, p. 153). Experiencing this authorship manifested moving forward in individuals' ideological becoming.

7.1.1.3 Shift in English conceptualisation framework: from ought-to to must-be

As mentioned above, starting from the moment participants conceived their own words in the mixture of other voices, they started continuously using the

personal pronoun 'я' (*transl.* I) and its derivatives in regards to their English language motivational dynamics. The fact that the emotional-volitional tone (Bakhtin, 1984) became clearly distinguishable for the participants at that point and since then started to gain momentum might mark the participants' moving towards achieving greater autonomy in their language learning motivation. Furthermore, across all the profiles there were numerous references to the opportunities English language offers to its speakers – and those references were made in orientation to the “future components of the self” (Lamb, 2012, 2017; Dörnyei, 2005, 2009). In accordance with existing theories (Lamb, 2012, 2017; Chirkov et al., 2007; Ryan and Deci, 2002) we could see from the data that the clear vision of participants' future identities contributed to them achieving greater autonomy, becoming more motivated learners and starting to invest more into that process (Norton, 2000).

The two most important factors driving participants to learn English are work and career advancement and the possibility to travel and live in different countries. Both of these points have indicated “that the desire to accumulate more human capital is inextricably from learners' visions for their future selves” (Badwan, 2015, p. 224). Furthermore, participants valuing exactly these elements of their future trajectories undoubtedly comes from the dialogue with the mainstream image of a successful person arising within the never ending dominant neoliberal discourse (Block et al., 2012; Fairclough, 2006) where “success is usually measured against aspects of human capital” (p. 224). In addition to the career aspirations and possibility to move and live in metropolitan cities, as well as to study abroad (Lamb, 2012), other advantages of knowing English include what Kramsch (2009) calls the elements of

subjectivity – the opportunities to increase the cultural and intellectual capital residing in the individuals' imagined dreams and visions.

Seeing the prestige the English language carries in the eyes of others was another driver for individuals to use this language more – even in the situations where the use of English was not expected by others (Kristina).

Many (Yana, Kristina, Alisa) talked through the unconscious exaggerating practices employed when speaking English – such as overarticulating words and increasing the volume of the speech.

Furthermore, another factor has been revealed that features the participants' voicing process – closely connected to them experiencing the feeling “of being above all and unique” (Alisa, 3rd interview; 00:13:34-00:13:37) and enjoying the process of speaking English. This resonates with the Jungian theory of self as applied to Bakhtinian thinking on voice – getting enjoyment from either learning or using English comes from the emotional-volitional voice of participants operating at the point close to the conscious ego sector (see Figure 12). In addition, that turning point manifested individuals' transition from the mode of fulfilling the requirements of their “ought-to” to their “ideal” future identities. Even though, shortly before the sojourn, they “had to brush up English” to pass the IELTS, their voices were still directed to their own desires – their own future possible ‘mes’ and imagined identities as academic sojourners (Benson et. al, 2013).

7.1.1.4 Moving to the country of fabled others: facing ‘other’ others and reassessing language values

As exemplified in **Lens 1**, once the sojourners arrived in the UK, they all experienced shock – either cultural or linguistic daze. From the beginning of their actual journey they all started experiencing a shift in relation to their

language ideological framework. For instance, facing a ‘strange’ Yorkshire accent meant for them that the English they were striving so hard to learn and then speak was no more than a utopia. In comparison to the male participant from the pilot study, they did not see the UK as a “promised land” (B, 2nd interview, pilot study), which explains the fact that no one claimed that they had a “honeymoon period” (Lysgaard, 1965). While reflecting on all the participants’ experiences, not only her own, Margo said that “we never dreamt about living in the UK, we would rather choose the destination with better weather (laughter), which is why the sweetest period for me was Russian Leeds, but not when I just arrived” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:32:09-01:32:18).

Facing “other” others led to individuals’ shifting their motivational dynamics towards learning English in order to lead a normal life. Linguistic heterogeneity played a role in directing individuals’ motivational flow in such a way that the goal of learning English for them was then to make themselves understood by others. Furthermore, some even experienced a shift from an ENL to ELF stance. Only one participant stood out from the crowd, stating that her English should be “distilled and pure” (Yana), when other interviewees did find themselves on the same track to achieving greater comprehensibility in their English. The voices of others – “other” others, others that participants did not expect to see in their SA context – again occupied a central place within the process of individuals’ ideological becoming. Their language ideologies did change – which eventually led to interviewees diverging their voice trajectories towards a new destination: achieving an English which allows them to be understood rather than admired. In contrast to the created sociolinguistic spaces in Russia, in the UK academic sojourning context individuals were working on making their voices more audible, rather than louder (and carrying

more prestige in order to stand out in the crowd). The focus has eventually shifted towards making individuals' words, and thus voices, not only heard but also taken up by others. Considering it in terms of ENL vs ELF stances, here we can see the exposure to the linguistic super-diversity factor (Vertovec, 2007) led sojourners to shift their language ideologies from seeing the language through the prism of the monolithic myth to the pluralistic understanding of the sociolinguistic reality (Hall, 2012; Pennycook, 2007) – as was showcased in 6.1.1.1.3.

7.1.1.5 'I want to get rid of my accent'

A prominent point was discovered within the discussion of eliminating accents. All participants agreed to the fact that only in the dialogical reflection of others' (Bakhtin, 1984) attitudes and views were they unconsciously pushed to reduce their accent (Harvey, 2014). However, the mechanism of this ideological strive to get rid of the accent was not that simple – the research participants themselves were “shocked” (Timur, 6th interview; 00:35:11-00:35:12) when in the process of elaborating their own thoughts they arrived at that discovery. The accent-reduction issue has emerged not *just* out of concern that the participants' accent carries less value than any native speaker's variety of English – operating at some different scales (Blommaert, 2005, 2010). In addition, the desire to reduce their accent appeared to be coming from the desire to resist the stereotype of “Russians not being able to speak good English” (Margo, 5th interview; 00:19:45-00:19:48). In other words, facing the “distorted self-reflections in the responses of others” led not only to the partial “loss of communication competence” but to the “challenge of changing of identity-bound behavior” caused by the “intrusion of inconsistent, conflicting self-images” (Zaharna, 1989, p. 501). The latter mismatch within the

multidimensional identity framework (Benson et al., 2013) has resulted in the individuals trying to eliminate that discrepancy. When the *projected* identity entailed the idea of “Russians as being able to achieve good level of pronunciation while learning English”, the facet of their identity *recognised* by others was influenced by the mainstream generalising stereotypes (Allport, 1954; Bar-Tal, 1996; Galanti, 2000; Holliday, 2010) propagated through media, “especially films, Hollywood blockbusters” (Kristina, 4th interview; 01:19:34-01:19:37). Through combating that stereotype (*Russians can't learn English so well so as to talk without an accent*) individuals were trying to balance the aspects of their identities (Benson et al., 2013; Badwan, 2015). Thus, in relation to their ideological becoming, when it came to the problem of accent reduction, it was the voices of not only real, but also imagined, others that influenced the individuals' motivational dynamics, which appeared to come from authoritative overarching ideological discourses and stereotypes manifested in media and the field of arts (such as Hollywood blockbusters).

7.1.1.6 Where are we now? And what happened to our voice?

Elaborating and exploring the sociolinguistic experiences as they happened during the data collection process eventually led us to discussing participants' attitudes towards the dialogic cognitive interplay of languages they encountered when facing the necessity to communicate in two languages, namely English and Russian. As exemplified in 6.1.1.1.6, individuals expressed different views on that matter. Some claimed that in the beginning they experienced a “quite strange” (Margo, 1st interview; 00:20:12-00:20:14) mode of having two identities – Russian and English – which, however, resulted in an “integral [...] cohesive” (Yana, 6th interview; 01:03:18-01:03:30) and “harmonious mix of two” (Timur, 6th interview; 00:43:12-00:43:15). Looking

at it through the lenses of Bakhtinian and Jungian approaches, it becomes quite clear that having moved across ideological spaces, participants appeared to be surrounded by the superdiversity of many different voices, the appropriation of which began with an overwhelming feeling of cognitive destabilisation. Furthermore, the gap between participants' expectations and the actual real others only added more fuel to the debilitating fire of diverging voices. To put it more simply, before the elaboration of their own emotional-volitional tone out of the polyphony of others' voices, participants had to clearly distinguish those voices (as was also the case with, for example, voices coming from their families and educational establishments). The clash eventually arose out of the following situation: participants faced the voices of others (that were different from what they expected), but nevertheless had to take on these voices and learn how to speak within the same cognitive-semantic flow – this eventually led to the emergence of two identities (*I am myself, but, at the same time, I am also the other*).

Other participants also saw these inner differences in tone; Irina, Kristina and Alisa mentioned that sometimes even the physical characteristics (Couldry, 2010) of their voices were changing, depending on who they were talking to. However, not only ratified (Goffman, 1981) listeners acted as catalyst for the change in tones. The participation framework included the presence of the superaddressee (Bakhtin, 1963) that was cognitively formed with the use of the collective image of people that the individuals happened to be surrounded by. This all affected the ways the individuals co-constructed their voices. Furthermore, as showcased in **Lens 4**, the concept of superaddressee was revealed as resonating with the pragmatic (or instrumental) potential of individuals' voices.

Having diachronically elaborated the participants' English language ideological shift, the discussion now moves on to considering the change in the participants' attitudes towards their native language.

7.1.2 Conceptualising native language: shifting values in response to different others

Another feature of participants' voice dynamics as dialogically developed trajectories might be exemplified by the sojourners' ideology shift towards their native languages. As discussed below, participants' valuing shift regarding their native language could be depicted as a complex interplay of many different dialogues – happening between sojourners, on the one side, and a range of people, institutions and even states on the other side. When discussing participants' voice trajectories in relation to their English language motivation I was tracing the individuals dynamics chronologically, then in case of the native language value shifts I implemented a different approach of slicing across the data in order to look for a mechanism for individuals' attitudinal changes.

7.1.2.1 Multileveled discourse dialogues

Analysis has indicated that, as was the case with English (and as *is* the case with any aspect of individual's ideological becoming), sojourners' native language value frameworks were not given and static but dynamic and creative. This resonates with the ideological discourse analysis as elaborated by Van Dijk (1995, 2006), who argues for the consideration of ideologies on different levels of discourse organisation. As was explored in 6.1.1.2 of **Lens 1**, participants' native language ideologies have been affected by the dialogues that their voices happened to enter at different levels of discourse and communication practices – such as tête-à-tête conversations (with or

without power asymmetries – as perceived by individuals themselves) or dialogues with overarching ideologies or superaddressees (Bakhtin, 1963).

The table below illustrates these levels using the examples from **Lens 1**:

	Name of the level	Example
Level 1	Face-to-face dialogues between individuals	Yana meeting a British person who was learning Russian because “thinking that it carries quite a lot of prestige” → Yana changing her attitude towards her native language
Level 2	Face-to-face dialogues with an individual (with quite distinct and established, through official positioning, communication power asymmetry)	Yana, Kristina and Irina getting surprised when seeing very positive and “value-laden” attitude towards Russian coming from lecturers, tutors, etc./ Alisa’s father position on maintaining linguistic heritage → strengthening participants’ position on the importance to maintain their native language
Level 3	Dialogues between an individual and a wider discourse of institutions and organisations	Participants seeing that cultural diversity – including Russian cultural and linguistic assets – is highly valued at the level of university policies and local organisations (Russian clubs, schools, Russian bookshops, etc.) → them building up the confidence in relation to “Russian might

		actually carry quite some prestige” (Kristina, 7 th interview).
Level 4	Dialogues between an individual and a superdiscourse of overarching, meta ideologies	Participants’ facing the “demonisation of Russian linguistic practices” and some related cultural assets → seeing in this the sign of inequality, but also discovering the instrumental potency of their voices (using Russian accent when in need to escape from unwanted conversation practices)

Table 8: Levels of discourse dialogues

Generally speaking, the table gives credit to the idea of slicing across the data and seeing the intricacies of the shift in participants’ native language ideological dynamics. When we see the trends of acquiring more positive attitudes towards Russian language and culture, Level 4 then highlights the controversies within the sociolinguistic reality which inevitably affects participants’ voice trajectories. In addition to identifying the roots of inequalities, the latter might also explain the debilitating state of imbalance with regards to different aspects of participants’ identities (Benson et al., 2013), which might result in participants’ experiencing the phenomenon of self-othering (I am *the other* in any context, there is no space where I can be truly *us*) – as seen in 6.1.3 of **Lens 1**.

However, despite offering the opportunity to see the complexity of the sociolinguistic reality as experienced by individuals, the table includes points that require further investigation. For example, entitling the levels with the

word dialogue presupposes a two-way street of influence – and that both parties affect each other. This has been shown in Levels 1 and 2 – Yana and Alisa explicitly stated that they both influenced their interlocutors' ideological frameworks (though Alisa noted that she influenced her father's ideas in relation to American English, not Russian). However, this point necessarily requires further research, which might involve the multimodal analysis or ethnographic observations of communication practices in the follow-up interviews with *both* parties. Approaching this issue in terms of Levels 3 and 4 might also involve discourse analysis of the documentation and artefacts in order to see how migrants in general, and the sojourners in particular influence the “wider” discourse of sociolinguistic reality that they live through. However, returning to what Bakhtin argues for – namely, the fundamental nature of dialogism as the basis for any kind of human relationship – I argue for the use of the word dialogues for characterising the levels – even though the current project only partially exemplifies how this dialogic orientation works from the side of the participants' counterparts. While doing so, I also appeal to the principle of *ei incumbit probatio qui dicit, non qui negat* (we cannot deny something, unless it is proven not to be so).

The boundaries between the levels is another issue. As was the case with attempting to artificially cut down participants' life histories into different stages (which form a continuously dynamic process of *ideological becoming*), the borders framing the levels are vague. For instance, how is it possible to differentiate between the cases in Levels 1 and 2 according to the power asymmetry factor (Wodak, 2009)? For the table above the indicator has become the “official”, established position of individuals' communication partners (lecturer/father); however, there are no doubts that there were power

negotiating issues in Yana's (non-native speaker of English) communicating with a British man (native speaker of English). The same could be said about the boundaries between Levels 3 and 4 – though in the case of the UK HE practices (which might *not* be the same for other countries), this might be more visible, as participants themselves identified the hostility of the UK visa practices on the one hand (Level 4) and welcoming atmosphere of educational institutions (Level 3) on the other. Thus, even though the absence of clearly defined boundaries resonates with the philosophy of the current enquiry – namely, conducting research intersectionally and across borders – it still evokes some very important questions to consider further. However, despite all those further investigation points, the idea of multileveled discourse dialogues makes an important and theoretically valuable statement – it brings the analysis to the point of implementing *complexity theory* to better understand the sociolinguistic dynamics of ideological spaces, as well as individuals' voice trajectories as they extend through time and space.

The above ideas of complexity might also help in addressing the inner controversies within the levels; that could be seen in **Lens 3**, when participants discussed experiencing inequalities in relation to their native language and culture within face-to-face interaction encounters (i.e. within the first level dialogues). However, considering those cases as reflecting the higher social order and the indexicalities as coined in stereotyping might help in seeing those inequalities encounters as repercussions of Level 4 dialogues. This highlights the complex nature of the levels – and, again, gives more reasons for implementing the complexity theory in future research on the matter.

7.1.2.2 Sociolinguistic scales and complexity theory

While sitting at the intersection of social change and diversity research, the multileveled discourse dialogues idea as seen within the projec dataset resonates with complexity theory (Walby, 2003). As highlighted earlier, similarly to the latter, the idea of multileveled discourse dialogues works towards a dynamic understanding of a system functioning – while necessarily attempting to prove that the social order indexical structure goes beyond the linear relationships with its constitutive elements. Walby (2003, p. 1) reminds us that it offers a new theoretical framing of the existing order in many fields since it involves “re-thinking of the concept of ‘system’, rejecting old assumptions about equilibrium in favour of the analysis of dynamic processes of systems far from equilibrium, and re-specifying the relationship of a system to its environment”. Following this anti-reductionist analytical and theoretical strategy, it becomes clear that the idea of multileveled discourse dialogues described above resonates with complexity theory in terms of the following fundamental principles:

- considering any system as embedded into and being the part of a reciprocal and co-influential relationships with other systems
- highlighting the dynamic, fluid, unstable and ever-changing nature of any system and simultaneously introducing the elements of co-evolutional change

The latter point might be exemplified through applying longitudinal perspective to the consideration of participants’ language ideological framework evolution. As shown in **Lens 1** and summarised in the table above, entering the ideological dialogues facilitated the change in the identity dynamics and

divergence of their voice trajectories. The prefix “co-”, as discussed before, needs further investigation. However, even within the current research we might at least open the door to consider the dialogues from the perspectives of others – eg, specifically referring to the levels where dialogues happened in immediate proximity (face-to-face dialogues rather than dialogues with superaddressee; Bakhtin, 1963). Yana’s case of meeting a British man who first changed her own attitude towards Russian then later confessed that her views had an effect on him, is exactly a case in point – exemplifying how two autonomous systems entering a particular dialogue might end up affecting each other, but at some different levels of the system organisation (Byrne, 2001).

Furthermore, the idea of multileveled discourse dialogues goes hand-in-hand with the idea of sociolinguistic scales. These two theories inherently resonate with each other rests because of the assumption that languages (as well as language variations) initiate different attitudes across contexts. Languages are, thus, valued differently within different (co-created) spaces – or across a “physical and social landscape which is imbued with meaning in everyday place-bound social practices and emerges through processes that operate over varying spatial and temporal scales” (Saar and Palang, 2009, p. 6; see also Lefebvre, 1991; Soja, 2011). The system of dialogues above has been described as an upward (power) vertical of different levels – each situated above the previous one – which allows pragmatic application of the concept of scaling towards the discussed phenomenon as well. Looking at the proposed idea from a satellite view (Kell , 2011), we might see how the voices of participants, as an essential part of their ideological becoming, enter the

dialogues with the ideologies at different levels of discourse leading to the former changing their attitudinal colours and initiating the values shift.

On that note, it becomes quite clear, that the model of multileveled discourse dialogues might find its place within the existing theories – while also resonating with some current calls for, for example, departing from purely scaling orientation towards complexity theory (Blommaert, 2014; Badwan, 2015). To this end, the next section provides some concluding remarks on how the discussion above has addressed the research question points.

7.1.3 Research questions checkpoint

The discussion of **Lens 1** has addressed the research questions as follows:

How do Russian SA sojourners develop their voices in the UK?

Through implementing the concept of *ideological becoming* (Bakhtin, 1963) we have been able to re-construct the participants' negotiation of their identities and voicing their lives. That concept was implemented on both languages that individuals claimed to use within their communicative repertoire, which allowed us to see not only the shift in interviewees' language ideologies but also the complex interplay of voices sitting at different levels of the discourse organisation and power hierarchy (Wodak, 2009) and entering the ideological dialogues with each other.

What problems do they report experiencing within this process and how do they deal with them?

Though not directly called problems, the question was addressed in such a way as to show how the desires, views and attitudes of others which were considered unacceptable by the interviewees were dealt with (see sections on

the accent reduction issues caused by stereotypical positioning of the sojourners).

How do their language ideologies change after arriving in the UK and over the period of eight months? How does this change influence the sojourners' voice trajectories?

The discussion has attempted to shed light on the impact of factors like mobility, sociocultural superdiversity and linguistic heterogeneity on the participants' voicing process – through discovering the shifts in individuals' language conceptualisations and ideologies (which eventually led to them diverging their voice trajectories).

How does the nature of voice functioning change when moving across time and space?

This section also points to the shift participants experienced in relation to their native language as they moved across time and space – the complexities of which might be better seen through implementing the grid of multileveled dialogues.

How do they construct (and negotiate) their identities while experiencing two (or more) languages and cultures?

This section methodologically emphasises the importance of implementing different sorts of procedure for data analysis and its discussion. As the reader can see, the first half of the section is devoted to discussing the participants' ideological becoming journey as connected to the English language values framework and motivation in its diachronic perspective. This enabled us to trace the participants' voice trajectories and phenomena affecting them voicing

their lives through the prism of longitudinal assessment. The second half of the section is devoted to discussing the shift in participants' native language attitudes and ideologies – not in a diachronic but synchronic understanding of the analysis. This has allowed us to see the ideological dialogues which have been affecting participants voicing their experiences – happening at different levels of the discourse organisation *at the same time*.

7.2 Voice and culture

As explored in **Chapter 3**, the concept of culture has often been approached as a large entity featuring ethnic national or international groups (Jackson, 2014) from a “prescriptive and normative research orientation: beginning with the idea that specific ethnic, national and international groups have different ‘cultures’ and then searching for the details” (Holliday, 1999, p. 241). However, Baumann (1996, pp. 11-12, cited in Holliday, 1999, p. 242) argues:

Culture is not a real thing, but an abstract and purely analytical notion. It does not cause behavior, but summarises an abstraction from it, and is thus neither normative, nor predictive. [...] The anthropologist's abstraction of a perpetually changing process of meaning making is replaced by a reified entity that has a definite substantive content and assumes the status of a thing that people 'have' or are 'members of'...

Instead of considering culture as a “causative agent” or a “conscious being” (Keesing, 1981, p. 72) but drawing on the idea of an increasing awareness of how complex the conceptualisation of culture actually is, and, thus, following the non-essentialist view proposed by Baumann (1996) and later developed by

Holliday (1999), this research project favours a more dynamic and non-reductionist perspective on the phenomenon. The concept of ‘small culture’ (Holliday, 1999) – though not in opposition to ‘large culture’ – occupies the central place within this approach to voice – in order to first and foremost escape from the essentialist framework of predetermined categories and to see this phenomenon as dynamic and dialogically developed by different objects (including people), while also trying to make “visible the interconnectedness of things” (Fairclough, 1995, p. 36). Following this logic, this section mainly discusses **Lens 2** in relation to the current writing on small culture (Holliday, 1999). However, it also features the period of time that preceded the small cultures genesis, within which the research participants mostly referred to the culture in its rather large sense. While doing so, it also discusses the intertwined nature of the dialogic relationships between the voice (as a process involving both verbal and non-verbal semiotic channels) and the factor of sociocultural heterogeneity that the research participants happened to be immersed in.

7.2.1 ‘Large’ culture: from the contact zones to the contested zones

Lens 2 has clearly indicated that, according to the interviewees’ answers, the concept of culture has become a controversial point, not easily defined, as individuals moved along their SA journeys. In the beginning they all oriented their sociolinguistic experiences more towards the large culture perspective (Holliday, 1999); they mostly talked about their voice trajectories while orienting around two poles: us (ingroup orientation) vs them (outgroup orientation) (Wodak, 2009), or us vs others (Bakhtin, 1963). All referred to the

concept of politeness as it relates to the frameworks of cultural norms (Lustig and Koester, 2010). When talking through the politeness-related issues individuals thought in terms of a binary opposition with the English or British culture without any references to other groups.

For some interviewees (Timur, Kristina, Irina, Margo) the concept of politeness became the most salient difference between the two cultures. Participants' unawareness of the cultural scripts of others (Jackson, 2014, p. 154) eventually led to misattributions and then resulted in the materialisation of intercultural conflict (Ting-Toomey and Oetzel, 2001; Ting-Toomey, 2006, 2012). Unsurprisingly, those individuals favoured the "Russian-style" politeness – in contrast to Alisa and Yana, who expressed a different attitude on that matter. However, discussing the politeness issues prompted all the participants to express their experiences of identity or self shock (Zaharna, 1989) – as they relate to culture.

The third round of interviewing manifested quite an important step for the research participants. From that time onwards they started to become aware of the sociocultural heterogeneity factor. It does not mean that they had not experienced that prior to our third meeting – indeed, the many cultures present influenced their voice trajectories in changing their accents, values and perceptions. The fact the research participants did not highlight the sociocultural heterogeneity factor in their discussions at the beginning of the data collection stage might as well be credited to a point made by Zaharna (1989). She (p. 518) explains that at the time of the identity shock caused by immersion into the critical experiences (Block, 2007) of contact zones (Pratt,

1991), the first and foremost task “becomes not so much [about] trying to make sense of the Other [...] but rather the Self”.

From the third meeting the research participants stopped seeing their sociolinguistic reality in black and white – as a binary opposition of us (Russians) and them/others (‘English people’) (Wodak, 2009; Bakhtin, 1963) – and shifted towards navigating their trajectories in orientation to other cultures as well. Seeing this in terms of Bakhtin’s ideas, the mix of others’ voices that participants distinguished in the medley of their dialogical existence became the actual polyphony. This might mark the destabilisation of their large culture orientation as well. Culture – from then on – stopped being “a product-oriented, static and unitary” phenomenon, but rather became a dynamic, mediated and shared space (Jackson, 2014, p. 69).

Lens 2 showcased that at that time the research participants starting to distinguish other cultures within the heteroglot co-constructed sociolinguistic reality led them to become quite confused in terms of their own affiliational or sense of belonging and camaraderie (Jackson, 2014) frameworks. According to their own words, the equator of the data collection journey marked “the most confused” (Alisa, 7th interview; 02:16:09-02:16:11) stage for the participants. The situation was aggravated by them performing their identities across different spaces, which problematised and eventually placed the concept of the individuals’ nation – as an ‘external reality’ primarily related to the concept of home(land) – in conflict with other cultural realities (Holliday, 2011, p. 44). The participants who went home over the Christmas break, on one hand, saw the prestige carried by some of the cultural patterns of behaviour they acquired while abroad. On the other hand, they started positioning themselves

as culturally distinct from people in Russia – as having some features of *others*, rather than purely *us*. The research participants who stayed in the UK were also affected by this – they saw themselves differing from their families, friends and ex-colleagues when communicating with them via social network messages. When voicing across time and space, in any context, the research participants did not manage to “fit” and thereby validate the large culture orientational framework; they were neither entirely *us*, nor completely different from *them* (Wodak, 2009).

The debilitating experiences mentioned above of departing from previously well-defined cultural affiliational frameworks, which destabilised the security of the research participants’ voicing process in different contexts, led to self-othering (see 6.1.3 of **Lens 1**). In contrast to *otherisation*, or *othering*, as described in Abdallah-Preteille (2003), *self-othering* does not ignore the complexity and diversity of others but rather entails participants not seeing their own voices as competent and legitimate sociolinguistic elements.

As a result, this voicing across time and space and the very exposure to cultural heterogeneity resulted in culture as a concept becoming contested “terrain of struggle” (Giroux, 1988, p. 97). In addition to the struggle research participants experienced within their self-perception and overall identity framework, they clearly saw how the cultural assets (values and beliefs) managed to become commodified and used as a tool of power. Along with **Lens 2**, **Lens 1** exemplifies this point as well; it demonstrated the struggle that participants faced and felt in relation to the shift in the values of their native language and culture. Thus, the research participants eventually arrived at the understanding that “culture is not (only) a benignly socially constructed

variable, but a site of struggle where various communication meanings are contested within social hierarchies” (Martin et al., 2012, p. 28). Large culture orientations are transformed first through seeing culture operating in the contact zones (Pratt, 1991), and then via the realisation that culture is not a stable entity, but rather an emergent, shared and mediated process that reflects the dynamics of power and ideological orders of indexicality (Silverstein, 2003) that operate across the spaces.

7.2.2 Voice and other means of semiosis

The conceptualisation of culture as a terrain of struggle has undoubtedly affected the participants’ voice trajectories. Within the destabilising experiences of sociocultural heterogeneity, achieving audibility (Blommaert, 2005) became a significant task, which unsurprisingly led to individuals looking for some other ways to make themselves heard. By no means does this imply that individuals only then appealed to the use of non-verbal behaviour and artefacts. As Jackson (2014) highlights, these are the essential components of the everyday voice trajectories. However, this section discusses the nonverbal channel that participants *themselves* pointed at when referring to their identity construction process.

Thus, as was the case with the pilot study interviewees, four participants from the main project turned their minds to other semiotic channels available for them to express their ideas, and, thus, develop their voices. Projecting (Benson et al., 2013) their identities through clothing became the strategy for some of the interviewees (Timur, Margo, Irina, Kristina and male B participant from the pilot study). For the first two the use of clothing as a channel for voicing was not new; as 6.1.1.1.2 demonstrated, both Timur and Margo used it

when showcasing that they possessed some linguistic capital (Bourdieu, 1985, 1993; Badwan, 2015). In relation to participants' SA experiences, the analysis demonstrated that when not being able to make themselves heard for various reasons, the use of clothing artefacts went beyond the symbolic framework of demonstrating the capital assets people possess (Hickson and Stacks, 1993; Entwistle, 2000). Indeed, it became a tool for conveying the message and articulating individuals' projected, and also reflexive, identities (Benson et al., 2013). All individuals – although at different points of their SA journeys – implemented this instrument across contexts; both in the UK and Russia, they used clothes as part of their identity construction mechanisms. Furthermore, for some (Timur, Margo, Alisa, Kristina, Irina) the clothing code has become one of the means of strengthening the position of their voices.

Some referred to clothing as a means to fit into the new social background (Crane, 2000) – Kristina, Margo and Irina talked through the issues of how they were trying to adapt and fit into the new culture through changing their dressing routine. While for Margo that remained quite a sensitive issue until the end of the data collection, Kristina and Masha shifted their conceptualisation of “femininity – and the way it is expressed through clothing” (Irina, 7th interview; 01:28:33-01:28:38). Notably, cultural adaptation through clothing was not a gender-specific phenomenon – Timur used it as well. Furthermore, he referred to a complex strategy of using clothing when he bought a “Leeds” hoodie in order to manifest his “otherness” as applied to his current geographical coordinates, but, at the same time, his still-alive desire to show that he “still likes Leeds” (4th interview; 01:01:40-01:01:42).

As section 6.2.2 of **Lens 2** demonstrated, clothing became a powerful tool in the individuals' identity construction and voicing process. Indeed, the respective analysis section showcased the research participants' use of clothing as a semiotic channel to convey meaning – , as a code, implemented within the process of voicing and ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963). However, further investigation is required into the role of this semiotic means within the complex schemata of meaning-making ideological dialogues as these happen at different levels of discourse organisation (see 7.1.2.1) – and relate to the communication process. The linguistic ethnography (Creese, 2008) combined with the postulates from microsociology (Goffman 1959; Erickson, 1992) and social theory (Foucault 1982; Bourdieu 1978, 1991, 1993; Giddens 1991) – as well as multimodal analysis (Norris, 2004) of particular episodes – might be of great relevance here.

7.2.3 Complexity as a factor enriching identity

Even though the exposure to the socioculturally (super)diverse (Vertovec, 2007) reality (Holliday, 2011) brought about feelings of destabilisation and conflict within individuals' multifaceted identity framework (Benson et al., 2013), the critical experience (Block, 2007) of studying and residing abroad had positive effects as well. Within “whole person development” and “personality expansion” (Kristina, 7th interview; 01:30:22-01:30:29) processes individuals shifted their cultural framework from ethnocentric towards cultural relativism. Instead of seeing big cultural poles as coordinative extremes within sociolinguistic reality, their new position acknowledged sociocultural heterogeneity and variability. This manifested as individuals turning to ethno- or cultural relativism (Jackson, 2014), which highlights understanding “the other person's cultural frame of reference” (Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2012, p.

301) and perceiving cultures as “variable and viable constructions of reality” (Bennett, 1993, p. 66). Having started seeing reality as culturally diverse spaces and after appropriating the words of others, individuals saw themselves being involved in the process of co-constructing the culture – in its rather smaller sense (Holliday, 1999, 2011).

7.2.4 Wind of change: small cultures

From approximately the fourth interview, having stepped into the period of identity discrepancy caused by immersion into the reality of sociocultural heterogeneity, interviewees started referring to themselves as members of certain formations. This manifested their shift in conceptual orientation – from seeing culture in its larger perspective towards a dynamic and shared understanding of the phenomenon. The shift unsurprisingly came with the extension of the limits and reassessing the notion of “cultural membership” (Liu et al., 2011, p. 283; see also Bradford et al., 2004; Ting-Toomey and Chung, 2012) in such a way so as to reassess their then-existing large-culture inclined conceptual frameworks. Furthermore, this reorientation in cultural paradigms meant participants’ thinking arrived in a small culture (Holliday, 1999) depot.

While still using the large culture poles in relation to distinguishing different ‘types’ of others, participants nonetheless found themselves interacting with and functioning as members of many different cultures. Culture as a phenomenon acquired a dynamic meaning and started being seen as “a process of making and remaking collective sense of changing social facts” (Baumann, 1996, p. 189). Furthermore, culture, in quite a similar fashion to voice (Ricoeur, 1984; Taylor, 1989; Couldry, 2010), became an instrument

operating in “*changing circumstances* to enable group members to *make sense of and operate meaningfully* within those circumstances” (Holliday, 1999, p. 248, *my emphasis*). The small culture as a paradigm of approaching the sociolinguistic reality and meaning-making process, either the lens of university groups, the formation of *Russkij Lids* (Russian Leeds) or any other social groupings, became a sociolinguistic toolbox designated “to solve (emerging) problems” of its members, who were positioned “not (as) passive ‘cultural dopes’” but rather “active [...] skilled users” (Crane, 1994, p. 11). The use of the small cultures paradigm allowed the relationships between culture and community to be dialogised (Bakhtin, 1963) through dynamic “renegotiations” (Baumann, 1996, p. 189) of these two phenomena. It gave the freedom to depart from any pre-established frameworks centring on linguistic features and/or social categories as factors determining the memberships of these frameworks, and it opens up the horizons to see individuals’ networking and *creatively* (Holliday, 2011) co-constructing cultural spaces as *multileveled* processes in its *dynamic* perspective (Jackson, 2014).

As **Lens 2** clearly demonstrates, although participants did refer to different small cultures formations, there was one where all their voice trajectories met – *Russkij Lids* (Russian Leeds). The next subsection discusses this small culture formation through the lens of Holliday’s (1999, 2011) ideas (see 3.2.8).

7.2.4.1 Small culture formation mechanism

Looking at the small culture formation mechanism through the lens of Holliday’s (1999, 2011) prominent ideas (see Fig. 15), the research participants’ realisation of their own involvement in the small culture formation was followed by the juxtaposition of their background at the cultural arena of

others (bubbles [i] and [ii]). As **Lens 2** and the discussion above have elaborated, before arriving at the point of seeing culture in its rather “smaller sense”, all participants referred to the factor of culture as a categorising element within the sociolinguistic reality.

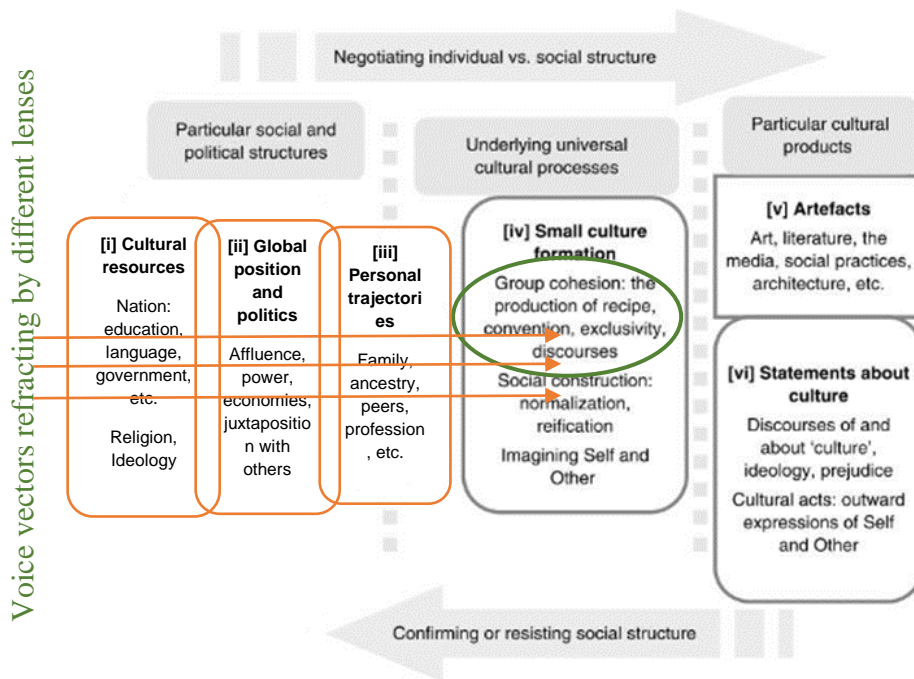


Figure 15: Proposed modifications to Holliday's (2011) aspects of cultural reality

The proposed adaptation of the model offered by Holliday (2011) comes with the application of the concept of voice towards the consideration of the small culture formation process. Looking at the participants' voices through an evolution of the individuals' conceptual frameworks refines the scheme while adding a new dimension of seeing the change diachronically. Thus, considering this scheme in terms of its dynamic development, we could well see that cultural resources (bubble [i]) had served as a “flavouring texture” (Holliday, 2011, p. 131), or the basis for the individuals to realise the processual and shared nature of culture. Furthermore, we can also trace the

research participants' ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963) – as a process of “selectively assimilating the words of others”. We can see how when going through bubble **[i]** individuals' voices are selecting, penetrating the features of their own culture that are important for them and then – appropriating, or romanticising those (Holliday, 2011), as was the case with *politeness* for Timur, Kristina, Irina and Yana. This also marked the preparatory stage for departing from the large culture orientation and stepping into the contact/contested zones of culture-ing.

Consequently, bubble **[ii]** features the next step of participants' ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963) in relation to negotiating relationships between culture and society – that is them seeing (and hearing) the polyphony of cultural heterogeneity surrounding their sojourn experiences. Both **[i]** and **[ii]** bubbles, either individuals orienting between (large) culture poles or them realising their position in relation to others, as well as starting to see culture as a process and a contested one (Martin and Nakayama, 2010; Moon, 2002, 2008), rather than purely contact zone – as **Lens 1** and **2** showcased – have been diversified across the profiles through the lens of each participant's unique background. The process of participants' conceptualising culture, as well as co-constructing their identities and directing their voice trajectories as a reflection of the sociocultural reality they have been immersed in, always comes with the lens of their personal experience (bubble **[iii]**). That said, we arrive at the applicability of the concept of the voice within the mechanism of the cultural reality. This point is mainly addressed within bubble **[iv]**, which is central to the actual small culture formation mechanism. The reason bubbles **[i]**, **[ii]** and **[iii]** were reorganised in comparison with the initial model (see 3.2.8) was to show that before arriving at the point of *consciously* (reflecting

on) co-constructing the small culture, participants' voices went through *all* of three lenses. This current enquiry highlighted that the order of participants' voices going through bubbles [i], [ii], and [iii] coincides with Holiday's initial numbering of those lenses. However, some further investigation – in relation to both the inner organisation and the outer order of these lenses – is still required. To address these issues, bubbles [i], [ii] and [iii] intersect, which leaves room for an analytical manoeuvre in terms of defining the order of participants' voice trajectories meeting the voices of others as operating within the bubbles. However, there is no doubt that further research is required – in order to confirm or refine the lenses numbering paradigm – which might show different degrees of variability in relation to different cases.

Lens 2 also attempted to address the question posted in **Chapter 3** (section 3.2.8): namely, the question if social practices should be considered as a cohesive element within the small culture formation process, or as a product of its dynamics. According to the participants' answers, it does act as the former – they all talked through their usual Thursday's meetings. However, not all of them were present at each meeting; furthermore, the case of Alisa, who stopped attending those but still considered herself a member problematises the view on social practices as purely the element of cohesion within the process of small culture formation. What acted as quite a definitive marker that distinguished one as a small culture member was participation in a Facebook Messenger chat. Co-creating the online space used to communicate on a daily basis might be considered as a social ritual; however, the audibility of individuals' voices may become an essential element (not only in relation to the online messenger group but in terms all the social communicative practices). The research participants themselves continuously

referred to the fact that they do not have to worry about “talking wrong” (Alisa, 4th interview; 01:44:50-01:44:52) – about making mistakes, silencing their opinions, and “not being yourself” (Margo, 7th interview; 01:33:15-01:33:17). Thus, the audibility of individuals’ voices happened to be at the core of the small culture formation mechanism. By no means does this deny the fact that the social practices might as well be seen as a “glue”, or a particularizing element that metaphorically holds the small culture together – indeed, how can the voice’s audibility be seen as operating to its full capacity if not within some social practices? However, this nevertheless problematises the relationships between the process of formation and the products of the small culture (bubbles **[iv]** and **[v]**, respectively) – and opens up the discussion of how these two relate to each other. Although the current inquiry demonstrates that the audibility of individuals’ voices has eventually been put at the core of the Russian Leeds membership, yet another question arises: can the small culture start its genesis without same strong references to that factor? Further research is required on that matter, with more nuanced, detailed and fine-grained investigation of all the steps of the small culture formation (eg, through implementing ethnographic observations (Hymes, 1996), etc.).

In addition to voices audibility, the element of social continuity – or, relating to voice again, the similarity of participants’ voice trajectories, or common tradition and history, also acted as a validation element (Baumann, 1996, p. 31) in the group’s cohesion recipe (Holliday, 1999). Linguistic resources also belong to the **[v]** bubble, which comprise, for instance, producing some special language or code phrases with the potential to distinguish the small culture members amongst others. Furthermore, the very fact of talking about Russian

Leeds small culture – as opposed to other ‘social others’ – represents the cultural act of producing statements about the culture as well.

7.2.5 Research questions checkpoint

The discussion in **Lens 2** has addressed the research questions as follows:

How do Russian SA sojourners develop their voices in the UK?

What is the impact of mobility, sociocultural superdiversity and linguistic heterogeneity on sojourners’ voice development?

This section has approached the phenomenon of voice in terms of how it relates to the concept of culture in its dynamic, mediated and shared understanding. Voice, as was highlighted in **Lenses 1** and **2** and discussed earlier, acted as a central element within the process of small culture formation. Furthermore, the discussion (along with **Lens 2**) also demonstrates how exposure to sociocultural heterogeneity influenced the research participants’ voice trajectories in such a way so as to make them look for a method to gain the audibility stance – through both the use of non-verbal means of semiosis and, then finally arriving at the point of the dialogic co-constructing the small culture.

What problems do they report experiencing within this process and how do they deal with them?

How do they construct (and negotiate) their identities while experiencing two (or more) languages and cultures?

The section also problematises the issues of culture, language and identity shock that were initiated with the immersion into the new sociolinguistic reality

– and attempts to assess both positive and negative sides of the shock brought along with the critical experience (Block, 2007; Agar, 2006) of SA. Following **Lens 2**, it features the strategies used by participants in overcoming the issues of an insufficient degree of voice audibility – thoroughly considering one framework: namely, small culture co-construction.

7.3 Language, voice and inequalities

7.3.1 Critical discussion of Blommaert's concept of sociolinguistic scales

Starting from the very beginning of our data collection journey, **Lens 3** clearly demonstrated that participants' movement across time and space was accompanied by them entering the “messy new marketplace” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 28), as well as experiencing a shift in their conceptualisation of symbolic exchange rates (Badwan, 2015). While not foregrounding the linguistic systems as a central element of analysis in the contemporary globalisation framework, Blommaert (2006, 2010) argues for anthropocentrically shifting the focus from the sociolinguistics of diversity to the sociolinguistics of mobile resources. As was highlighted in 3.3.2, Blommaert (2010) argues for the use of a new conceptualisation emphasising the stratification of values and power accompanying the use of different symbolic codes, which leads to the unpredictability of individuals' discursive practices as the former move across time and space. Though by no means undermining the usefulness of the sociolinguistic scales proposed by Blommaert (2010), Canagarajah (2013) points to the unpredictable nature of any communication – and claims that through exercising agency individuals may be undergoing the process of rescaling the existing indexical orders. As, shown in **Lens 1**, for example, the scaling paradigm of individuals exercising

and shifting their native language ideologies cannot be considered as fixed and stable. **Lens 3** has analytically addressed this point as well. The case of Kristina's rescaling process emerging out of her first in a back-channelling manner, and then as an established discursive practice, co-exercising the negotiation strategies (Canagarajah, 2013) is a demonstrative example of how scaling process has been drawn at the actual communicative event. This aligns with Canagarajah's (2013) most prominent claim of scaling – as a semiosis phenomenon emerging out of the negotiation practices and dialogues (Bakhtin, 1963) rather than based on pre-established shared norms. However, as Badwan (2015, p. 228) rightly mentions, the concept of scales is very handy in spotting the paradoxical “different language realities” gap that individuals find themselves in when moving across time and space. In order to achieve the sufficient level of competitiveness in “messy new marketplaces” (Blommaert, 2010, p. 28), individuals are required to meet certain expectations in relation to (not only) their linguistic abilities. As articulated in **Lens 3**, all the participants referred to moving across different scales as a process accompanied by their language value shifts – through constantly comparing their experiences as English language users in the UK and in their home countries. However, their response here illustrated the need for complicating and extending Blommaert's notion of sociolinguistic scales. Different scales entailed the controversies between the low-value scale of sojourners' English and the high-value scale of native speakers' variation(s); however, individual answers revealed the ideological diversity within the scales' indexical orders. For example, some interviewees mentioned that they intentionally emphasised their Russian accent in particular situations – in order to achieve a higher position of power and communicative control. In other words, English, as

perceived by the research participants' themselves, can never be viewed as a finished product – instead, its ideological value is always changing and being (re-)negotiated differently in different situations. This affects not only the research participants' own language ideologies but also the attitude towards the so-called high-value scale English of native speakers. Negative ideologies of stigma are expressed about some regional variations of English – as well as the English of people from post-colonial countries. Furthermore, following Badwan's (2015) criticism of the pre-established nature of scales, the analysis has demonstrated that, in analogy to many other parts of the world, as has been, shown, for example, in the research mentioned earlier on the Arabic context (Badwan, 2015, p. 227), the use of English in Russia is restricted to certain domains, which makes it quite “difficult to claim that the participants' English had already been localised or re-appropriated as an ‘inside’ language prior to their sojourn”. Nothing can be considered *pre-determined* in individuals' lives, and even when moving across time and space, individuals do not choose the circumstances and sociolinguistic background for their communication (Norton Pierce, 1995). Alternatively, due to the unique nature of every individual's language learning history, within each individual's ideological framework there appeared to be some local scales which represent the dynamic complexity of sociolinguistic contexts. Thus, instead of quite simplistically viewing all those local scales as representing one tier of values (that are opposed to the high-value scale of native speakers' English), **Lens 3** (as well as **Lens 1**) argues for extending and complicating the concept of scaling – towards viewing the societies in the light of complexity theory (Waddington, 1975; Walby, 2003). Furthermore, as another point in favour of complicating the idea of scaling, one can bring the case of Kristina, who, in

contrast to others who went through the ideological down-grading value shift in regards to their own Englishes, experienced the re-scaling process in relation to her English-speaking abilities as perceived by her herself and others in the UK (the case of her “being an interpreter”). The scales re-emergence process that Kristina underwent happened in the presence of other Russian speakers of English (eg, Irina – as they are course mates), which earns even more points in favour of re-considering scaling and (re-)thinking the “orders of indexicality”, as a *complex, dynamic and always relational* process and phenomenon. Badwan (2015, p. 228, *my emphasis*) concludes:

*...it is more feasible to view sociolinguistic scales in more **complex and dynamic** terms to feature how in every context and with the introduction of new interlocutors different arrays of sociolinguistic scales emerge and re-emerge and that the highest scale at a time (as this changes all the time) is expected to be assigned a higher economic value at that time, leading to a better exchange rate for the individual’s linguistic capital. Put in other words, these high value, low value orderings as always relational... That said, it is also crucial to indicate that social interactions cannot and should not be seen as **predetermined**.*

In addition to the intra-systemic complexity that existed within the nature of scales, **Lens 3** has also revealed paradoxical controversies emerging in relation to the dialogic relationships between the linguistic capital (presumably earned through attaining the high-scale varieties of English) and the social capital in its very Bourdieuan (1991) sense – as seen by the sojourners themselves. The fact that most of the participants – whether in the light of “being positioned on the same level”, or “not being worried” and “feeling more

linguistically relaxed” – preferred communicating with non-native speakers of English positions the latter higher than those who have English as their mother tongue. Furthermore, the research participants themselves talk through the issues of stigmatisation of communication with natives, and even the phenomenon of their ghettoisation. Those whose English might be economically placed onto the lower scale – according to what they reported – may at the same time experience the rise of their social capital rates of exchange (Badwan, 2015). Not only social but also cultural capital value rates have been reassessed. As we have already seen in **Lenses 1** and **2**, the research participants claimed that they experienced a shift in their native language value frameworks – as they relate to the cultural behavioural patterns stereotypically ascribed to different cultural groups. This point has been also corroborated within the pilot study data analysis: in accord with Timur, Margo and Irina, one of the participants claimed that, even though they realise that English with a strong accent is not valued in societies abroad, they still use it in specific situations. A “Russian linguistic flavour” carries the power to not only escape from undesirable sociolinguistic encounters but even “to frighten people”, which “even theoretically places you in a more secure position”. Thus, we could see that language might act as an instrument to “impose reception” (Bourdieu, 1977, p. 648), and a tool of power to lead the negotiation – a point that seems to be missing from Canagarajah’s interpretation of individuals’ ideological movements across time and space (Badwan, 2015).

The location of the interaction (inside or outside of the classroom) was not the only factor affecting the values attracted to participants’ linguistic capital. Other factors also include topic of conversation, register, sociocultural differences

between “us” and “others”, interlocutors’ cultural and linguistic awareness, etc, which captured not only linguistic aspects of communication but other facets (eg, cultural, social, and pragmatic) as well. Those components, in the same manner as linguistic capital value shift, also contributes to the relativity of scale indexical orders, which, again, imposes the need to unpack the very notion of scaling towards complexity theory. Talking through the issues of downsizing individuals’ own language values abroad eventually led them to reflect on their voices treatment in their native countries. The views expressed very much align with Hymesean (1996, p. 112) ideas on the interconnectedness of voice, language and inequalities in the light of “denigrating” the voices producing narratives on personal experiences as not having enough weight to be heard and taken on board (see also Burke, 1945; Philips, 2004). Thus, the problem here extends far beyond the reflections on the linguo-cultural codes that attract different values across the contexts and situations; indeed, the nature of voice as a process of materialising one’s opinions and thoughts, as a phenomenon that itself attracts different values (irrespective of the channel used for it), comes to the forefront of the discussion. Although this is discussed in later sections (e.g. 7.4), it might act here as another point towards considering individuals’ voices and sojourners’ themselves as “rounded people” (Coleman, 2013) without separating individuals’ “minds, bodies, and social behaviours into separate domains of inquiry” (Kramsch, 2009, p. 2), focusing on “real persons, rather than learners” (Ushioda, 2009, p. 220).

Therefore, what we have been able to see in **Lenses 1, 2 and 3**’s respective subsections is that there are scalar processes within the scales in its rather *global* Silverstein’s (2003, 2005, 2006) understanding. In arguing for extending the holding capacity of the term superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007), Meissner and

Vertovec (2015), Meissner (2015), and then later Geldof (2018), claim that the idea of meta-conceptuality, or “diversification of diversity” (Vertovec, 2007), or diversity within diversity can be applied to other phenomena as well. That is what **Lenses 1, 2 and 3** have clearly demonstrated; instead of seeing the world as operating within the dichotomy system, it should rather be considered as functioning on the principle of super-scalarly – or scales within scales. In order to win more points for applying the super-diversity meta-perspective onto theoretically elaborating the scales of linguo-ideologically structured societies – and vice versa – Meissner and Vertovec (2015, p. 546, *my emphasis*) reminds us that superdiversity can be “proposed as a ‘*summary term*’ to encapsulate a range of such changing variables surrounding migration patterns – and, significantly, their *interlinkages* – which amounts to a recognition of *complexities* that supersede previous patterns and perceptions of migration-driven diversity”. The same can be said about the scaling processes; there are no simply structured local vs global and low vs high value scales. Indeed, in analogy to superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) within already diverse societies (Geldof, 2018), *scales themselves are scalarly structured*, ie. there are *scales within the scales*.

In their later – and, most recent – publications both Blommaert (2017) and Canagarajah (2018) seem to be (at least partially) addressing the above criticism of their respective ideas. The former refers to the phenomenon of intersectionality (Crenshaw, 1989), superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007; see also as revisited in Harris and Rampton, 2010; Amin, 2012; Wessendorf, 2013, etc) and complexity (Waddington, 1975; Walby, 2003) as concepts allowing departure from any dichotomous orientations in relation to sociolinguistic processes as faced by individuals and arrival at the point of seeing the

“multiple embeddedness” of migrants’ trajectories and “networks of bonding and bridging social relations across multiple social fields” (Blommaert et al., 2018, p. 350). Thus, the dynamic continuum of sociolinguistic spaces that individuals find themselves scalarly moving along, is – and, indeed, should be – seen here as entailing “the complex, irreducible, varied, and variable effects which ensue when multiple axes of differentiation economic, political, cultural, subjective and experiential intersect in historically specific contexts” (Brah and Phoenix, 2004, p. 76). Referring to a number of concepts from many different fields, Blommaert et al. (2018) then also emphasise them not by trying to engage the current theoretical thinking with chaos theory but, conversely, opening up the discussion into searching for the metaphor that describes the societies in relation to WSA (Wallerstein, 1983, 2001) at its best.

Canagarajah (2017) refers to the power issues as applied to researching the ways migrants deploy the negotiation strategies. In one of his most recent publications, while also referring to the concept of scaling as well, he points to the mainstream neoliberal discourses celebrating mobility “as a new and desirable norm for everyone... as more progressive... and economically and socially equalizing global process” (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 23). However, it becomes a handy instrument of neoliberal exploitation instead (Glick, Schiller and Faist, 2010), which reproduces inequality and is itself very unequal. Thus, he then concludes, “it is important to approach language and mobility from nuanced, balanced, and critical perspectives as we collaborate across disciplines to study this important human experience” (p. 23).

Returning to the concept of voice and the power (as well as value) valences it takes on with individuals moving across time and space, the discussion

necessarily arrives at the legitimisation of voice (Geldof, 2018) in its very Foucauldian and Bourdieuan understanding of the term, as well as Bakhtin's idea of individuals constantly interrelating with the voices of others and accounting for the complexity of these 'multi-voiced' dialogues. When constantly re-entering and moving across various sociolinguistic spaces, where we step into the dialogue with ideological frameworks of others (Bakhtin, 1963): "we all need to know [...] that our voice has legitimacy, that it is taken up by the other party involved in the communicative act and that therefore it becomes recognized as valid currency for the trading taking place in the communicative interaction at hand" (Blommaert et al., 2018, p. 351). As Wertsch (1991) reminds us, in order to achieve the highest point of our voicings, or to voice ourselves and our own experiences, when generally making sense of our lives in their narrative flow, we must realise that in the very process of voice internalisation within (complex) societies, the most essential thing is to be sure that our *voice is valued*, and that our *voice does matter*.

In addition to that, taking on board the consideration of change in other forms of capital (e.g. social, cultural, etc) as it relates to shifting values of individuals' linguistic resources does align with the idea of holistic enquiry as proposed by Coleman (2013). The language learner/user orientation should never dominate within the analytical framework but be seen as *one of the elements* within the dialogues of human lives. Furthermore, considering all aspects of sojourners' trajectories in the light of their uniqueness and the idiosyncratic nature of sociolinguistic encounters with ever-changing interlocutors, in its turn, might as well contribute to avoiding the trap of overgeneralising the research cases.

7.3.2 Research questions checkpoint

The discussion of **Lens 3** has addressed the research questions as follows:

What is the impact of mobility, sociocultural superdiversity and linguistic heterogeneity on sojourners' voice development?

What problems do they report experiencing within this process and how do they deal with them?

How does the nature of voice functioning change when moving across time and space?

Through critical consideration of participants' reflections on problems faced in relation to their voice trajectories and sociolinguistic experiences, this section has elaborated the value shift as one of the repercussions of mobility. In doing so, it argues for the extension of the existing theories on that matter (eg, the idea of sociolinguistic scales; Blommaert, 2005) towards seeing the reality as a multidimensional and dynamically dialogic space, and, thus, for the implementation of theoretical frameworks celebrating its complexity.

7.4 Metaphysics of voice

From the beginning, it is worth remembering that this discussion section – as with other parts of the research – dialogically relates to others. It approaches the concept of voice from a pragmatic meta- perspective, and treats it as a valuable and important tool or instrument which might lead to deliberating individuals' ideas, thoughts and ideologies (that then can be used for the investigation) rather than the concept for investigation itself. Thus, when elaborating other theoretical angles used to approach the concept of voice, I still saw the instrumentality of voice (**Lens 4**). However, since dialogism is a

major principle of all of my research activity, and, since my main conclusion out of my PhD argues for the importance of sticking to the principle of holistic and comprehensive enquiry, even when it comes to defining any concept that any study is centred on, the reciprocal relationships and sometimes vague (or seemingly absent) borderlines between different sections resonate with the project's overall philosophy and aims (see 1.3.1).

This subsection is structured in the following way. I open up the discussion with a consideration of **Lens 4** in the light of a new perspective on voice as a value, then I look at the ways voice is operated across contexts (and in different spaces) – in the light of rethinking existing theories of scales. I then slightly shift my focus and critically talk through the issues important for the participants themselves, seeing the instrumental power of their voices. This section will also feature my claim of the importance of bringing the meta-perspective to bear on research on voice. Moving towards the end of the section, I will touch upon the problematic concept of silence – as (not) opposed to the phenomenon of voice. In a similar fashion as the other discussion chapter subparts, I finish the section by reflecting on the research questions.

7.4.1 The materiality of language and the metaphysics of voice

Lens 4 aligns with the idea the materiality factor (as explored in **Chapter 3**) is the essential component of the research body. More to the point, **Lens 4** features participants *themselves* seeing the instrumental potency of their voices – a potency *to materialise things* (MacLure, 2013, 2015). While sticking to the principle of highlighting the materialising power of the research enquiry (MacLure, 2013), conceptually loading voicing with the idea of value (Couldry,

2010) allows further exploration beyond the idea of language as a resource for materialising ideological thought. As **Lens 4** demonstrates, the “living data” framework (MacLure, 2013) – as applied to voice as value (Couldry, 2010) – finds its materiality in treating individuals’ voices as possessing instrumental potency, as seen by both parties: the researcher and the research participants. Whatever theoretical perspective we take when investigating the phenomenon of voice – approaching it from the positions of value shifts (Couldry, 2010) and audibility (Blommaert, 2005), inequalities (Hymes, 1996), cultural studies (Holliday, 2011), or in terms of becoming, self and identity in its socio-historical sense (Bakhtin, 1981; Vygotsky, 1986) – *we have to appreciate the instrumental power of the voice*. In other words, we must admit that whatever aspect of voicing is put at the forefront of the discussion, the concept itself has a *meta-function* and *power to materialise things* – ideas, opinions and thoughts – which, in turn, can add to the pragmatic matter of the research. Moreover, in addition to the practical impact that considering voice as a liberating instrument might have, the very idea of approaching the phenomenon from a completely different angle – from the perspective of not what it means but how it works – manifests the departure from a “flat ontology” (Marston et al., 2005) so as to emphasise some particular aspects of the researched, including its agentic potential (Leitner and Miller, 2006).

Furthermore, this meta-perspective on voice agency within posthumanist thinking (Canagarajah, 2017; see also Barad, 2007; Braidotti, 2013) contributes to maintaining the principle of holistic enquiry of considering the concept from different angles (Coleman, 2007, 2013).

Couldry (2010) distinguishes between two levels of understanding the concept of voice: voice as a process, and as a value. If the former has been thoroughly

examined in previous sections (eg, voicing as ideological becoming), then the latter is central to approaching voicing from a pragmatic perspective – seeing it as a *valuable* tool.

7.4.1.1 Voice as value

Lens 4 corroborates the claims made in the respective literature review section. It does justice to the prominent ideas of Couldry (2010), who explicitly refers to the materiality and socially grounded nature of voice. My participants' experiences can be summarised as follows: *"I can realize my voice which is an assemblage of others' voices only in relation to what and who surrounds me since having a voice requires both practical resources (language [or any other code]) and the (seemingly purely symbolic) status necessary if one is to be recognized by others as having a voice"* (Couldry, 2010, p. 7). Couldry's (2010) choice of word "assemblage" points to Deleuze (1994; see also Deleuze and Guattari, 1980; 1991) highlighting the factors of ever-emergent and never-stable social complexity – as well as him foregrounding the meta-approach allowing the capture of the multiplicity of meanings, philosophy about philosophy, voices about voices. Furthermore, in carrying an important instrumental potential, voice, in Couldry's (2010, p. 8) words, becomes "a form of reflexive agency" – since through voicing their attitudes and ideologies individuals do not only achieve the freedom of expressing the thoughts, but also reassess and re-evaluate their past encounters, while making sense of their lives (Cavarero, 2000). This consequently gives rise to Couldry (2010) arguing for the unfinalisable nature of voice – which resonates with Bakhtin's (1963) understanding of the phenomenon. This point has been being elaborated in **Lens 4** – when discussing participants reach a better understanding of their identity dynamics and their lives in general through

voicing their experiences. The process of participants making sense of their lives through voicing cannot be finalised unless they reach the point of physical non-existence (which can be contested as well – voices of many passed away are still here):

As long as a person is alive he [sic] lives by the fact that he is not yet finalized, that he has not yet uttered his ultimate word...

(Bakhtin, 1984, p. 59)

Referring to the works of Rose (1996), Taylor (1989), Cavarero (2000) and others, Couldry (2010) arrives at this thesis's central point (where all understandings of voice intersect). He says that voice is an inherently socially embedded process, meaning that our voice has never entirely belonged to us, as it is rather the assemblage of the voices of others spread in time and space. Ihde (2007, p. 118) writes:

The voices of others whom I hear immerse me in a language that has already penetrated my innermost being in that I 'hear' the speech I stand within. The other and myself are co-implicated in the presence of sounding word...experience is always already intersubjective.

Highlighting the fact that voice (as an instrument, tool, value and process) comes to this world in an "individual, collective or distributed" form, Couldry (2010, p. 10) also warns that often having a voice is compromised either by practices that undermine the earlier-mentioned forms for its expression or by the processes and rationalities controlling individuals' voices. **Lens 4** makes a case for exemplifying this idea; the analysis demonstrates that due to the soft power (Nye, 2004; see also Foucault, 1982) operating at different levels in the interviewees' home country, participants experienced the feeling that their

voices “do not purely belong” to them in the sense that individuals have never been able to achieve the freedom or representation (Couldry, 1996, 2010) – the trap of which they partly managed to escape in the SA context. Thus, voice as value-laden with materialising power and instrumental potency, undergoes the scaling process (Wallerstein, 1983, 2001; Blommaert, 2005, 2007; Dong and Blommaert, 2009) while acquiring *different power valences in different contexts*.

7.4.1.2 Instrumental potency of voice in complex societies: rethinking the concept of scales

The point of voice as an instrument taking on various power valences across contexts necessarily takes us back to the discussion of the concept of the sociolinguistic scales (Blommaert, 2010). As with the (varieties of) language acquiring different values in different places (Blommaert, 2010), when expressing their opinions, and actually making their voices loud enough to become audible participants, they were going through the same scaling process as they moved across spaces. Departing slightly from the mostly linguistic orientation in elaborating the concept of scales, it is the phenomenon of audibility (Miller, 1999) as connected to the legitimisation of voice (Bourdieu, 1991) and its potency to “generate an uptake of one’s words” (Blommaert, 2005, p. 68), as well as the “capacity to speak endorsed with power” (Simpson et al., 2013, p. 5) and “speak to power” (Dyer, 2014, p. 67) that comes to the forefront here. Highlighting the fact that voices are being treated differently in different contexts, the process of moving across spaces aligns with the process of individuals shifting their reflexive and projected identity orientations (Benson et al., 2013) according to the degree they can actually use the materialising factor, aka the instrumental potency of their voices. When

experiencing different realities within which the *hows* they project and *hows* others reflect on their identities change, individuals inevitably encounter shifts in their own realisation of *how* they can use their voices.

As seen in **Lens 4**, in the multiplicity of dialogues that individuals' voices inhabit – whether the dialogues with the immediate surroundings/distant location ideologies or past/present/future encounters orientations – the voices move along the continuum of the power to materialise individuals' thoughts. When the sociolinguistic scale frameworks highlight capturing “the dialectic interplay between more durable features of social order, in particular, the articulated temporal and spatial dimensions of any social formation, and the interactional real-time of face-to-face communication” (Collins et al., 2009, p. 22), ie, the side of others, the idea of scaling *as applied to voice* in current discussion emphasises what materialising potency individuals themselves choose to give to their voice, ie, the side of *those producing the voice*. However, at the same time it does not overlook the existence of an overarching indexical order (Blommaert, 2005), emphasising the idea of dialogue that individuals' voices enter when making the decision how many instrumental power valences are ascribed to their voices. Thus, this meta-, pragmatic or user orientation is exactly what differs from the current discussion of sociolinguistic scales from elaborating the concept as it relates to the language value shift per se (see 7.3.1).

Couldry (2010) talks through the concept of scales as possibly applicable to the concept of voice. Highlighting the “challenges of giving weight to voice on these various scales” (p. 101), he argues that the weight ascribed to the process of someone's voice realisation depends on the level the process is

taking place at; it varies considerably, starting from the level of individuals' communication and going to the level of global political organisation. In this sense his idea aligns with the concept of sociolinguistic scales – including the point the latter has been continuously contested for. Though Couldry's (2010) point does itself justice in the attempt to structure the process of voicing, it simultaneously promotes quite a normative and prescriptive orientation to the world operating systems and the voice – anchoring its “weight” at different scales. Even though the World-Systems Analysis (Wallerstein, 1983) metaphor appears to be quite relevant in its emphasising “the *indexical* nature of spaces that are ordered and organized in a vertical continuum” (Dong and Blommaert, 2009, p. 58), it overlooks the unpredictability of the space construction creative process – a point already made in 3.3.2. In addition to that, though it does emphasise voice's vertical mobility (moving up and down the scales), it overlooks the horizontal dimension of the move. It (unfortunately) leaves out the factor of (geographical) mobility, which often brings a change in people's ideological surroundings. The implementation of the dialogic orientation is important not only for participants' “here-and-now” state of self but also their imagined identities (Benson et al., 2013). Furthermore, Couldry's (2010) understanding of scaling process treats voice with an orientation towards the values *others ascribe to that process* – and seems to overlook the orientation towards *what weight individuals themselves give to their voices*.

The fixedness of the concept of scales might then be addressed with the dynamic understanding of space – as a creative and co-constructed practice, rather than a solid entity; when co-producing such spaces one might as well exercise agency as it relates to the instrumental potency of voice.

Acknowledging space “as *agentive*... diverse, dynamic and changing” (Canagarajah, 2017, p. 8, *my emphasis*), as well as celebrating the unpredictability and changing nature of scaling phenomenon, is essential for systematising the voicing process. As **Lens 4** demonstrated, even though participants were physically being placed into the context of the UK, they still felt that the space they occupy and co-create now is not “entirely British”. The repercussions of another scales’ indexical ordering clearly points to the need for rethinking the concept of rigid scaling when it comes to the phenomenon of voice in terms of extending the theory, taking into account the dynamic fluidity of social complexity (Deleuze and Guittaru, 1980) and always bearing in mind time and space mobility alongside the many dimensions of societal structures. Furthermore, seeing space as a dynamic and agentive process inevitably takes us back to **Lens 2** and the related discussion (see 7.2.4), where we clearly saw the co-production of online space (Russian Leeds Facebook chat), a social practice associated with a particular small culture formation, had been primarily linked with the instrumental potency of individuals’ voices, and their (individual) ability to use their voices however they like.

When writing about the concept of space, spatiality, scales, etc, Canagarajah (2017) himself talks about the meta-approach towards the analytical component of the research. While linking his discussion with mobility as an essential component of the research in the era of super-diversity (Vertovec, 2007), Canagarajah (2017, p. 9, ***bold italics*** in original) states:

Mobility requires a qualitatively different orientation to meaning-making and competence in order to explain the paradoxical features of fixity and fluidity, stability and change, order and emergence in communication. It

*requires a focus on the processes, practices, flows, links, and assemblages involved in meaning-making, beyond a focus on meaning as a product of pre-established norms. While we focused on the **what** earlier, we are now more concerned with the **how**.*

7.4.1.3 Silence: Is darkness the absence of light, or is light the absence of darkness?

To hear different stories, we must be prepared to tell stories differently...

Silence is in itself a story.

(Abdi, 2018)

The fact that participants deliberately stated that they did not want to be affected by sharing some stories, which is why they refused to take on the full authorship stance when it came to some sensitive issues, has inspired interest in exploring the moments when voice is not being or cannot be used. **Lens 4** features the cases where interviewees metaphorically preferred to give up their attempts to achieve audibility for their voices (Blommaert, 2005).

Approaching these and related cases from a pragmatic meta-perspective on voice opens up a discussion on the nature of silence and silencing. Is it the same as the absence of voice? Or is it a stand-alone phenomenon that cannot be placed in opposition to voice audibility?

Unsurprisingly, this takes us back to the prominent work of Couldry (2010), who argues for the essential feature of voice to be realised in some particular form – whether individual, collective or distributed voice (p. 9). Adapting this framework to the prominent claims of Bakhtin (1963, 1984), MacLure (2013, 2015) and others, we find that even when voice is not physically processed – it is still a value. As with one of the research participants, stating that silence

might become a greater manifestation than a sounding voice contests the idea of silence as the absence of voice. It simultaneously highlights the idea of the materiality of a thought (MacLure, 2013), as well as the idea of voicing as not merely giving account of oneself, but rather a process of *becoming* in this world (Bakhtin, 1963).

Furthermore, the idea of choosing anonymity or/and to silence their thoughts and reject their authorships, when it comes to the research participants' voicing their opinions, emphasises the need to rethink how individuals' voices are treated across contexts. It opens up a doorway to critically re-assess the position of individuals' voices within the current political framework in general (eg, in relation to (post)neoliberal traditions or soft-power inclined Russian practices; Nye, 2004; see also Foucault, 1982), and the educational unjust in particular. This, in turn, will then work towards achieving (or, to sound less idealist, at least approaching) democracy as a mutually respectful practice of recognising any voices in order to involve them in the policy-making process (Dewey, 1966).

On the other hand, the discussion of the research participants dialogically reflecting on the seemingly distant Russian "regime" ideologies (see 6.4.2.1 of **Lens 4**) also extends the analytical focus to include the perspective of people/ideologies from the other side of the dialogue. In other words, though there was no voice sound from a person or any device, and the participants were physically displaced, the voices of the Russian "regime" ideologies were still persistent within their new contexts, and even the interview space. When discussing similar issues of ideologies shaping the research space, Moyer (2013) refers to the presence of electronic (recording) devices that might affect

interaction in unpredictable ways. This aligns with the idea of third silent voices and the phenomenon of superaddressee (Bakhtin, 1981) influencing the conversational dynamics (Swinglehurst et al., 2011).

These points allow the conclusion that silence as it appears within the production format of the participation framework (Goffman, 1981) seems to be better treated as a new dimension for analysis rather than considered an absence of voice. As an analogy to the ideas of dark matter and dark energy theorists, silence, as darkness, is not the absence of voice, or light. It is a *separate phenomenon altogether*.

7.4.2 Doing justice to participants' desire to shout out their thoughts: we are not the 'ideal subjects' to be controlled

The points listed by the research participants in regards to authorities trying to put their life trajectories under strict control while restricting their (post-)SA choices lead to assuming that the Russian landscape of educational ideologies represents a paradox case. On the one hand, the implementation of internationalisation strategies to incorporate the Russian HE sector into the globalisation processes (Koudelkova et al., 2015; Stukalova et al., 2015) and increase its competitiveness in the world arena of HE and research (Knight, 2007; Saginova, 2005; Grishin, 2013) suggests the country is going along with Western educational practices and assumes it will enter the transparent academic community of cross-border educational and research practices (Annala et al., 2016). However, considering the academic and vocational policies as applied to the system of education in general and the scholarship procedures in particular, we could see that, as with Badwan (2015), the educational policy-making strategies celebrate ideologies of academic capitalism (Slaughter and Rhoades, 2004), academic branding (Osman, 2004)

and linguistic instrumentalism (Kubota, 2011). Implementing ranking procedures, prioritising English-speaking countries for SA, and fostering companies' judgements of the graduates' reliability as linked to alma maters (Piller and Cho, 2013) are furthering neoliberal policies of objectifying individuals as human capital assets (Badwan, 2015). As a result, these lead to fostering governmentality (Foucault, 1977), and validating unjust behaviours – in contradistinction to what is manifested in legal documents (Gostev et al., 2016).

Furthermore, Gostev et al. (2016, p. 11199) highlight that “in modern Russia legal mechanisms, education is defined” as a process essentially centred on serving individuals' interests, or a “goal-oriented learning process for the benefit of *individuals*, society and the state, which is accompanied by the citizen's (learner's) acknowledgement that the set education levels (prerequisites) have been achieved” (Benevolensky and Marchenko, 2009, p. 11199, *my emphasis*). That said, it becomes clear that exercising power in an attempt to control and direct the sojourners' (post-)SA trajectories does not resonate with attempting to maintain the ideology of creative education (Gordashnokov and Osin, 2009; Savelyeva, 2014).

More to the point, that discussion of masked injustice in education takes us back to the discussion of soft power (Nye, 2004; Foucault, 1982; Gramsci, 1985) being sugar-coated with the concepts of order (Foucault, 1984) or authority (Blommaert, 2006). Duchene et al. (2013) remind us that this political framework was a harbinger for the rise of neoliberal ideologies, and since the latter has only recently started gaining ground in the Russian political

landscape, it assumes that historically there is logic in seeing soft power operating in Russia.

7.4.3 Research questions checkpoint

The discussion of **Lens 4** has addressed the research questions as follows:

How do Russian SA sojourners develop their voices in the UK?

How does the nature of voice change when moving across time and space?

What is the impact of mobility, sociocultural superdiversity and linguistic heterogeneity on sojourners' voice development?

Through demonstrating that adopting a meta-perspective on researching the concept of voice can help us to better understand the phenomenon of voice operating across different contexts, this section opens up the discussion on a need to develop an analytical framework that allows an interjecting meta-perspective on voicing and other phenomena.

Through tracking the research participants' voice trajectories on entering the complex schemata of dialogues at different levels and with different phenomena, this section has also emphasised the need to rethink the existing theories of scaling towards extending and complicating – in terms of paying attention to individuals' multidimensional mobility and the unpredictable nature of sociolinguistic reality. In addition, the discussion has made an attempt to problematise the category of silence – and raised a question about the need to further investigate that phenomenon.

What problems do they report experiencing within this process and how do they deal with them?

Section 7.4.2 features the response to participants' attempt to voice what is important for them. The discussion of soft power operating in the participants' home country leading to imposing control onto and solidly fixing individuals' lives in general and voice trajectories in particular within the desired limits, takes us back to bell hooks (1994, p. 9) reminding us about the way voice should be genuinely treated in order to resist injustice and educate to transgress:

The engaged voice must never be fixed and absolute but always changing, always evolving in a dialogue with a world beyond itself.

Namely, this emphasises the changing nature of voicing –not only that voice should not but also physically (and logically) cannot be fixed within the limits of someone else's control.

Furthermore, this section might as well be used to show the relevance of implementing the meta-perspective on voice within the research and celebrating the materiality of voice. That takes us back to Dewey's account of democracy as a practice of cooperation, mutual respect and recognition between social groups and individuals. Responding to the participants' urges to use their voices in order to change things, the discussion might as well be rounded up with Couldry's (2010, p. 109, **my emphasis**) reminder of the need to rethink the post-neoliberal political practices:

What we need not to and, I would argue should not take from some versions of post-structuralism is the notion that the practice of politics is forever split between moments of disruptive emergence and contradictory rhetorical claims for consensual 'politics-as-usual'. The starting-point instead for articulating the substantive content of politics

*can, more modestly, be the forms of life in which **we engage when we do politics**. The practice of giving, receiving and expecting accounts of ourselves is a form of life in Wittgenstein's sense in which, as human beings required to live together on some terms, we are already involved. It is this form of life that is the practical basis for the **value of voice**.*

7.5 Small stories

7.5.1 Revisiting the concept of shared stories in the light of the research on voice

Lens 5 has demonstrated that the concept of a shared co-production format (adapted from Goffman, 1981; Zidjaly, 2009 – see 5.2.2) as applied to the interactional dynamics within the interview space could become a useful analytical template in the research on how voice operates *in situ*. I use the notion *format* here not only due to this term's nature of emphasising the links between the representative stance and negotiating of agency in talk (Miller, 2014; De Fina and Tseng, 2017). In choosing the word *format* I also follow the critiques of decontextualising genre-based approaches to the investigation of the storytelling process (Goodwin, 1997; Ochs and Capps, 2001; De Fina, 2011). Analysis has indicated that investigating participants' reflexive merging and diverging of their voice trajectories led to distinguishing a particular interactional activity within the interview fabrics. Although the interview space is undoubtedly co-constructed by those participating in the communicative event (Ellis, 2017), this mode, or, as it is called here, the co-construction format, stands out from the interview fabrics due to participants' voices

meeting at the reflexive agency point. In other words, when entering this format, individuals do manage to maintain the cooperative tone of the conversation due to the participants' voices *in situ* trajectories alignment, irrespective of the form the communication flow takes, be this an obvious disagreement or identity dynamics discrepancy (as was the case with Alisa/Yana first interview episode analysis – see 6.5.1.2),. Analysis has also recognised a very particular type of narrating activity (shared stories) emerging within the co-construction format that the current discussion is centred around.

Therefore, in tune with the overall small stories analytical lens (Georgakopoulou, 2007) and the positioning three-level grid (Bamberg, 2004), shared stories have been elaborated here not only from the angle of their semantic constituents, but also from the perspective of their positions within interaction (incl. pragmatic potential) and their bonds with the wider discourses (i.e. in the light of individuals' wider sociolinguistic trajectories). While addressing the oft-cited issue of problematising the narrative genres (De Fina, 2011; Georgakopoulou, 2007), in its emphasis on the voicing process – namely, on the participants' voices multidimensional interplay – the shared stories analysis aligns with Schegloff's (1997; see also De Fina, 2011) account of the pragmatic/instrumental potential of storytelling. Schegloff (1997, p. 97) argues that “recipients are oriented not only to the story as a discursive unit, but to what is being done by it, with it, through it...”. The claim gives credit to the emphasis on the shared format as applied within small stories analysis of narrating activity – and highlights not only its going beyond the consideration of genre but also encompassing the pragmatic functions of a talk. **Lens 5** highlighted how the shared co-production format – whether referring to shared stories or a shared floor of disagreement (as was the case with Alisa/Yana) –

can be used by the participants themselves in order to either converge or diverge their voice trajectories. This takes us back to the discussion on the instrumental potential of voice (see 7.4) – and, thus, corroborates the idea of voicing as a socially constructed “form of reflexive agency” (Couldry, 2010, p. 7). Thus, for the participants themselves the shared co-production format becomes an instrument for manifesting the direction of their voice trajectories – being developed in relation to each other’s. Moreover, talking about the shared stories in particular, within the shared stories co-elaboration process we were able to see not only the mechanisms of participants’ developing their voices in relation to each other’s but also the way they knit the links between their present tellings and the archetypal (in the Jungian sense of the term) voices of (potentially) shared experiences.

That said, we now de-essentialise the shared stories format. For the reader’s convenience, this section has been organised in the same fashion as the positioning analysis (Bamberg, 2004; Barkhuizen, 2014) showcased in **Lens 5**: namely, within a three-tiered approach to the assessment of a talk. In addition to de-essentialising the shared stories format, this section also discusses the disagreement episode with Alisa and Yana – again, through the lens of the shared co-production format.

7.5.1.1 The shared story world: whose voice is it?

The analysis of the participants’ personal deictic orientation, or considering the co-constructed stories through the prism of its inner world and the set of characters represented in there, has revealed all individuals centre their stories around not a specific and particular character but rather a collective (and, thus, ‘fittable’ for both interactants involved in the shared co-production

format) image of the main character. Linking this to the project's focus on voice, the polyphonic nature of the dialogism between the research participants in the process of co-creating the shared story can be schematically illustrated in the form of a triangulation lay-out (*Fig. 16*). Analogous to the scheme depicted in 7.1.1.2 (*Fig. 14*), this figure is given on the understanding its ontological implications of running the risk of oversimplification; however, I mention it here to explicate the theoretical discussion in this section rather than putting boundaries onto the process of individuals' voicings:

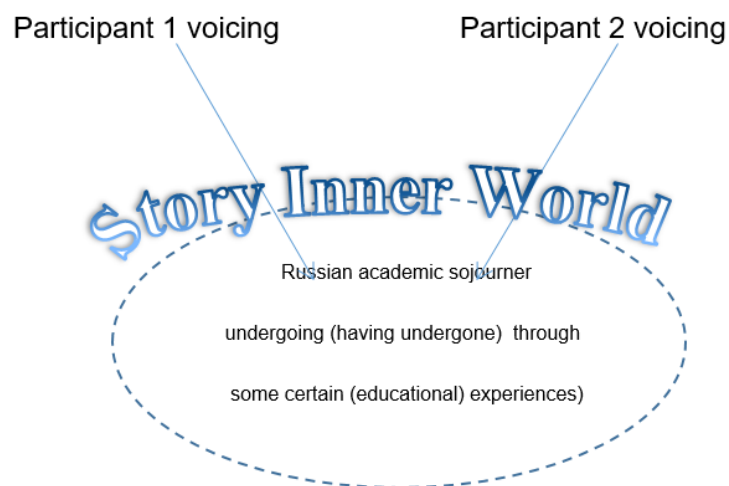


Figure 16: Individuals' voicing flows meeting within shared story inner world

The collective image of the main character created by the interviewees operates here as a point of participants' merging their voices in manifesting their trajectories' proximities, and, thus, their identities' affinities. **Lens 5** has demonstrated that in its prototypical semantics, the image of a person collectively accumulating the features shared by the participants aligns with seminal Jungian ideas on archetypes involved in individuals' life dynamics (Jung, 1991). Although approaching the analysis of talk from a genre-based perspective as it relates to elaborating the "archetypal story pattern", Roesler

(2006, p. 574) talks through applying Jungian concepts to the analysis of narratives. Having been centred around the concept of voice – as a process of giving account as well as making sense of one’s life – this current discussion argues for the use of archetypes (Jung, 1935, 1991) as an analytical grid which allows one to see the factors affecting the dynamics of individuals’ ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963, 1981).

Although not going into the same depth of psychoanalysis as in Jung (1935, 1956, 1991), I argue here that interviewees’ repeated and iterative use of a prototypical semantics grid when orienting in the personal deixis of the story world manifests the collective image of a Russian SA sojourner to acquire the functions of an archetype as one of the building blocks of individual cognition. An archetype co-constructed within the stories has become not only the point of accumulating shared experience but also a base to build new encounters on, a lens to watch the past through, and a hinterland to draw on when interpreting the present. Presumably, the emergence (or, shall I say, the rise) of the archetype manifested an immersion into the new reality, and the launch of new experiences. As **Lens 1** and **2** demonstrated, the critical experiences (Block, 2007; Agar, 2006) of SA that affected the research participants’ individuation (Jung, 1935; 1956) and ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963; 1981) led to the ideological value shift that, “bisected our lives in two” (Irina, 7th interview): before and after moving to the UK. After departing on the SA, the participants then faced the problem of gaps of non-congruence between the reality and their expectation, which eventually led to reassessing individuals’ value frameworks. It should come as no surprise that participants happened to be in need of some new frames of references (Zaharna, 1989). The new (sociolinguistic) reality and new roles demanded new patterns – and not only

in terms of taking on board linguistic pragmatics skills but also learning how to organise and orient their identity frameworks (Benson et al., 2013) so as to become fully-fledged members of new societies and make their voices heard and taken on board.

Addressing the oft-contested biological determinism aspect of the Jungian approach, Hunt (2012, p. 76) argues for the need to revisit the idea of archetypes in the light of “synaesthesia, individual differences in imaginative absorption and openness to numinous experience and spirituality as a form of symbolic intelligence”. Here is where the individualising moves of participants co-constructing the shared story complete the puzzle of the shared co-production template. As seen in **Lens 5**, the central collective image of the main character, while essentially acting as an archetype within interviewees’ individuation process (Jung, 1935; 1956; 1991), is surrounded by quite specific and particularising details from the participants experiences (eg, quite idiographic use of spatial deixis referrals – Margo, 1st interview). These particularising elements epistemologically (as well as heuristically) constitute this freedom of “symbolic intelligence” and “imaginative openness” to numerous experiences that Hunt (2012) refers to. More to the point, the idea of archetypes as dynamically co-constructed and emergent in the pace of individuation (Jung, 1935) – or ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963, 1981) – challenges the assumed biological primitivism of collective unconsciousness, which Hunt (2012) refers to as a significant contradiction in Jung’s (1934) writings. Furthermore, seeing the element of individualisation within the process of co-constructing archetypes as those relate to the collective unconsciousness, also addresses the criticism of Durkheim’s ([1893] 1984, p.

227) overemphasis of the socio-historical context that surrounds individuals and him overlooking the role of the individual in this process (Cole, 2018).

Moreover, in its emphasis on the element of individualism in relation to the archetype co-construction process, **Lens 5** resonates with **Lens 2** in the sense of highlighting the elements of dynamic individualism in constructing reality (small cultures) (see 7.2.4.1 – that within the process of small culture formation, individuals' voices do go through certain lenses, including the lens of a unique and individualistic experience). This also aligns with Bakhtin (1981, 1984) and Vygotsky (1978) seeing the collective consciousness and individual voices intertwined in the process of *internalisation*. Hence, here one can conclude that, the co-construction of an archetype character in the story world, which obviously has come neither from “a return to the origin” (Hunt, 2012, p. 77) and biological determinism (Jung, 1935) nor from the generalised totality of socially constructed as well as ideologically governed meaning (Durkheim, [1893] 1984), does involve an element of dynamic individualism.

Apart from the collectively co-constructed image of the main character, as the research progressed, some other archetypal elements appeared within the story's inner world. As **Lens 5** (2nd interview episode analysis – see 6.5.2.1) demonstrated, as time went by participants were not only developing and refining the strategies they were using when co-constructing the stories, but elaborating the story world's deictic system. This allows discussion not only about the archetype as an image of the main character (which has basically become the meeting point for participants' voice trajectories as related to their reflexive, projected – and partly imagined identities; Benson et al., 2013; Badwan, 2015) but about the construction of an archetypal template, or a lens

of experience, through which participants see the world. Thus, that archetype – the archetype of co-constructed reality, of co-recalled and narratively projected experiences, that eventually acts as a cognitive refraction prism (Gurevich, 2009) – became not only the point for individuals merging their voices but rather operated as a feature distinguishing individuals from others. Along with the high degree of voice audibility, that might become a point in the process of Russian Leeds small culture formation. Returning to the small culture discussion (see Fig. 13 in 7.2.4.1), this archetype template of the narrative co-construction might enhance our understanding of the inner mechanisms of the small culture formation (bubble **[iv]**) – or be seen as a cultural product of this process (bubble **[v]**).

Furthermore, returning to Bakhtin's writings, that collective image, the archetype of the main character, is to become a polyphonic meeting point – a point where the voices of participants merge in the unison of their shared experiences. This could be perfectly traced through individuals using pronouns – as a discursive device of not only structuring the story world reality, but also managing the communication flow (Dam, 2015). Within the third (the last) round of pair interviewing participants the use of the first person pronoun in relation to the main character – and, through this achieved the highest point of melding the roles of the *animator* and the *author* (Goffman, 1981). Though those two appeared to be in close proximity during the earlier stages of the research, the use of a particularising and specifying *I* in relation to the shared character might be considered as marking if not total but closest to the ultimate match of roles. Addressing the challenge of elaborating complex relationships amongst the (co-)production format roles that participants are mediating in, Schiffrin (1990, p. 252) introduces a term applicable to the

current discussion of an archetype image. She identifies it as the *figure*, or, “aspects of self displayed through talk ... somebody who belongs to the world that is spoken about, not the world in which the speaking occurs...”. The latter might be challenged though: through the use of personal pronouns, and referring to some particularising bits of their experiences, participants identify the imagined co-constructed main character with their very real selves – as acting both within and outside of the interview room.

However, – the overall (co-)production format (Goffman, 1981) roles elaboration leads to the very important and essential question from the heading to the section: *whose voice do we hear in the immersion of the individuals’ identity facets traits and the emergence (and co-construction) of the archetype?* How do participants themselves see the phenomenon of archetype template co-construction? How does the persona co-constructed within the imagined world of the narrative correlate to the experienced reality? What is the exhaustive list of the archetype functions – whether in the Jungian or Bakhtinian sense? How does the archetype template co-construction correlate to the *gestalts* (Carlson and Heth, 2010) functioning? What are the relationships between these two – which is part of which? Answering these is not an easy task: we surely need more empirical observations – as well as the post-interview discussion sessions. However, there is no escape from the fact that for individuals the process of the shared stories co-construction itself has become not only a way to manifest their voice trajectories proximity but also a touchstone for orienting between the poles of us and others – as these categories relate to the small culture formation, and a lens for organising the experience. The latter, in turn, very much aligns with the idea of narration as

an essential way of interpreting and making sense of one's life (Bruner, 1996; Matute, 2016).

7.5.1.2 Interactional dynamics as emerged within the shared story co-construction process

Following the oft-rehearsed critique of Labov and Walezky's (1967) original model and referring primarily to the stories elicited in the interview research, De Fina (2009) problematises the narrative genre-based research canon by saying that the very definition of genre, as it emerges within the storytelling process, should be opened up and capture not only the analysis of its structure in its more literary sense but also the analysis of the interactional dynamics surrounding the narratives. This section, in some sense, addresses this challenge: on the one hand, the discussion overall marks the shared stories as a particular type of narrating activity; on the other hand, though, it attempts to introduce the term 'shared stories' as emerging within the phenomenon of participants entering the co-production format of interactive dynamics. The latter aligns with De Fina's (2009) suggestions in particular – and the small stories research canon in general. Thus, this subsection aims to capture the interactional dynamics surrounding the emergence and the co-construction of shared stories – and, in doing so, represents the second level of positioning analysis as proposed by Bamberg (2004).

Distinguishing the level of interactional dynamics surrounding the research participants' narrating activity aligns with the now widely used view on storytelling as requiring "conversational work", while being hugely dependent on "audience reaction and participation" (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 91). Even the term used for the identification of individuals' *jointly co-*

constructing the shared story essentially captures this idea. In the extension of this view, Ochs and Capps (2001, p. 2) depart from the teller-centred orientation towards the story and argue that narrating *with* (rather than *to*) someone is often used as “a tool for collaboratively reflecting upon specific situations and their place in the general scheme of life”. In other words, through (re)collecting the pieces of the experiences into one shared template of co-narrating activity, individuals not only make sure their voices are heard (as two people arguing for the same thing logically carries more weight than one) but comprehend the sociolinguistic reality they found themselves immersed in. Thus, the co-narrating activity becomes a means of making sense of the world as it is. Furthermore, within the process of co-telling the story, which involves negotiating the meaning through voicing alternative evaluations (Goodwin, 1984), the research participants seem to be developing their understanding of the things described within the storylines. For example, the first interview with Timur and Margo demonstrated that when revolving around the dual linguistic identity experiences, they both extended the knowledge on the matter through co-constructing their own *pravda* (Bakhtin, 1963).

In tune with Ochs and Capps (2001), the shared story co-production process does not involve clearly formulated openings, initiation through request to tell the story (Lerner, 1992), or direct invitation to join the narrating process. The latter is rather done implicitly – through appreciation of the communication partner’s manifestations of recognition, empathy and esteem via laughter (Jefferson, 1979), repetition (De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012) and positive back-channelling (Georgakopoulou, 1998). Only the analysis of an episode coming from the last round of interviews revealed participants’ explicitly

inviting the researcher to join them in the process of shared story co-construction (through direct addressing turns and body positioning). However, **Lens 5** also showed that all of those lower-level actions (Norris, 2004), such as repetitions and the use of nonverbal codes, contribute to the development of a strategy which has been identified as *mirroring*. This strategy developed as the research progressed, and gradually affected a range of communication meaning-making levels: such as of surface structures – prosodic parameters; syntax and lexicon as contributing to local semantics (Van Dijk, 1996), eg, the use of dialogic syntax (Du Bois, 2007); and the level of rhetoric and pragmatics (eg, indexicalities). The hallmark feature of that strategy, in contrast to the ones mentioned above, is that through implementing this, the research participants seem to not only be showing the esteem and empathy to what their interlocutors are saying, but very often use it as a means to ratify their tellership rights (Mulholland, 1996), and, eventually, get the floor in the course of co-telling the story.

The tellership rights is another issue to discuss here. Though there is no doubt that the floor of telling the story turns out to be a relay baton that individuals play with so artfully, arranging the research participants in terms of who is leading the conversation and who is offering some additional details/repairing the story, and finally producing the *second* (Sacks, 1970; Coates, 2001) or the response story (Norrick, 2000) is quite a task to complete. The point is that there is no established canon that individuals follow when co-constructing the story; thus, it is difficult to say where the first story ends – and the second story starts. Furthermore, the manner of the stories' labelling (as the first, or leading – meaning better and hierarchically higher, vs second, or repairing) contradicts the democratic nature of the small stories approach as a

methodology itself – to say the least about the very philosophical nature of the current thesis (Badwan, 2015). Highlighting the intensity of the co-construction process as related to all parties involved in the interaction process (Ochs and Taylor, 1995; Manzoni, 2005), Blum-Kulka (1993, p. 384; cited in De Fina and Georgakopoulou, 2012, p. 108) introduces the term *a polyphonic narration* – which seems to be less discriminative in relation to the degree of the interactants' involvement into the co-telling process. Furthermore, while arguing for the absence of the direct correlation between the performative aspects of story-telling and the story ownership rights, he claims:

*... ownership rights through access to the tale have no one-to-one
correspondence to performance rights through access to the telling...*

Similarly, Baynham (2003, 2005, p. 16) in his study of Moroccan migrants problematises the nature of “generic” narratives that, while being a part of collective experience, follow a typical scenario, and, thus, “raises interesting questions of authority, authorization and rights to speak”. This leads – again – to the problems of the validity of individual voices as was discussed earlier with the reference to the archetypical character co-construction.

7.5.1.3 Seeing big ideas in small stories: wider identities

Moving up to the upper scale of positioning analysis shows the complexity of participants' voicing. The disagreement episode has demonstrated that voicing – as well as identity – are multifaceted and multidimensional phenomena, operating at different levels of individuals' cognition. Adopting the multifaceted and multileveled perspective on participants' voicing processes aligns with implementing complexity theory for the phenomenon and the related issues (see **Lens 1** and the related discussion section 7.1.2). Indeed, **Lens 5** clearly

demonstrated that individuals' voicing processes are not a straightforward and direct line – but rather a complex dynamic system of constantly moving ideological flows. As was the case with the disagreement episode, voices might be simultaneously operating at different levels: eg, diverging at the level of local semantics (Van Dijk, 1996), but mingling at the level of agentive self (Schiffrin, 1996) – as applied to the agency *at the event*¹.

The former, however, constitutes the basis for the shared stories co-development. The (re)construction of the shared memories, or co-architecting imagined, theoretical situations reaffirms the closeness between individuals and helps build a sense of belonging (Norrick, 2000). While being in a “critical experience” (Block, 2007) phase, a sense of belonging becomes one of the main orienting points in relation to “social positioning of self and others” (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005, p. 586). Furthermore, individuals co-constructing shared stories very much aligns with **Lens 2** – and corroborates the claim of participants' voice trajectories developing in close proximity towards the common goal of small culture creation. Moreover, the shared stories co-production might as well then be considered a product of small culture formation (see Fig.13 in 7.2.4.1 – bubble [vi]) as a cultural act and a statement about culture – within which individuals juxtapose themselves and their small culture (us) with others.

¹ Schiffrin (1996) adopts the dichotomy of epistemic and agentive self from Bruner (1990) and orients both towards the events as told in the story; here the agentive self refers primarily to individuals' voices' reflexive agency (Couldry, 2010) in their pragmatic orientation *in situ*.

7.5.2 A note on disagreement

Apart from the shared story co-construction, analysis also revealed participants' entering the co-production format when disagreeing with each other. **Lens 5** demonstrated that the co-production mode is not limited within the shared stories genre – as constructed within interactional dynamics of interview space. It is exactly through foregrounding the concept of voice that I was enabled to see participants' deploying the co-production mode, even when expressing and reacting to disagreement. The fact that *there is* a common point (though not that clearly identifiable) for the participants voice trajectories as those developed *in situ* explains the absence of an open conflict (contradiction), and the cooperative tone of the discussion. This challenges the views on disagreement as a presumably dispreferred (Sacks, 1973/1987; Pomerantz, 1984), taxing (Waldron and Applegate, 1994), destructive (Heritage, 1984) and face-mitigating (Brown and Levinson, 1978, 1987; Leech, 1983) activity. At the same time, the idea of merging voices at the reflexive agency point aligns with those who argue that disagreement should not be seen in primarily negative terms, as it might well lead to the cooperative atmosphere of intimacy and sociability (Tannen, 1984; Kakavá, 2002; Corsaro and Maynard, 1996; Angouri and Tseliga, 2010), and even strengthen the interactants' relationships (Georgakopoulou, 2001; Sifianou, 2012, p. 1554). The factor of cultural variability (inter alia Schiffrin, 1984; Smith, 1987; Hirschon, 2001) might well play a role in the disagreement as disentangled above, which makes it difficult to argue for the universal applicability of both the shared co-production format in general, and shared story formation in particular. Bearing in mind the individualistic nature of current inquiry, this issue is rather considered in positive light – following Kakavá (1993, 2002) and

Edstrom (2004), the present project does recognise the existence of both inter- and intra- speaker variation. However, the analysis clearly demonstrates that within the research set of participants these phenomena emerged – and the common point for the shared co-production format, as well as the determinant attribute, was participants' voice trajectories practically coinciding with each other, whether related to the agency or/and semantic constituents of a talk (that connected to the identity projection point, and thus, agency as well).

Not only the cultural but also the contextual variability plays its part in the way disagreement is managed across communication (inter alia McHoul et al., 2008; Fetzer and Oishi, 2011). However, implementation of such (quite broad; Sifianou, 2011, p. 1557) sociolinguistic variables as social distance, relative power and weight of imposition (Brown and Levinson, 1987) does not account for the complex relationships that individuals' voices enter when practicing disagreement (Duranti and Goodwin, 1992; Fetzer, 2004). Though I do not deny the usefulness of the categories in relation to researching disagreement, however, applying these to the episode analysed above would not reveal the complexity and the controversial nature of the interplay of participants' voices. More to the point, the episode of disagreement analysed in **Lens 5** happened between the individuals who, first of all, previously met only once – and briefly – before the interview (meaning that they were very new to each other). Secondly, they did not stand in the counterpart angles in terms of any of these variables. As for the rank of imposition factor specifically, this variable is primarily associated with cultural orientations to speech acts as (not) threatening to the communication process – which would hardly work in relation to the cultural framework destabilisation that participants experiences

immersed in SA reality (**Lens 2**). The variable of affect as elaborated in Mills (2003) might well be implemented into the framework of investigating voice functioning in disagreements. Kopytko (1995, p. 484) writes that “it is very likely that in almost every speech encounter between S and H, some kind of attitudinal ‘bond’ develops (negative or positive) that may influence the course (and other elements) of things they are made of”. Indeed, this might be the case of different types of communication patterns emerging across the pairs. However, this perspective may be challenged as well – first of all, evaluating the participants’ ‘bonds’ as negative or positive might easily lure the researcher into the trap of making unbacked-up judgments; furthermore, the scale of placing the participants within the evaluation continuum with negative and positive poles will surely be different for each pair. The latter, in turn, raises the question of elaborating this scale – how to find out what participants themselves think of ‘negative and positive bonds’ and associated linguistic behaviour without making them biased towards thinking on developing ‘positive bonds’ in each consequent session? After all, this discussion circles back to the complexity of the individuals’ voicing processes; as the analysis of Yana and Alisa’s first interview episode revealed, their voice trajectories were simultaneously operating at different levels. Contrary to other participants involved in co-production of shared stories, the voices of those two did not meet semantically (meaning that there was divergence in the things discussed – their language ideologies) but did come closer to each other in the point of reflexive agency (Couldry, 2010) – in maintaining the cooperative and non-conflicting tone of discussion. The analysis of the third level of positioning led us to suppose that the latter might be explained by individuals finding the

common facet of their identities – even if within the overall contradicting framework of language ideologies.

Disagreement – as Georgakopoulou (2012, p. 1623) rightly mentions – is an underrepresented concept within (not only) (im)politeness research. The current discussion, as has been shown above, aligns with studies highlighting the factor of dense contextualisation, “the multi-faceted situatedness of disagreement and the ways it can be best captured by the analysis”. The concept of voice and the phenomenon of disagreement seem to enter methodologically dialogical relationships here – bringing in the case of Yana and Alisa’s analysed episode from the first interview has eventually uncovered the complex nature of voicing, as a system of (often contradictive and paradoxical) flows, rather than a direct and straightforward trajectory.

7.5.3 Research questions checkpoint

The discussion of **Lens 5** has addressed the research questions as follows:

How do they construct (and negotiate) their identities while experiencing two (or more) languages and cultures?

The implementation of the fine-grained lens of small stories analysis and the shared co-production grid has eventually led to the discovery of the complex nature of participants’ voicings *in situ*. The analysis elaboration has revealed that voice itself is a multileveled process – and, when entering dialogue with other voices, these might diverge semantically but still meet at the level of agency. In some sense, it resonates with Bakhtin (1963) and him seeing voices as constellations of many other voices, within the dialogue of which an individual finds their own emotional-volitional tones. As for the shared stories, as a genre, and as a particular type of interactional activity, these were used

as a device for showcasing individuals' identities affinity, and thus, voices proximity – which, again, takes us back to the discussion of voice's instrumental potency. This section has demonstrated that approaching voice from a micro- perspective might as well enhance our understanding of the phenomena – and not only in terms what is happening *in situ*, but also in relation to individuals' experiences outside of the interview room.

7.6 Voice and SA: towards a holistic understanding

This chapter presented a discussion of analysis in the light of existing theories. Having approached the concept of voice (as related to its operating within SA settings) from various angles, including the sociocognitive perspective of ideological becoming (Bakhtin, 1963) and individuation (Jung, 1939) processes, cultural studies (Holliday, 1999), critical view on inequalities (Hymes, 1996), meta-perspective (MacLure, 2015), and the more fine-grained small stories approach (Georgakopoulou, 2007), it affirms the principle of holistic inquiry (Coleman, 2013). However, in order to *actually* see this holistic picture of voice functioning, I have to bring all the lenses together – which then contributes to the holistic understanding of both voice and SA.

Applying five different lenses in relation to investigating the idiosyncrasies of SA sojourners' voice trajectories highlighted the intersectionality of the research thought, and brought to the table insights from different dimensions. This allowed to see how sojourners' language value shift in response to many different others had eventually led them to, first, experiencing (self-)othering,

and then co-constructing their own small culture of Russian Leeds – where the audibility of their voices happened to be the central factor, or “glue”, that held it together. The small stories analysis had demonstrated how the latter (the centrality of voices) operated in situ – at the interviewing event, when participants deployed different strategies in order to demonstrate they belonged to the same small culture. In trying to overcome the communication problems arisen from unequal power positioning, individuals came to a realisation of their voices’ meta-potential to materialise and transform things – which as well made them re-assess their pre-sojourn sociolinguistic experiences and their visions of their future voice trajectories. **Lens 5** also demonstrated that voicing should be considered as a multidimensional phenomenon – with individuals diverging their trajectories semantically (*I disagree with you meaning that we do not belong to the same group in regards to what we talked about*) but developing them in close proximity agentively (*I nevertheless want to maintain the overall cooperative tone of the discussion meaning that there are some aspect of our identities that coincide*). This introduced the multidimensional perspective on voice – not as a straightforward line, but rather a dynamic system featuring ideological complexity, which corroborated my initial claim to research this phenomenon “wholeheartedly”, while approaching it from many different angles.

In conclusion, the discussion chapter identified and brought together insights from different fields to shed light on the phenomenon of Russian SA sojourners’ developing voice trajectories while moving across time and space. Based on this, the next chapter elaborates the contributions that the project made and the implications it initiated in terms of different domains and strands

of interest, including academics, policy-makers, (future) sojourners and me, the researcher, myself.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

8.1 Thesis summary

This longitudinal qualitative enquiry has investigated the Russian SA sojourners voice trajectories through their reflections on sociolinguistic encounters during their stay abroad. Situated at the intersection of the intersectionality (what a *jeu de mots!*) paradigm and the philosophy of dialogism, this thesis opens up a dialogue between the researcher, the participants and the readership – a dynamic emergent dialogue that will never be finalised. Centring around the concept of voice, this project is itself a constellation of voices. Highlighting the different aspects of this phenomenon, this thesis is itself an ideological becoming, a small culture, a means to fight oppression, a fine-grained discovery, *a manifestation of voice*.

Chapter 1 defined the background and the rationale for the project; **Chapter 2** provided the context of the research (incl. Russia's sociolinguistic and educational profile and the internationalisation of HE in the UK). **Chapter 3** continued with exploring the theoretical landscape that formed the foundation for the current enquiry; **Chapter 4** shed light on the methodology used, and **Chapter 5** described its research design. **Chapter 6** was devoted to the study's analytical outcome, **Chapter 7** elaborated it in the light of existing theories, and, **Chapter 8** is now talking through the research contributions, limitations and directions for future enquiry.

8.2 Research contributions

There are four main contributions of the study: empirical, theoretical, methodological and political.

8.2.1 Empirical contributions

Empirically, this research moves towards a more holistic understanding of the phenomenon of SA. This resonates with Coleman's (2013) call to approach SA holistically and research sojourners' experiences on the understanding that they are "whole people" with "whole lives" – and follows studies conducted within this principle (eg, Badwan, 2015). The complexity of sojourners' experiences and the ideological intensity of the dialogues they found themselves involved in – as well as the infinite possibilities for their voice trajectories being developed towards different ideological directions – highlighted the importance of sticking to that principle. Furthermore, departing from purely linguistic orientations and the frameworks measuring academic performance of sojourners towards observing all aspects of their lives, including what happens outside of the classroom, provides a deeper understanding of the strategies they use in their everyday sociolinguistic encounters as well as the decisions behind their motivation to learn and use different languages.

8.2.2 Theoretical contributions

Theoretically, the study provides a more detailed elaboration of the concept of voice and moves our understanding towards seeing this phenomenon holistically. The research clearly demonstrated that in order to investigate the idiosyncrasies of this multidimensional phenomenon (Couldry, 2010), we have to approach it from various theoretical and methodological angles, as well as

considering not only *what* it is, but also *how* it operates. The understanding of voice as a dynamic process of making sense of one's life that affects individuals' relationships with the socioculturally superdiverse reality of many different others and that might (and actually does) become an instrument for fighting oppression moves the research orientation towards ideas of complexity. The latter part of voice's meta-potential has been realised by the participants through reflecting on their own sociolinguistic trajectories – which again takes us back to the idea of voicing as an essential component of individuals' ideological becoming. In addition, this holistic approach towards creating an analytical polyphonic dialogue out of enacting different theoretical perspectives is inextricably intertwined with the project's methodological contributions of implementing different methodological paradigms for the data analysis.

Another theoretical contribution comes from bridging the fields of applied linguistics and education, eg, the study of SA experience, English Medium Instructions, etc, two fields that quite rarely “talk to each other” (Macaro, 2019). In other words, current study provides the insights into Russian academic sojourners' educational experiences *through* investigating the sociolinguistic concept of voice (via also implementing methods of linguistic analysis).

8.2.1 Methodological contributions

Approaching voice from different angles, including the combination of macro- and micro- approaches, forms the methodological contributions of the study. However, the implementation of ideas of dialogism are a crucial part of the overall methodological framework and the research design of the current

enquiry. The intersections of all aspects of research and researching *with* the participants, rather than on them, is what helps better understand the sojourners' experiences, ideologically putting their roles at the forefront and, most importantly, *foregrounding their voices*. Methodologically, handling the research process as a shared and essentially dialogic and polyphonic event (Josselson, 2004) "offers a foundation for a more collaborative, more ethical approach to qualitative research [...] which may be seen as 'a process to engage with the other, and not create, order and code the other'" (Mercieca and Mercieca 2013, p. 230 cited in Harvey, 2014, p. 281). This researching, interpreting and co-constructing meaning, always on the boundary within the emergent dialogue, therefore, simultaneously grant each participant the power to speak up and pronounce their own ideologies and thoughts. This, in turn, contributes to fostering social justice – as applied to the policies and ideologies surrounding education and qualitative research.

8.2.4 Political contributions

Politically, this research is itself a manifestation of those whose stories have not yet been documented, whose identities have not been recognised within a seemingly friendly political spectrum of (perverted) neoliberalism ideologies (Badwan, 2015), and – again – whose voices have not been heard and taken on board. This study attempts – and will attempt further (as my voice as a researcher, and my narrative of fighting oppression will never be finalised and live its way through future work) to deconstruct the political discourses of objectifying people in the era of all-commodifying and politicising political doctrines. Furthermore, through representing this under-researched group of people, the study also addresses the criticism towards SA literature for being geographically imbalanced. It also reveals the other side of the SA picture –

that very often it does not always feature inequalities operating on different levels, and involves identity destabilisation issues that are “usually hidden for marketing and branding purposes” and “fully resonate with those happy, ‘integrated’ students photographed on university websites” (Badwan, 2015, p. 250).

8.3 Research implications

Following the research contributions, the study carries some important implications for (language) educators, future research on SA, HE policy and various aspects of voice (across the fields of cultural studies, sociocognitive approaches, critical perspectives on inequalities as connected to language materiality factor, and narrative analysis), and the sojourners themselves.

As for the former, the research has clearly indicated the need to shift the paradigm of English language teaching as currently organised within the Russian educational spectrum. More to the point, as identified in 6.1.1.1.3, all participants referred to experiencing an expectations vs reality gap in relation to the formal “linguistic schooling” (Kristina, 3rd interview) that they themselves and their relatives and friends received in Russian schools, language education centres and universities, on the one hand, and the sociolinguistic landscapes they found themselves immersed in on SA, on the other. In order to bridge this persistent gap between the learned and used English within educational discourse (Badwan, 2015), Holmes and Riddiford (2011, p. 382) refer to the concept of “conscious learning” that emphasises individuals’ active involvement in the very process of shaping the language learning trajectory, which, in turn, “empower the students to undertake the analysis of relevant

social dimensions for themselves” in order “to accurately interpret and appropriately express social meaning in interaction” (p. 377). This resonates with the main postulates of activity theory (Vygotsky, 1978), the fundamental principle of which assumes that “human mind comes to exist, develops, and can only be understood within the context of meaningful, goal-oriented, and socially determined interaction between human beings and their material environment”. Unsurprisingly, this approach – highlighting the relationships of dialogism between the systems – essentially aligns with Bakhtin’s (1963) sociocognitive perspective (Atkinson, 2002). Furthermore, taking on board students’ perceptions of how language teaching frameworks can be improved in order to get them better prepared for the critical experiences (Block, 2007) of being immersed into a new sociolinguistic reality is nothing other than celebrating the audibility and the metaphysic potential of students’ voices. Harvey (2014, p. 50) writes:

When learner voice is enabled; when learners voice values, opinions, beliefs, preferences and engage with those of others, when they discuss and negotiate, compromise and adapt, resist and challenge and contest; when all these voices are engaged in expressing and forming social relationships, learners’ identities and motivations become engaged, are given expression and are allowed to develop.

Departing from a purely sociolinguistic orientation towards the process of learning, and, thus, becoming in the world (Harvey, 2015), highlighting students’ voices might well contribute to developing democracy in education and overcoming injustice (Dewey, 1966) in relation to any context, whether the managed pluralism (Balzer, 2003) of Russia, or the uncertainty of

neoliberalism surrounding the internationalisation agenda in UK HE. Endorsing (or I should say highlighting) students' voices with agentic potential might lead to a better understanding of the needs, problems and issues individuals face within the education process – whether related to SA or any other aspect of the learning framework.

Furthermore, the project identified that not only international but also home students might experience (self-)othering, suggesting that there should be more activities and events bringing all the students together, while highlighting the idiosyncratic nature of everyone's backgrounds and experiences and the benefits of co-constructing dialogic intercultural networks for both parties (including personal development, better career opportunities and even the means to fight oppression). This also means that teachers and staff in HEIs should be trained not only to communicate with people from various cultural and linguistic backgrounds but to foster dialogues amongst them.

As for the sojourners themselves, the project has shown that critical engagement of students' voices through individuals reflecting on their sociolinguistic experiences might lead to their own fruitful analysis of the motives standing behind their decisions and the communication strategies they employ in everyday encounters. As demonstrated in 6.4.3, all individuals mentioned that participating in the research led them to re-assess and better understand their own identity dynamics. Furthermore, foregrounding students' voices undoubtedly contributes to developing social justice as it relates to any field of (higher) education.

Finally, this study carries some important implications for future research on voice and SA; there is still much to investigate in order to move both

phenomenon conceptualisations towards a more holistic understanding. The lacunas that I was not able to cover within one PhD comprise the next section, shedding light on the limitations and the directions for future research.

8.4 Limitations and directions for future research

Limitations, as approached within the current enquiry, are what guides the researcher towards a new 'promised land' of future discoveries. In relation to this study in particular, as was already mentioned across the thesis, the main limitation paradoxically stems from its main strength. In other words, approaching the concept of voice from five theoretical and analytical angles enables embracing its many aspects but nevertheless leads to sacrificing the depth of the data elaboration process using each lens. That is what will undoubtedly lead to some new and interesting discoveries – eg, the use of small stories approach to investigate how voicing operates in disagreement episodes, to further investigate the role of voice in small culture formation mechanism, etc. Furthermore, implementing new methodologies for the investigation of both voice and SA, such as linguistic ethnography (Copland and Creese, 2015), multimodal analysis (Norris, 2004) and critical discourse analysis (Wodak and Meyer, 2009) might provide opportunities to deepen our understanding in the light of culture, inequalities, etc. In addition to this, as was touched upon in **Lens 2**, conducting research on the co-construction process of online spaces and investigating how voicing acts within these spaces – as well as what it actually means, to have voice in online discourse – might lead to opening new horizons for investigating the phenomenon of voice. As for SA in particular, as **Lens 2** highlighted, online spaces co-created on social networks might become the comfort zones for sojourners striving to earn

audibility for their voices – which presumably makes them jewellery boxes of invaluable data. Returning to the concept of voice and the ideological dialogues that sojourners have found themselves involved in, it would be relevant to look at ‘the other side’ of those dialogic relationships: to investigate the actual encounters and conduct interviews with both parties of the dialogues (if possible). Furthermore, highlighting the unfinalisability of the research enquiry, it is also worth considering the post-sojourn trajectories, which would have important implications for researchers, educators and the sojourners themselves.

8.5 Research reflections

In its emphasis on the dialogic and intertwined nature of any system development, this research has dynamically incorporated not only my participants’ ideological becomings, but my own – which holistically captures different aspects of my identity (me - the sojourner, me - the researcher, me - Russian person living in the UK, etc). It lies exactly at the borders of my dialogic engagement with the research literature, participants, data, analysis, its outcome, distribution practices and, eventually (but not finally!), where the meaning, the *pravda*, (Bakhtin, 1993, p. 37) of my beautiful journey to self-discovery has emerged. Through developing, interpreting – together with participants – and analysing the others’ views, I reassess my own views, opinions and ideologies; I venture deeper into the darkest hinterlands of my own inner self; ideologically – even in the most straightforward sense of the term (eg, because even my ‘political’ views changed from indifferent to quite radical), I become in this world. Together with my participants, I came to the point of understanding many decisions in my life – such as, for example, my

strong desire to get rid of my accent at the beginning of my sojourn (see 6.1.1.1.6).

Apart from my personal development, this PhD has become a very important milestone within my academic career and intellectual advancement. Between March 2015 and March 2018 I have given presentations in many different countries – and will continue to spread the word on the importance of investigating situated experiences and contextualized phenomena in a holistic way, emphasising conducting the research across the field and highlighting the importance of taking on board the voices of participants and any person who is a part of the researched phenomenon.

8.6 Epilogue

Thus, this doctoral thesis captures the ideological becomings of six Russian academic sojourners through consideration of the development of their voice trajectories as they relate to the sociolinguistic encounters they had while on SA. Moving towards the end of my report on our never -finalised narrative, I would like to finish it with the words – though, again, processed through my own emotional-volitional tone – of Genki Kawamura (2018, p. 56):

Always remember: the whole world will “change just from listening to your voice”

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List of Abbreviations

SA	Study Abroad
HE	Higher Education
HEI	Higher Education Institution
OECD	Organisation for economic cooperation and development
ECTS	European Credit Transfer and Accumulation System
L1	First language
L2	Second language
UK	United Kingdom
USA	United States of America
ENL	English as a native language
ELF	English as a lingua franca
WSA	World-systems analysis
S	Speaker
H	Hearer

Appendix (1): Participant Recruitment Advertisement Flyer

<p>Students from Russia are needed to take part in research on study abroad experiences</p>
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My name is Alena Ryazanova and I am a PhD student at the University of Leeds. I am looking for international students from Russia to take part in my research on study abroad experiences. My aim is to explore the experiences of Russian students arriving to live and study in the UK and the ways these experiences influence their conceptualisation of languages.

You will be asked to take part in up to eight interviews over the course of one year. All interviews can be arranged at a time and place convenient for you. Each interview could last for up to 1.5 hours, though they most possibly will not take this long. Interviews are going to be held either individually or in pairs.

During these interviews you will be asked questions about your language and educational background, language learning history, your study abroad experiences as well as your attitudes towards and opinions about studying in Russia and in the UK.

You can be any age or gender – as long as you are a student from Russia, taking a course at a British university and residing in the UK, I will be very pleased to have you as one of the participants for my study.

Contact details:

If you would like to take part, or for further information, please contact Alena Ryazanova at edar@leeds.ac.uk or +447492691549 for more details.

Appendix (2): Ethical Approval

Performance, Governance and Operations
 Research & Innovation Service
 Charles Thackrah Building
 101 Clarendon Road
 Leeds LS2 9LJ Tel: 0113 343 4873
 Email: ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk



UNIVERSITY OF LEEDS

Alena Ryazanova
 School of Education
 University of Leeds
 Leeds, LS2 9JT

**ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee
 University of Leeds**

29 August 2019

Dear Alena

Title of study: Russian SA sojourners' voice trajectories through the lens of ideologies
Ethics reference: AREA 15-077

I am pleased to inform you that the above research application has been reviewed by the ESSL, Environment and LUBS (AREA) Faculty Research Ethics Committee and following receipt of your response to the Committee's initial comments, I can confirm a favourable ethical opinion as of the date of this letter. The following documentation was considered:

Document	Version	Date
AREA 15-077 Ethical_Review_Form_V3_Alena_Ryazanova.doc	1	05/02/16
AREA 15-077 Ethical_Review_Form_V3_Alena_Ryazanova_-_revised.doc	1	02/03/16

Committee members made the following comments about your application:

- On the consent form the reviewers suggest that the title 'Lead Researcher' be changed to 'Researcher'. The reason is that this suggests the involvement of more than one person carrying out the study.

Please notify the committee if you intend to make any amendments to the original research as submitted at date of this approval, including changes to recruitment methodology. All changes must receive ethical approval prior to implementation. The amendment form is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAmendment>.

Please note: You are expected to keep a record of all your approved documentation. You will be given a two week notice period if your project is to be audited. There is a checklist listing examples of documents to be kept which is available at <http://ris.leeds.ac.uk/EthicsAudits>.

We welcome feedback on your experience of the ethical review process and suggestions for improvement. Please email any comments to ResearchEthics@leeds.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely

Jennifer Blaikie

Senior Research Ethics Administrator, Research & Innovation Service

On behalf of Dr Andrew Evans, Chair, [AREA Faculty Research Ethics Committee](#)

CC: Student's supervisor(s)

Appendix (3): Information Sheet and Participant Consent Form

Information Sheet

Name of Project: Russian SA sojourners' voice trajectories through the lens of ideologies

Lead researcher: Alena Ryazanova, University of Leeds, United Kingdom

Email: edar@leeds.ac.uk

Telephone: +447492691549

You or your organisation is being invited to take part in a research project. Before you decide, it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Please ask if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to participate.

What is the purpose of this research?

This is a PhD research project, which is supported by the University of Leeds in the United Kingdom. It will provide an in-depth study of the experiences of Russian students arriving to live and study in the UK and the ways these experiences influence their conceptualisation of languages. The research is expected to be completed by July 2018, although initial research findings will be available before this. Primary data (pilot study) have been collected in the UK during March – April 2016.

Why is this research needed?

The research will generate much needed new evidence about challenges and difficulties Russian students face abroad as well as the impact this experience has on individuals' ideological frameworks.

Who will be involved in the research and where will the research take place?

The research will be undertaken in the UK, largely at the University of Leeds. Participants in the research will include people from Russia who are studying in British Higher Education institutions and residing in the UK.

How will the research be carried out?

There will be four individual and three pair interviews conducted over a period of nine months. Each interview will last approximately one hour. The first interview is going to take place in October 2016, and then there will be one interview per month on a day and at a time convenient for you.

Interviews can take place at a location of your choice.

During the sessions you will be asked about your language history and the experiences of learning and using languages as well as studying in general in your country and abroad. With your permission, the interviews will be audio and video recorded and then transcribed. Once the interview data have been collected, you will be asked to read the transcript to check if you agree with my account of what you said. If you do not agree, you may change or delete anything you wish to without giving any reasons.

You will not be asked to discuss any topic or reply to any question that you do not want to. You may also stop the interview without giving a reason.

How will confidentiality be maintained?

No one will have access to the data except for the members of the research team, which are me and my supervisors, and you if you request it. Where data are directly quoted in the text, names will be changed, unless you express a wish to be recognised in the text.

What will the research produce?

This research is aimed at prompting and triggering the development of specific programmes to help and support students before/during/after their study abroad experience. For example, workshops can be conducted for Russian-born residents studying abroad where the research findings could be presented and discussed with interested participants.

Though the outcome of this study will be published in journals and reports, presented at conferences and publicly available in the University of Leeds library, it is worth mentioning once again that the names will be changed and you will not be recognisable in the text.

Participant Consent Form

Name of research project: Russian SA sojourners' voice trajectories through the lens of ideologies

Researcher: Alena Ryazanova, University of Leeds, United Kingdom

Consent Form

Initial the box if you are agree with the statement to the left

1. I confirm that I have read and understood the research project information sheet, dated February 2016. I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project and that I have received contact information for the project.

2. I understand that my participation in this study is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. Should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline.

3. I understand that my responses will be kept confidential. I give permission for the researcher only to have access to my anonymised responses, and to directly quote me. I understand that my name will not be linked with the research materials, and I will not be identified or identifiable in the report or reports that result from the research.

4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research.

5. I agree to take part in the above research project.

Name of participant *Date* *Signature*

Researcher *Date* *Signature*

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Appendix (4): Abstract from the prompts

This is an example of prompts developed for the third round of interviewing given here to provide the reader with a general understanding of a dialogic narrative co-developed by me and participants (see 5.1.3.5).

During the second interview we were discussing how languages we speak, society we are currently in, and sometimes even (or shall I say always) our geographical location (the country we are in, etc) influence the way we position ourselves during the communication process and our self-perception. For example, when speaking English (in comparison to speaking Russian) some people feel more relaxed and open, while others are a bit uncomfortable and reserved due to either their incomplete knowledge of the English language (with no access to the full range of linguistic structures, vocabulary and language subtleties), or the insufficiency of the English language itself (Russian, in contrast to English, is much more eloquent, vivid and bright). Some people highlighted that when talking English they have to be more emotional, and overdo, exaggerate their thoughts – in order to be understood in the right way (while making their speech more indicative in some sense and not leaving the interlocutor in the dark – was it a joke or an insult?). Somebody said that very often, while speaking English, they nevertheless express their emotions as Russians – which makes their speech a bit strange. Some people said that they are more comfortable speaking Russian, because this is their native language (without thinking about making mistakes as you have to do when talking to native speakers of English).

Interestingly, all participants have different opinions in regard to how much our identity, self-perception and self-positioning is being changed when we speak different languages. Some people said that it does not change much (because it is the language that is being changed rather than identity – a person is changing a language, not vice versa). Some said that we change the style of speaking; while others add, that it is not just the style that is being changed, but also the content of conversation (eg, there are some things that can be discussed in Russian, but not in English, and some themes that should be carefully handled when talking to people from all over the world; jokes are practically disappearing, etc). Some people argued that the behavioural patterns are also being changed (leading to the emergence of two “I”s – a

Russian I and an English I – eg, English I is much more open to meeting new people).

...

All participants agreed that their English is valued more in Russia than abroad. Some highlighted that in Russia speaking English makes them unique. Many of you said that this is a great advantage when looking for a job.

For all of you the theme of accent turned out to be a hot topic. Some people said that they are very interested in finding out how British people audibly perceive us in terms of the accent, how they hear us (because “I do not want to be perceived and positioned as we position Gastarbeiters”). Some participants expressed concerns that they are taking an accent from non-native speakers that they communicate with (though there is not much of a problem – it is just a part of socialising in a new environment). Some people said that there is nothing bad in having a Russian accent because we live in an international society (and the most important thing is to be understood). Some people noted that they really like when others think that they are native speakers (or, at least, not Russians). Some people said that they want to get rid of their Russian accent because English is valued more when a person does not have a non-native accent.

Appendix (5): Worked example of data

This is an example of the analytical procedure I followed when working on the data. The extract comes from the third interview with Irina and features the first 20 minutes of the session. I first provide with the original transcript in Russian followed by a table with an English version of it and codes developed to thematically organize the materials.

Russian transcription

A: и здесь поставили запись так вот чтобы точно записалось значит смотри значит на русском да

И: мгм

A: еще такой вопрос ну как ты знаешь я в своем в своей диссертации не буду использовать нигде никакие детали которые могли бы идентифицировать тебя и никто не будет ни слушать, ни читать оригинальный транскрипт кроме меня

И: мгм

A: все специфические детали я уберу

И: мгм

A: и поэтому мне нужен псевдоним, может, есть какое-то имя, которое ты сама хочешь выбрать как псевдоним

И: мгм

A: вот какой ты хочешь псевдоним

И: ну я да я потом подумаю какое-нибудь

A: ок

И: Наташа (laughter)

A: ну Наташа

И: пускай

A: или подумашь еще

И: не я подумаю не надо это

A: ок хорошо

И: есть стереотип (laughter)

A: (laughter) итак

И: а я да я просматривала когда ты мне ещё прислала на фейсбук так

A: мгм

И: мне понравилось вот так интересно че другие говорят perspectives

A: мгм мгм понятно

И: так лучше

A: значит смотри мы с тобой будем разговаривать о том что я прислала

И: мгм

A: чтобы понять что тебе подходит и что ты думаешь о других точках зрения

И: мгм

A: что ты думаешь о первом параграфе /referring to prompts/ взаимоотношениях между языком и личностью и о том как мы позиционируем себя в коммуникации?

И: ну я считаю что правда я себя чувствую немного более сдержанно и эм менее эмоционально когда общаюсь на английском языке потому что э ну мне кажется он сам по себе язык более сдержанный

A: мгм

И: менталитет у людей более сдержанный которые говорят на английском языке недавно например у нас мы пришли все на пару препод по статистке не пришел и ну все одноклассники начали выражать в общем недовольство

A: мгм

И: но я тоже с группой с группой так перекинулась парой слов

A: мгм

И: по этому поводу и когда вот пришел допустим на эту пару Артем когда препод опаздывал там в общем он хорошо так выразил свою позицию с матом в общем по-русски

A: мгм (laughter)

И: и я прям почувствовала да вот

A: (laughter)

И: вот я именно так думаю просто на английском так не буду говорить

A: мгм мгм

И: ну то есть да

A: мгм

И: в английском я более сдержана и не буду как-то эмоции выражать

A: мгм

И: а русский он более эмоциональный мне кажется

A: мгм то есть ты чувствуешь себя на английском немного сдержанной не потому что ты там не знаешь английский язык грубо говоря а потому что в принципе это как ну куль по своей культуре англичане они более такие в себе

И: да

A: мгм поняла

И: ну правда что я выражаю эмоции все равно по-русски то есть я почти всегда у меня получаются фразы перевод с русского языка

A: мгм

И: за исключением там каких-то фразовых глаголов или определенных слов лексику это которую я знаю

A: мгм мгм

И: но часто у меня получаются правда перевод с русского и эмоции у меня еще не получается иногда передать из-за того что я просто не владею языковыми средствами

A: мгм мгм

И: которые есть в английском языке то есть м не знаю там те же какие-нибудь там не знаю или пословицы не знаю

A: мгм

И: выражения какие-нибудь меткие

A: мгм

И: ну за счет этого мне не удастся выразить, как кто-то сказал, что говоришь на английском, но эмоции все равно русские

A: мгм то есть ты согласна с этой точкой зрения /referring to prompts/

И: да правда звучит странно

A: мгм

И: и мне самой не нравится как звучит но так как у нас международный междуна как сказать интернациональная группа все в принципе главное смысл поняли и ну не заостряют на этом внимание не осуждают там ничего

А: мгм мгм

И: ну то есть главное донести до людей смысл и все

А: мгм

И: все поймут

А: мгм ок

И: это критики не вызывает

А: мгм а вот с последним высказыванием ты согласна что кто-то чувствует себя более комфортно разговаривая на русском так как это родной язык в то время как при общении на английском нужно постоянно думать об акценте о том сделал ли ты ошибку

И: да правда например на своем опыте я так чувствую почему и выбираю язык вот разговора с тобой русский потому что я знаю что я лучше выражу

А: мгм

И: то что я имею ввиду ну на английском да когда я особенно с британцами говорю я стараюсь ошибки не совершать хотя часто вот на лекции даже сидим слышим ошибки какие-то в языке даже вот от преподавателя носителя ну то есть ну они сами наверно неидеально языком владеют поэтому хотя от нас требуют (laughter)

А: мгм

И: интересно, конечно, в россии например если человек неграмотно говорит по-русски это сразу вызывает критику

А: мгм

И: особенно в университете в какой-то среде такой или на работе

А: мгм

И: когда ты не просто в магазине а в соответствующем обществе

А: мгм

И: ну здесь видимо просто настолько уважается личное пространство что никто никогда носители между собой не указывают друг другу на ошибки

А: ммм ммм понятно интересно /referring to prompts/ т е язык и личность, какая между ними связь, люди говорил о разных вещах, кто-то считает что в языковом сознании никаких изменений не происходит скорее это человек меняет язык на котором он или она разговаривает кто-то говорит что меняется манера разговора кто-то считает что меняется не только стиль но и контент беседы например есть вещи которые можно обсудить с человеком по-русски но не стоит по-английски и темы о которых следует говорить осторожно в интернациональном обществе или там исчезают шутки например

И: ммм

А: а кто-то говорит что меняется и поведение и появляется существует два я русский я и английский я например английскому я легче знакомиться с людьми

И: ммм

А: а вот здесь с чем ты согласна что из этого подходит тебе?

И: ну вот кстати вот этот момент что в языковом м в языковом сознании никаких изменений не происходит скорее это человек меняет язык

А: ммм

И: язык

А: ммм

И: на котором он говорит это вот я помню что это я говорила и я согласна с этим потому что например когда я говорю на английском языке с кем-то затрагиваю когда затрагиваются темы путина или ещё там чего-то конечно я тут и шутки никакие не включаю ничего просто старюсь от темы уйти

А: ммм

И: или как-то мягко не знаю более мягко выражать свою позицию

А: ммм

И: между собой то мы конечно можем что угодно обсудить

А: ммм

И: ну вот я считаю что скорее человек меняет язык на котором он говорит

А: ммм но тем не менее контент беседы все равно меняется

И: контент меняется да

А: мкм понятно то есть ты избегаешь говорить о политике

И: ну не знаю надо подумать

А: ну кто-то например упомянул

И: всякие политика история

А: мкм мкм

И: ну про геев в принципе моя позиция она здесь очень популярна очень

А: мкм

И: мне столько задавали вопросов как в России относятся к геям ну ну тоже да стараюсь сказать что сгладить ну то есть я объясняю как что в России это просто невежливо когда ты на публике выражаешь свои чувства

А: мкм

И: неважно это пара мужчин или и женщины или это пара однополая

А: мкм

И: ну им эта позиция понравилась

А: мкм

И: что ну то есть и до них я донесла что не надо в России это демонстрировать и как бы и им не обидно

А: мкм

И: вот

А: мкм

И: но в России конечно с русскими когда я когда мы обсуждаем это то понятно что в принципе в каком-нибудь маленьком городе

А: мкм

И: отношение радикальное

А: мкм мкм

И: вот

А: то есть здесь ты пытаешься как-то сгладить свою позицию

И: да

А: чтобы вот не обострять вот этот конфликт который может возникнуть

И: да

A: из-за в принципе из-за разных культур и идеологий

И: да

A: и отношений к тому же гомосексуализму разных культур

И: мгм

A: понятно смотри тогда в промптс ты читала да некоторые участники сказали что иногда они чувствуют, что теряют контроль, особенно если общаются с нэйтивами, я так понимаю, у тебя такого нет, раз ты все время контролируешь язык

И: да у думаю нет наверно

A: мгм мгм

И: ну я всегда как бы говорю то что я думаю только иногда какие-то темы немножко сглаживаю

A: мгм мгм

И: так считаю

A: мгм и как ты к этому относишься к тому что приходится сглаживать

И: ну нормально потому что что понятное дело что в каждой культуре свои какие-то нюансы и надо с пониманием относиться и сглаживать это

A: мгм

И: вполне нормально

A: мгм то есть просто с уважением относишься

И: конечно

A: к чужой культуре

И: да абсолютно спокойно

A: понятно ок а что касается общения на русском языке в разных странах? и абсолютно неважно на каком языке это самое общение происходит и уже живет в нем а ты как считаешь

И: да я абсолютно согласна что страна в которой происходит коммуникация накладывает свой отпечаток на стиль общения, так как человек встраивается принимает на себя менталитет той или иной страны потому что я уверена что мы бы по-другому общались с ребятами находясь в россии и вот находясь здесь

A: мгм

И: конечно на нас влияет вот эта культура вся и мы даже в речи используем слова англоязычные сейчас

А: мкм

И: друг с другом

А: мкм

И: например у нас недавно была курсовая работа и какой-то вопрос мы ну что-то вот когда мы сдали в общем мы потом обсудили

А: мкм

И: и вот термины все абсолютно вот русскими буквами английские термины написаны

А: мкм

И: ну то есть вся переписка вот кто-то другой бы посмотрел вообще бы просто не понял бы

А: мкм

И: ну вот

А: мкм

И: общаемся

А: мкм

И: так

А: мкм то есть если бы ты с теми же я так понимаю русскоязычными ребятами общалась в россии

И: мкм

А: то твое поведение немного бы изменилось

И: да я думаю да

А: а каким образом вот помимо того что использовали бы слова транслиты

И: хм ну другой кон во-первых мы бы встретились при других обстоятельствах

А: мкм мкм

И: другие были бы темы для разговора другие бы по другим бы интересам сошлись наверно хотя то что мы вот находимся все вместе и далеко за границей мне кажется нас это сближает больше

А: мгм мгм

И: если бы мы встретились в питере в своей среде мы бы может быть не общались близко

А: мгм мгм

И: а именно здесь так более душевно как-то

А: мгм

И: вот наверно вот так

А: мгм интересно

И: мгм

А: а что насчет различий именно в плане общения

И: ну вот вежливость да я вот согласна да конечно согласна абсолютно они тут все недушевные абсолютно

А: (laughter)

И: душевности вообще не хватает понимаешь

А: мгм

И: и ну у них это просто как манеры в то время как русский человек бывает с тобой вежлив улыбается тебе только когда он действительно это чувствует

А: мгм

И: и поэтому не знаю

А: мгм

И: в русской культуре нет чрезмерной вежливости но не знаю русские люди более надежные какие-то, мне кажется то есть они тебя могут грубо тебе ответить в каких-то моментах но когда дело доходит до какой-то проблемы то те люди которые тебе хамили грубили там не знаю десять минут назад они тебя же и выручат

А: мгм мгм

И: там не пройдут мимо в какой-то ситуации то есть я считаю этот плюс русским людям здесь вежливость она наигранная и искусственная – в сравнении с русской душевностью, настоящей русской вежливостью

А: мгм мгм

И: но а то что вежли то что я стала более вежливая здесь я не считаю потому что я в принципе и в россии достаточно вежливо общаюсь с людьми то есть и в метро там извините если кого-то задела

А: мгм

И: и в магазине всегда изв извиняюсь

А: мгм

И: ну

А: мгм

И: я и там и там в принципе вежливо себя веду

А: в той же манере что и здесь

И: ну мне не нравится я стараюсь не гиперболизировать уж, но людям здесь говорю через каждый раз спасибо

А: мгм

И: потому что их может оскорбить если я не скажу им спасибо потому что ну у них вот принято

А: мгм

И: каждый раз это говорить мне несложно это сделать тем более если я это сделаю я человека не оскорблю

А: мгм

И: и поэтому я это делаю если я приеду в Россию я конечно не буду

А: мгм

И: так часто

А: мгм

И: это говорить как здесь

А: мгм

И: но там и люди это будут воспринимать нормально

А: а эта вежливость она проникает в твой русский здесь?

И: думаю что нет потому что на русском я общаюсь в основном с русскими

А: мгм

И: и между собой то мы понимаем друг друга у нас то менталитет похож

A: мгм

И: поэтому нет с русскими мы как в России общаемся

A: мгм

И: я думаю

A: мгм то есть эта вежливость он не проникает в твой русский

И: нет, но вот другие да

A: какие

И: ну это то то какой я пример и приводила

A: мгм

И: когда мы обсуждали работу и английские термины русскими буквами

A: мгм мгм

И: все и даже ты никак по-русски это не выразишь вот ты написал так и тебя все поняли и ты четко выразил свою мысль вот ты хотя мне это и не нравится как будто я теряю свой язык

A: мгм

И: вот яркий пример я думаю

A: мгм то есть у тебя это больше происходит в плане лексики да vocabulary

И: да в плане лексики

A: мгм

И: мгм

A: мгм интересно кстати я помню когда только начала делать phd поехала к папе в лондон и он такой говорит ну давай рассказывай о чем твое phd и я ему начинаю рассказывать по-английски а он мне такой нет давай по-русски

И: (laughter)

A: и у меня ступор и я понимаю что я не могу это даже по-русски объяснить как это как это вообще перевести и так далее (laughter)

И: я знаешь у меня еще какая проблема на самом деле

A: м

И: я вот сейчас поняла у меня эта проблема будет и я очень беспокоюсь мы учим всю лексику на английском языке все учебники читаем на английском, я очень беспокоюсь, что английский начинает заменять русский, я реально не смогу объяснить на русском что происходит вот мы с друзьями когда разговариваем по скайпу и у меня просто интересуются которые планируют дальше за границу поступать

А: мгм

И: вот о чем ты пишешь вот какие вам темы дают assignments и я пытаюсь объяснить у меня не получается я вообще там какое-то как как филлипок объясняю че я пишу вообще и я уверена вот я когда буду искать работу ходить по собеседованиям

А: мгм

И: вот захотят проверить что ты из себя как да специалист представляешь какой-нибудь вопрос из этой сферы зададут

А: мгм

И: попросят там высказать мнение а я терминами русскими не владею вообще

А: м

И: то есть не знаю мне придется наверно читать какие-то русские учебники или что-то когда я здесь закончу обучение потому что ну реально то как я выражаю на русском языке мысли

А: мгм

И: вот из этой области там науки которую здесь прохожу это вообще

А: да по сути

И: это школьник какой-нибудь там не знаю начальная школа че-то там рассказываю

А: слушай а кстати реально интересный момент

И: это это вообще вот я прям я уже сейчас думаю как мне выходить из этой ситуации

А: мгм мгм а как ты думаешь можно ли это было каким-то образом избежать

И: я думаю что это избежать могли те люди

А: или смягчить

И: или смягчить у которых вот в этой сфере которую они изучают здесь есть опыт работы либо какой-то обра либо образование в этой же сфере

А: мкм

И: которые знаю термины русские

А: мкм

И: которые ну вот учились да то есть они по-русски это все читали когда-то

А: мкм

И: я это никогда по-русски не читала для меня это новая сфера и вот я ее вот на английском и осваиваю

А: мкм мкм

И: поэтому для меня ну единственный выход это читать учебники а для тех у кого был какой-то опыт я думаю это бы смягчило

А: мкм

И: это все они бы смогли проводит ассоциацию между английским термином и тем что они изучали когда-то там в россии

А: мкм

И: им было бы проще это все научно объяснить красиво

А: мкм мкм

И: по-русски

А: мкм

И: да блин я уже я реально вот где-то с октября над этим я как-то зависла один раз и я прям чуть ли ни в депрессию ушла я блин думала что мне вообще че делать то

А: мкм

И: когда попробовала друзьям объяснить

А: мкм

И: чем я тут собственно занимаюсь

А: ага а вот смотри из промптс /referring to prompts/ некоторые участники также подчеркнули что из-за процесса англинизации своего родного языка человек говорит на русском но английскими структурами вставляет английские слова ну то есть не имея доступа

И: мгм

А: ко всем языковым средствам красивым метафорам оборотам сравнениям и так далее они при общении на русском языке чувствуют себя ограниченными в выражении себя у тебя такое бывает

И: да я когда говорю по телефону

А: мгм

И: с подругой и она говорит не знаю она лучше меня говорит

А: мгм

И: вот хорошо выражается хотя она тоже не сказать что много читает но она вот просто находится в России в Питере в языковой среде и у нее меньше слов паразитов как-то она вот четче мысли выражает

А: мгм

И: хотя у нас просто разговорный язык с ней

А: мгм

И: она не делает никакого усилия чтобы ну она совершенно расслабленно со мной общается а я над собой делала усилия чтобы как-то вот меня лучше понимали

А: мгм мгм

И: вот даже сейчас на интервью я стараюсь (laughter)

А: мгм мгм

И: как-то по четче выражать

А: а как ты относишься к этому вот напрягает тебя это или

И: да я просто понимаю что это временный вопрос

А: мгм

И: человек который всю жизнь прожил в России

А: мгм

И: один всего лишь год в Англии проучился он вернется в Россию он через две недели начнет прекрасно говорить прочитает еще раз одну книжку любимую которую из классики да там

А: мгм

И: часто перечитать может все

A: мгм

И: все нормально будет да я уверена что мне сейчас два дня посиди
почитай там книги да какие-нибудь классические русские все прекрасно
станет заново

A: мгм мгм

И: поэтому

A: мгм

М: не переживаю

A: понятно ясно у меня кстати когда я тоже когда только приехала на
магистра я помню меня мама определила как вот этот процесс начался у
меня потому что все говорят на английском а мама только немецкий
знает и я когда с ней общалась я приезжаю и она мне такая раз мне вдруг
останавливает и говорит Ален я я вообще не понимаю что ты говоришь я
говорю в смысле она говорит ты говорю вставляешь английские слова и я
даже этого вообще не замечаю

И: нефига себе

A: то есть вот реально там вместо страны **country** говорю

И: мгм

A: типа вот просто бред какой-то (laughter) я говорю ну ок мам извини
пожалуйста

И: (laughter)

A: вот

И: ага ну кстати вот я когда говорю на английском в России и
Великобритании например да вот дальше если мы идем /looking at
prompts/

A: мгм

И: здесь чувствую как гастарбайтер в Москве где-нибудь

A: (laughter)

И: ну да потому что вот

A: мгм

И: четко сказала

A: (laughter)

И: так и есть

А: мгм даже когда разговариваешь не с носителями

И: ну нет когда я не с носителями разговариваю тогда получше

А: мгм мгм

И: ну все равно стараюсь вот как-то на более таком классическом говорить английском

А: мгм мгм

И: чтобы люди меня больше понимали потому что изучали то мы все один язык

А: мгм

И: а в каждой культуре восприятие языка свое

My first step after transcribing materials was to code the data. In order to do so I started a table with a transcript in a left column, and codes in a right one.

Table 1 below illustrates the original coding process in Russian.

Transcript	Codes
<p>А: и здесь поставили запись так вот чтобы точно записалось значит смотри значит на русском да</p> <p>И: мгм</p> <p>А: еще такой вопрос ну как ты знаешь я в своем в своей диссертации не буду использовать нигде никакие детали которые могли бы идентифицировать тебя и никто не будет ни слушать, ни читать оригинальный транскрипт кроме меня</p> <p>И: мгм</p> <p>А: все специфические детали я уберу</p> <p>И: мгм</p> <p>А: и поэтому мне нужен псевдоним, может, есть какое-то имя, которое ты сама хочешь выбрать как псевдоним</p>	<p>→ Musing about pseudonym (worddoc)</p>

<p>И: мгм</p> <p>А: вот какой ты хочешь псевдоним</p> <p>И: ну я да я потом подумаю какое-нибудь</p> <p>А: ок</p> <p>И: Наташа (laughter)</p> <p>А: ну Наташа</p> <p>И: пускай</p> <p>А: или подумаешь еще</p> <p>И: не я подумаю не надо это</p> <p>А: ок хорошо</p> <p>И: есть стереотип (laughter)</p> <p>А: (laughter) итак</p>	
<p>И: а я да я просматривала когда ты мне ещё прислала на фейсбук так</p> <p>А: мгм</p> <p>И: мне понравилось вот так интересно че другие говорят perspectives</p> <p>А: мгм мгм понятно</p> <p>И: так лучше</p>	<p>→ Reflecting on individualized and joint prompts (worddoc)</p>
<p>А: значит смотри мы с тобой будем разговаривать о том что я прислала</p> <p>И: мгм</p> <p>А: чтобы понять что тебе подходит и что ты думаешь о других точках зрения</p> <p>И: мгм</p> <p>А: что ты думаешь о первом параграфе /referring to prompts/ взаимоотношениях между языком и личностью и о том как мы позиционируем себя в коммуникации?</p>	
<p>И: ну я считаю что правда я себя чувствую немного более сдержанно и эм менее эмоционально когда общаюсь на английском</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking English in different countries</p>

языке потому что э ну мне кажется он сам по себе язык более сдержанный	
А: мгм	
И: менталитет у людей более сдержанный которые говорят на английском языке недавно например у нас мы пришли все на пару препод по статистке не пришел и ну все одnogруппники начали выражать в общем недовольство	Facing different cultures
А: мгм	
И: но я тоже с группой с группой так перекинулась парой слов	

Table 9: Coding process in Russian

For the reader's convenience the rest of this document is presented in English (*Table 2*). As you could see from both *Table 1* and *2*, apart from the codes, I also put some notes in the coding document – identifying the chunks that were not essential for thematic analysis purposes, but still relevant in terms of the organization of the research. Those notes followed the arrow sign (→) – and, apart from identification in the main body of the data, were put (together with the associated bits of materials) in a separate word document. That later helped me to navigate through the materials quite easily and without constantly reading through the interviews and searching for some specific information.

Thus, *Table 2* below illustrates the coding process in English. For readers' convenience the coding table is organized with the use of rose and blue highlighters – featuring the boundaries between different codes.

Transcript	Codes
<p>A: I'm turning on the recording device ok, well, so you said you want it to be in Russian</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: there's another question for you you know in any materials I won't be using any details that might track the reader to your identity and no one will listen and read the original scripts apart from me right</p>	<p>→ Musing about pseudonym (worddoc)</p>

<p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: so all specifying details will be eliminated</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: so I need to find a pseudonym that I can use in writing, have you got any preferences for this?</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: which one would you like to have</p> <p>I: well ill think about it</p> <p>A: ok</p> <p>I: Natasha (laughter)</p> <p>A: ok Natasha</p> <p>I: well yeah</p> <p>A: ok you think</p> <p>I: no I'll think about it</p> <p>A: ok good</p> <p>I: coz yeah this stereotype (laughter)</p> <p>A: (laughter) so</p>	
<p>I: yeah I read what you sent on Facebook</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: yeah that's interesting to hear others' thoughts perspectives</p> <p>A: yeah gotcha</p> <p>I: what other people say</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: this is better</p>	<p>→ Reflecting on individualized and joint prompts (worddoc)</p>
<p>A: ok so we discuss it then</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: in order to understand which perspectives align with yours and how do you feel about</p>	

<p>these perspectives</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: ok so what do you think about the first point /referring to prompts/ on the relationships between language and identity and how we position ourselves in communication?</p>	
<p>I: well I think that I feel more reserved and less ehm emotional when speaking English because I think the language is per se less emotional</p>	Feelings on speaking English in different countries
<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and mentality this is all connected English people are more reserved I'd say for example, this happened recently, we had a lecture, and the lecturer didn't show up, so all the group mates they of course started complaining about it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and I said couple of words to them about this</p>	Facing different cultures
<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: but when Artyom came well and the lecturer was late and he expressed his attitude very clearly very Russian I'd say</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and yeah I literally felt it through</p> <p>A: (laughter)</p>	Defining Russianness
<p>I: and I think in the same way but of course I won't be talking the same way in English</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: well kinda yeah</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: in English I'm very reserved and emotionally restrained and I don't express my emotions</p>	Feelings on speaking English in different countries

A: m(h)m	
I: and Russian it's more emotional I believe	Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries
A: m(h)m so you feel reserved in English but not because you don't know enough words lets say, as one participant mentioned, but rather because it's this English culture that gets transferred through language	
I: exactly yeah more reserved culture	Facing different cultures
A: ok gotcha	
I: but I kinda feel like I'm still constrained I still express my emotions in a Russian way you know, like the phrases are always anyways the translated versions of Russian ones	Feelings on speaking English in different countries Transferring Russian communication style features to English
A: m(h)m	
I: except for the phrasal verbs and some specific terms and vocabulary that I know	
A: m(h)m m(h)m	
I: yes but you are right it's very often like I come up with just translated version of a Russian phrase because I can't express something because I don't have enough linguistic resources	
A: m(h)m m(h)m	
I: and phrases that they've got in English like sayings for instance	
A: m(h)m m(h)m	
I: or idioms that are very precise, deep and accurate	
A: m(h)m	
I: and because of that I just can't express what I want, yeah, like someone said it's like you speak English but emotions are still Russian and that sounds weird	

<p>A: m(h)m so you agree with this point of view /referring to prompts/</p> <p>I: yes it does sound weird that's true</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and I myself don't quite like how it sounds, but because our group is an international one, the most important thing is to understand the meaning of a sentence or a phrase, so no one pays attention to it and no one judges you</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p>	
<p>I: in other words the most important thing for you speaking is to be understandable enough that's it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: everyone will get it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: it doesn't provoke any criticism</p>	<p>Considering understandability as a central feature of ideal English</p>
<p>A: aha and what about this statement that people feel more comfy talking in Russian because they are not afraid of making mistakes, because when talking in English you have to always think about not making the mistakes or accent</p> <p>I: yes and I can see that from my experience and that's exactly why I choose Russian for interviews as I know that I can express myself much better</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries</p>
<p>I: and hell yeah I'm always thinking about mistakes when I'm talking to others, especially British people I try my best not to make any mistakes</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking English in different countries</p> <p>Positioning when talking to native speakers</p>

<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and what's interesting is that so it's in their English cultural mentality not to care about them themselves making mistakes like for example our lecturer who's a native speaker makes them, but we are required not to (laughter)</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p>	<p>Facing different cultures</p> <p>→ New theme arising ((voice) and inequalities?)</p>
<p>I: that's interesting because in Russia if a native speaker makes mistakes in Russian, it evokes criticism</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: especially at uni, in academic surroundings, or at work</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: when you are like not in the shop but out in the society</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries</p>
<p>I: well but here it's different, native speakers respect personal space amongst each other, they never point at each others' mistakes</p> <p>A: m(h)m gotcha /referring to prompts/ so overall language and identity there were several points made that identity stays intact, it's a vice versa process, a person changes the language, some said that the way and manner of speaking is changing, others said that not only communication style but also the content changes, because there are some topics that you can discuss in Russian, but can't talk through in English, or when with internationals, the jokes disappear</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: and some said that overall behaviour is changing and they experience two l's, a</p>	<p>Facing different cultures</p>

<p>Russian I and an English I, and, for example, it is easier to meet other people when you are in the English I mode</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: what do you think on these points?</p>	
<p>I: it's the person who changes language, our linguistic cognition is not changing, it's the person who changes the language</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: the language</p>	<p>Identity affecting languages not vice versa</p>
<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: that they speak yeah I remember I was telling this for example when I speak English right and I touch right, when the conversation is about Putin or whatsoever of course I don't make any jokes here just try to slide off this theme</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: or I donno I have to express my opinion very carefully</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and between us of course we can discuss anything</p>	<p>Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages</p>
<p>A: m(h)m</p>	
<p>I: so yeah I think it's rather a person who changes the language he speaks</p>	<p>Identity affecting languages not vice versa</p>
<p>A: aha but the content still changes</p> <p>I: content changes yep</p> <p>A: ok gotcha so you don't touch politics right</p> <p>I: yeah well other themes I need to think of really</p> <p>A: yep other participants they mentioned</p>	<p>Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages</p>

I: yeah politics history

A: m(h)m m(h)m

I: yeah about gays for example but my position is the same as here

A: m(h)m

I: I was asked so many times about how gay people are treated in Russia and of course I'm trying my best to smooth things up, well I explain that it's not polite in Russia to say express your feelings in public

A: m(h)m

I: and it doesn't matter if it's a straight or a gay couple

A: m(h)m

I: well they liked that position

A: m(h)m

I: so I kinda told them that you shouldn't do it in Russia and simultaneously I put up with their rules

A: m(h)m

I: yes

A: m(h)m

I: but in Russia of course or with Russians when we discuss it it's clear that in a small town

A: m(h)m

I: people are very conservative

A: m(h)m m(h)m

I: yes

A: aha so you are trying to smooth up your opinion

I: yes

Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages

<p>A: in order not to escalate the conflict that may arise</p> <p>I: yes</p> <p>A: because of the cultural and ideological difference</p> <p>I: yes</p> <p>A: and attitude towards homosexuality in different cultures</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p>	<p>Dealing with cultural clashes</p>
<p>A: gotcha then in prompts you read that some participants said that they don't like that they sometimes lose control over the communicative situation especially when talking to natives, and if you say that it's you who control the language then I guess you never experience that feeling</p> <p>I: I don't think so</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: I always tell what I think but I have to choose carefully how I present it</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: that's what I think</p> <p>A: and what's your attitude towards it</p> <p>I: that's ok because like in every culture there are some certain specific features and you have to think how to present it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: so that's ok</p> <p>A: m(h)m you are just aware</p> <p>I: of course</p> <p>A: of other cultures</p> <p>I: yes that's true</p>	<p>Changing communication style when speaking different languages</p> <p>Positioning when talking to native speakers</p>

<p>A: gotcha ok what about the next point on speaking Russian across contexts?</p> <p>I: I totally agree here that the context of communication influences the way we talk because a person adopts the mentality of the country they live in, and I'm pretty sure we would communicate in a completely different way if we were in Russia</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries</p>
<p>I: of course culture influences us and even in our Russian speech we use English words</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: with each other</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: for example we were doing a course work recently, and once we submitted it, we discussed it later</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and all the terminology was in Cyrillic but still English terms how they are pronounced in English</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: so if any other person looked at it, they would understand nothing</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: so yeah</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: communication</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: like this</p>	<p>Transferring English communication style features to Russian</p>
<p>A: aha so if you were talking to same Russian people in Russia</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries</p>

<p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: then your behaviour would be different</p> <p>I: yes I think so</p>	
<p>A: in what way different you think apart from using transliterated version of English terms</p> <p>I: well firstly we would meet under other circumstances not like here</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: meaning that what brought us together would be different, the interests themes would be different I guess... the thing that we are here all far away from home abroad is what brings us so close to each other</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: I think if we met in St Petersburg we would not be communicating that close</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: whereas here it's more heartfelt and sincere I guess</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: like this</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: I think</p> <p>A: m(h)m interesting</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries</p> <p>Friending and networking with other Russians (note: critical experience is what brought us together)</p>
<p>A: and what about differences in terms of linguistic features</p> <p>I: yes politeness I agree yes totally and absolutely they are not heartfelt and sincere here</p> <p>A: (laughter)</p> <p>I: not at all you know</p>	<p>Experiencing different types of politeness</p>

<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: they've got all these manners but a Russian person they smile only when they sincerely feel it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and that's why I donno</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: there's no this thing as exaggerated politeness in Russian culture but</p>	
<p>Russian people are more trustworthy, yes they can be rude in some cases but when it comes to any problem the same rude people will help you out even if you argued 10 minutes ago, it just doesn't matter</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: never pass by a person in troubles I think this is a very big advantage for Russians here politeness is something artificial and superficial – in comparison to Russian's deep affection, Russian true politeness</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p>	Defining Russianness
<p>I: and here I don't think I became more polite I was the same polite before, I was always saying sorry if I touch someone in subway</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: or in the shop</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: yes</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and yeah I'm always polite everywhere</p>	Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries
<p>A: in the same manner</p> <p>I: well no I don't like over exaggerating, but I try to say thank you every time</p>	<p>Experiencing different types of politeness</p> <p>Dealing with cultural clashes</p>

<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: because they can get insulted if I don't do it the way it is here</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: it's not that hard for me especially if it means I'll be nice to a person</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: so I do it but of course if I go to Russia of course I'm not gonna do it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: that often</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: here its ok</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and there people would accept it but no</p>	
<p>A: does this feature get into your Russian whilst you are communicating with people here?</p> <p>I: I don't think so I speak to Russians here as in Russian</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and we understand each other and our mentality and culture they are the same</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: so no in terms of politeness we speak like in Russia</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: I think</p> <p>A: m(h)m gotcha so this feature does not penetrate into your Russian ok</p> <p>I: this one no but others yes</p>	<p>Transferring English communication style features to Russian</p>

<p>A: like what</p> <p>I: I already brought this example</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: when we were discussing our work and were spelling English terms with Russian letters</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p>	
<p>I: and you cant even express it in Russian but you spelled it like this and everyone understands you clearly yes, and to be honest I do feel like I'm losing my language</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: this is a very good example I think</p> <p>A: m(h)m so you experience this in terms of lexis vocabulary</p> <p>I: yes lexis</p>	<p>Experiencing L1 attrition</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p>
<p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: this is very interesting by the way when I've just started my PhD and I went to London to my dad's and he was like well so tell me then what's your PhD about and I started speaking English but then he was like no speak Russian</p> <p>I: (laughter)</p> <p>A: and I literally experienced shock coz I realized that I can't explain it in Russian and so on and so forth (laughter)</p>	
<p>I: you know what problem I've got</p> <p>A: m</p> <p>I: I kinda realized now that I will be having this problem that we learn all the lexis in English now right, all textbooks are in English and I'm really worried right now that English starts substituting Russian, and I can't explain</p>	<p>Experiencing L1 attrition</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p>

anything to my friends when for example we talk on Skype and they ask me questions about something related to study abroad

A: m(h)m

I: like what do you study, about assignments and I'm trying to explain but I can't and I'm like Fillipok ((Russian fiction character featuring a pupil who couldn't succeed at explaining why he was missing school all the time)) explaining what I'm doing and I'm sure when I'll be looking for jobs

A: m(h)m

I: they want to see what you know and they ask you a question from this field

A: m(h)m

I: or ask for your opinion on some things and I don't know Russian vocabulary at all

A: m(h)m

I: in other words I don't know I think I will have to read books or something when I graduate because this is just impossible how I express my thoughts in Russian

A: m(h)m

I: like from this field of science

A: yep essentially

I: like a pupil from a primary school trying to explain something

A: yeah that's a very good point

I: yep and I'm really confused on how to solve this issue already now

A: m(h)m m(h)m do you think you can avoid it somehow

I: I think that only those people who

Dealing with L1 attrition

Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition

A: or alleviate it

I: or alleviate it only those people who has had work or study experience in this field

A: m(h)m

I: who know the terminology

A: m(h)m

I: who actually acquired and came across all that terminology in Russian

A: m(h)m

I: I never did for me it's quite a new field so I acquire it only in English

A: m(h)m m(h)m

I: so for me it's the only way to read the textbooks and for those who have the experience it would not be that painful of course

A: m(h)m

I: those people they could link English and Russian terminology

A: m(h)m

I: and of course it would be easier for them to explain it in a beautiful way

A: m(h)m m(h)m

I: in Russian

A: m(h)m

I: hell yeah really I'm starting from October I'm so depressed about it I once was so deeply thinking about it that I was like I really don't know what to do

A: m(h)m

I: when I tried to explain it to my friends

A: m(h)m

<p>I: what I am actually doing here</p> <p>A: ok so from prompts /referring to prompts/ some participants highlighted that because of English penetrating Russian a person speaks Russian but with the use of English structures injecting English words so to say without full access</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: to all linguistic resources beautiful comparisons metaphors etc, and even when speaking their native language Russian they feel constrained in expressing themselves, have you ever experienced this?</p> <p>I: yes definitely when I talk over the phone</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: to my friend and she speaks better Russian than I do</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: she is expressing herself better than I do even though she doesn't read much but she's just there in Russia in St Petersburg, in this linguistic surrounding, she's got far less parasite words and she can express her thoughts more clearly and precise</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: even though it's just spoken Russian</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: it doesn't require her to make an effort she's totally relaxed and chilled when I was just sitting here making so much effort for people to understand me</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: and even now during the interview I'm making an effort (laughter)</p>	<p>Experiencing L1 attrition</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p>
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<p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: in order to express my thoughts in a more precise way</p>	
<p>A: and what's your attitude towards it?</p> <p>I: well I get it that it's just a short term thing</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: a person who has lived all of his life in Russia</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: and then just one year in the UK studying they come back to Russia and in two weeks time it's gonna be fine they read a favourite book from Russian classics and then it's ok</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: just reread it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p>	<p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p>
<p>I: and that's it I'm sure that if right now I sit and read something from Russian classics it's gonna be fine again</p>	<p>Dealing with L1 attrition</p>
<p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: that's why</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: I'm not really worried</p>	<p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p>
<p>A: ok gotcha I've got this by the way when I just arrived here to do my masters, my mum highlighted this because she doesn't speak English only one from my family who doesn't speak it she speaks only German and when I was talking to her once she was like Alena I don't understand what you are talking about and I was like why and then she was like you are injecting English words and I didn't even notice that</p>	

<p>I: wow</p> <p>A: yeah really like instead of country I say country</p> <p>I: m(h)m</p> <p>A: yeah like total nonsense and I was like I'm sorry mum</p> <p>I: (laughter)</p> <p>A: yes</p>	
<p>I: well aha by the way when I talk English in Russia and in the UK for example the next point /looking at prompts/</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: I feel like a gastarbeiter ((very negatively coloured Russian word denoting an immigrant worker with the lowest possible level of literacy)) in Moscow</p> <p>A: (laughter)</p> <p>I: yes that's it</p> <p>A: m(h)m</p> <p>I: very precise</p> <p>A: (laughter)</p> <p>I: it's really like this</p>	<p>Feelings on speaking English in different countries</p>
<p>A: m(h)m even when you talk to non-native speakers</p> <p>I: no when I talk to non-native speakers it's so much better</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: I'm trying my best to speak this classical English</p> <p>A: m(h)m m(h)m</p> <p>I: for people to understand me because we all study one language</p>	<p>Positioning when talking to non-native speakers</p>

A: m(h)m	
I: and in each country there are different language ideologies	

Table 10: Coding process in English

Following the same procedure, I coded all other interviews. After that, I gathered all codes from all interviews and brought them together within different thematic categories. Those categories were framed as questions – which I needed later on, when I was running another table filling in the categories with the original data. *Table 3* below features the process of semantic categorizing the codes (highlighted are the codes featured in the extract above):

Codes	Categories
Feelings on speaking English in different countries Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries	How do I feel speaking different languages in different contexts?
Experiencing two Is Identity affecting languages not vice versa Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages Changing communication style when speaking different languages	What is correlation between language and identity?
Seeing ideal English as distilled and pure Considering understandability as a central feature of ideal English	What is my understanding of ideal English?
Positioning when talking to native speakers Positioning when talking to non-native speakers Positioning when talking to people who know English less	How do I position myself and get positioned by others in the communication?

<p>Positioning when talking to other Russians</p>	
<p>Transferring English communication style features to Russian</p> <p>Transferring Russian communication style features to English</p> <p>Expecting L1 attrition</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p> <p>Experiencing L1 attrition</p> <p>Dealing with L1 attrition</p>	<p>How are my languages influencing each other?</p>
<p>Taking on different accents</p> <p>Wanting to get rid of the Russian accent</p> <p>Elaborating the reasons for the desire to get rid of an accent</p>	<p>What is my attitude towards my accent?</p>
<p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to cultural belonging and habits</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to the nationhood and politics</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to language</p> <p>Experiencing unequal treatment as repercussion of stereotyping</p> <p>Experiencing communicative problems as connected to stereotyping</p> <p>Dealing with stereotyping</p>	<p>What kind of stereotyping I experience abroad and how do I deal with it?</p>
<p>Experiencing different types of politeness</p> <p>Facing different cultures</p> <p>Defining Russianness</p>	<p>How do I define different cultures?</p>

Being influenced by surrounding culture Resisting the cultural influence Culture affecting communication	How does culture affect me?
Experiencing cultural clashes Dealing with cultural clashes	How do I overcome problems with cultural differences and adapt to them?
Discussing positions English occupies in Russia Discussing the reasons and repercussions of English positions in Russia	How is English positioned in Russia?
English as opening better work opportunities English as opening opportunities to immigrate and travel English as opening opportunities to develop intellectually English as opening better life opportunities English as eliminating information and ideological barriers	What opportunities does English offer?
Using Russian abroad Feelings on how Russian is treated abroad	What opportunities does Russian offer?
Studying in Russia Discussing the pros and cons of studying in Russia	How do I feel about studying in Russia?
Discussing the pros and cons of studying abroad	How do I feel about SA so far?
Friending and networking with locals	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with locals?
Friending and networking with internationals	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with

	internationals?
Friending and networking with other Russians Small-culturing	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with other Russians?
Politicizing SA in Russia Commercializing SA in Russia Commodifying sojourners' life trajectories	How does government support SA in Russia?
Politicizing SA in the UK Commercializing SA in the UK	How does government support SA in the UK?

Table 11: Categorising the codes

My next step was to run a table with categories as columns, participants' names as rows and the data identified under that specific category's codes in cells. That was done out of necessity to check if coded data thematically matches the category it was referred to during two previous steps. Framing the categories as questions helped me here to every time ask myself a question when I was putting each following chunk of data under a specific category: does it definitely match that category? *Table 4* below features me working on the data from an extract above:

	How do I feel speaking different languages in different contexts?	What is correlation between language and identity?	What is my understanding of ideal English?	How do I position myself and get positioned by others in the communication?
I	<p>well I think that I feel more reserved and less ehm emotional when speaking English because I think the language is per se less emotional</p> <p>I think in the same way ((talking about Artyom expressing his opinion very sincerely and emotionally) but of course I won't be talking the same way in English (...) well kinda yeah (...) in English I'm very reserved and emotionally restrained and I don't express my emotions</p> <p>Russian it's more emotional I believe</p> <p>I kinda feel like I'm still constrained I still express my emotions in a Russian way you know</p> <p>You speak English but emotions are still Russian and that sounds weird</p>	<p>It's the person who changes language, our linguistic cognition is not changing, it's the person who changes the language</p> <p>I remember I was telling this for example when I speak English right and I touch right, when the conversation is about Putin or whatsoever of course I don't make any jokes here just try to slide off this theme (...) or I donno I have to express my opinion very carefully (...) and between us of course we can discuss anything</p> <p>I think it's rather a person who changes the language he speaks</p> <p>But content changes</p> <p>[So you don't touch politics right] yeah well other themes I need to think of really (...) history (...) yeah about gays for example but my position is the same as here (...) I was asked so many times about how gay people are treated in Russia and of course I'm trying my best to smooth things up, well I explain that it's not polite in Russia to say express your feelings in public (...) and it doesn't matter if it's a straight or a gay</p>	<p>the most important thing for you speaking is to be understandable enough that's it (...) everyone will get it (...) it doesn't provoke any criticism</p>	<p>I'm always thinking about mistakes when I'm talking to others, especially British people I try my best not to make any mistakes</p> <p>when I talk to non-native speakers it's so much better ((in comparison to natives)) I'm trying my best to speak this classical English (...) for people to understand me because we all study one language (...)</p>

<p>[what about this statement that people feel more comfy talking in Russian because they are not afraid of making mistakes, because when talking in English you have to always think about not making the mistakes or accent] yes and I can see that from my experience and that's exactly why I choose Russian for interviews as I know that I can express myself much better</p> <p>I'm always thinking about mistakes when I'm talking to others, especially British people I try my best not to make any mistakes</p> <p>The context of communication influences the way we talk because a person adopts the mentality of the country they live in, and I'm pretty sure we would communicate in a completely different way if we were in Russia</p> <p>[If you were talking to same Russian people in Russia then your behaviour would be different] yes I think so</p> <p>We would meet under other circumstances not like here (...) meaning that what brought us together would be different, the interests themes would be different I guess... the thing that we are here all far away from home abroad is what brings us so close to each other (...) I think if we met in St Petersburg we would not be communicating that close (...) whereas here it's more heartfelt and sincere I guess (...) like this (...) I think</p> <p>Here I don't think I became more polite I was the same polite before, I was always saying sorry if I touch someone in subway (...)</p>	<p>couple (...) well they liked that position (...) so I kinda told them that you shouldn't do it in Russia and simultaneously I put up with their rules (...) but in Russia of course or with Russians when we discuss it it's clear that in a small town (...) people are very conservative</p> <p>[So you are trying to smooth up your opinion in order not to escalate the conflict that may arise because of the cultural and ideological difference and attitude towards homosexuality in different cultures] yes</p> <p>[Some participants said that they don't like that they sometimes lose control over the communicative situation especially when talking to natives, and if you say that it's you who control the language then I guess you never experience that feeling] I don't think so (...) I always tell what I think but I have to choose carefully how I present it (...) that's what I think (...) that's ok because like in every culture there are some certain specific features and you have to think how to present it [you are just aware of other cultures] yes that's true</p>		<p>and in each country there are different language ideologies</p>
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<p>or in the shop (...) and yeah I'm always polite everywhere</p> <p>when I talk English in Russia and in the UK for example the next point /looking at prompts/ (...) I feel like a gastarbeiter ((very negatively coloured Russian word denoting an immigrant worker with the lowest possible level of literacy)) in Moscow (...) yes that's it (...) very precise (...) it's really like this</p>			
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Table 12: Categorising the data

How are my languages influencing each other?	How do I define different cultures?	How do I overcome problems with cultural differences and adapt to them?	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with other Russians?
<p>the phrases are always anyways the translated versions of Russian ones (...) except for the phrasal verbs and some specific terms and vocabulary that I know</p> <p>(...) it's very often like I come up with just translated version of a Russian phrase because I can't express something because I don't have enough linguistic resources and phrases that they've got in English like sayings for instance or idioms that are very precise, deep and accurate (...) and because of that I just can't express what I want, yeah, like someone said it's like you speak English but emotions are still Russian and that sounds weird (...) it does sound</p>	<p>[Language] and mentality this is all connected English people are more reserved I'd say for example, this happened recently, we had a lecture, and the lecturer didn't show up, so all the groupmates they of course started complaining about it (...) and I said couple of words to them about this</p>	<p>When Artyom came well and the lecturer was late and he expressed his attitude very clearly very Russian I'd say (...) and yeah I literally felt it through</p> <p>I don't like over</p>	<p>the thing that we are here all far away from home abroad is what brings us so close to each other</p>

<p>weird that's true (...) I myself don't quite like how it sounds, but because our group is an international one, the most important thing is to understand the meaning of a sentence or a phrase, so no one pays attention to it and no one judges you</p> <p>of course culture influences us and even in our Russian speech we use English words (...) with each other (...) for example we were doing a course work recently, and once we submitted it, we discussed it later (...) and all the terminology was in Cyrillic but still English terms how they are pronounced in English (...) so if any other person looked at it, they would understand nothing</p> <p>[In terms of politeness] I speak to Russians here as in Russian (...) and we understand each other and our mentality and culture they are the same (...) so no in terms of politeness we speak like in Russia (...) I think</p> <p>[So this feature does not penetrate into your Russian ok] this one no but others yes (...) I already brought this example (...) when we were discussing our work and were spelling English terms with Russian letters (...) and you cant even express it in Russian but you spelled it like this and everyone understands you clearly yes, and to be honest I do feel like I'm losing my language (...) this is a very good example I think</p> <p>you know what problem I've got (...) I kinda realized now that I will be having this problem that we learn all the lexis in English now right, all textbooks are in English and I'm really worried right now that English starts substituting Russian, and I can't explain anything to my friends when for example we talk on Skype and they ask me questions about something related to study abroad (...) like what do you study, about assignments and I'm trying to explain but I can't and I'm like Fillipok ((Russian fiction character featuring a pupil who couldn't succeed at explaining why he was missing school all the</p>	<p>[English culture] is more reserved culture</p> <p>what's interesting is that so it's in their English cultural mentality not to care about them themselves making mistakes like for example our lecturer who's a native speaker makes them, but we are required not to (laughter)</p> <p>native speakers respect personal space amongst each other, they never point at each others' mistakes</p> <p>politeness I agree yes totally and absolutely they are not heartfelt and sincere here (...) not at all you know (...) they've got all these manners but a Russian person they smile only when they sincerely feel it (...) and that's why I donno (...) there's no this thing as exaggerated politeness in Russian culture but</p> <p>Russian people are more trustworthy, yes they can be rude in some cases but when it comes to any problem the same rude people will help you out even if you argued</p>	<p>exaggerating, but I try to say thank you every time (...) because they can get insulted if I don't do it the way it is here (...) it's not that hard for me especially if it means I'll be nice to a person (...) so I do it but of course if I go to Russia of course I'm not gonna do it (...) that often (...) here its ok (...) and there people would accept it but no</p>	
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<p>time)) explaining what I'm doing and I'm sure when I'll be looking for jobs (...) they want to see what you know and the ask you a question from this field (...) or ask for your opinion on some things and I don't know Russian vocabulary at all</p> <p>I don't know I think I will have to read books or something when I graduate because this is just impossible how I express my thoughts in Russian (...) like from this field of science (...) I'm like a pupil from a primary school trying to explain something (...) and I'm really confused on how to solve this issue already now (...) I think that only those people (...) who has had work or study experience in this field (...) who know the terminology (...) who actually acquired and came across all that terminology in Russian (...) I never did for me it's quite a new field so I acquire it only in English (...) so for me it's the only way to read the textbooks and for those who have the experience it would not be that painful of course (...) those people they could link English and Russian terminology (...) and of course it would be easier for them to explain it in a beautiful way (...) in Russian (...) hell yeah really I'm starting from October I'm so depressed about it I once was so deeply thinking about it that I was like I really don't know what to do (...) when I tried to explain it to my friends (...) what I am actually doing here</p> <p>[Some participants highlighted that because of English penetrating Russian a person speaks Russian but with the use of English structures injecting English words so to say without full access to all linguistic resources beautiful comparisons metaphors etc, and even when speaking their native language Russian they feel constrained in expressing themselves, have you ever experienced this?] yes definitely when I talk over the phone (...) to my friend and she speaks better Russian than I do (...) she is expressing herself better than I do even though she doesn't read much but she's just there in Russia in St Petersburg, in this linguistic surrounding, she's got far less parasite words and she can express her thoughts more clearly and precise (...) even though it's just spoken Russian (...) it doesn't require her to make an effort she's totally relaxed and chilled when I was just sitting here making so much effort for people to understand me (...) and even now during the interview I'm</p>	<p>10 minutes ago, it just doesn't matter (...) never pass by a person in troubles I think this is a very big advantage for Russians here politeness is something artificial and superficial – in comparison to Russian's deep affection, Russian true politeness</p> <p>I don't like over exaggerating, but I try to say thank you every time (...) because they can get insulted if I don't do it the way it is here (...) it's not that hard for me especially if it means I'll be nice to a person (...) so I do it but of course if I go to Russia of course I'm not gonna do it (...) that often (...) here its ok (...) and there people would accept it but no</p>		
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<p>making an effort (laughter) (...) in order to express my thoughts in a more precise way</p> <p>I get it that it's just a short term thing (...) a person who has lived all of his life in Russia (...) and then just one year in the UK studying they come back to Russia and in two weeks time it's gonna be fine they read a favourite book from Russian classics and then it's ok (...) just reread it</p> <p>I'm sure that if right now I sit and read something from Russian classics it's gonna be fine again</p> <p>That's why I'm not really worried</p>			
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Table 4: Categorising the data (continuing)

As you could see from *Table 4*, when filling in the cells, I eliminated all unnecessary information (eg, my reaction to Irina's turns (m(h)m), etc.) and left only those phrases that were essential for understanding what participant meant when talking on the issue. The latter were captured in square brackets. That procedure later saved me time when I was elaborating which data to use in order to exemplify my points in the analysis outcome. Plus, it also improved the readability of the thesis final write up.

After organizing all the data under different categories, I arrived to the final step of my analytical journey that was followed by creating the prompts to be discussed at the next session. That final step included bringing all the categories together and, whilst constantly referring back to the original data, deriving the themes. *Table 5* below illustrates all the codes, categories and themes derived from the third round of interviewing (highlighted are the codes and categories from the extract above used here to demonstrate the process of working on the data):

Codes	Categories	Themes
Feelings on speaking English in different countries Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries	How do I feel speaking different languages in different contexts?	Language and identity
Experiencing two Is Identity affecting languages not vice versa Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages Changing communication style when speaking different languages	What is correlation between language and identity?	
Seeing ideal English as distilled and pure Considering understandability as a central feature of ideal	What is my understanding of ideal English?	Ideal English

English		
<p>Positioning when talking to native speakers</p> <p>Positioning when talking to non-native speakers</p> <p>Positioning when talking to people who know English less</p> <p>Positioning when talking to other Russians</p>	<p>How do I position myself and get positioned by others in the communication?</p>	<p>Positioning in communication – me vs. others</p>
<p>Transferring English communication style features to Russian</p> <p>Transferring Russian communication style features to English</p> <p>Expecting L1 attrition</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p> <p>Experiencing L1 attrition</p> <p>Dealing with L1 attrition</p>	<p>How are my languages influencing each other?</p>	<p>Relationship between my English and my Russian</p>
<p>Taking on different accents</p> <p>Wanting to get rid of the Russian accent</p> <p>Elaborating the reasons for the desire to get rid of an accent</p>	<p>What is my attitude towards my accent?</p>	<p>Accent</p>
<p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to cultural belonging and habits</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to the</p>	<p>What kind of stereotyping I experience abroad and how do I deal with it?</p>	<p>Stereotyping</p>

<p>nationhood and politics</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to language</p> <p>Experiencing unequal treatment as repercussion of stereotyping</p> <p>Experiencing communicative problems as connected to stereotyping</p> <p>Dealing with stereotyping</p>		
<p>Experiencing different types of politeness</p> <p>Facing different cultures</p> <p>Defining Russianness</p>	How do I define different cultures?	Cultural differences and cultural adaptation
<p>Being influenced by surrounding culture</p> <p>Resisting the cultural influence</p> <p>Culture affecting communication</p>	How does culture affect me?	
<p>Experiencing cultural clashes</p> <p>Dealing with cultural clashes</p>	How do I overcome problems with cultural differences and adapt to them?	
<p>Discussing positions English occupies in Russia</p> <p>Discussing the reasons and repercussions of English positions in Russia</p>	How is English positioned in Russia?	Positions of English in Russia
English as opening better	What opportunities does	Opportunities that English

<p>work opportunities</p> <p>English as opening opportunities to immigrate and travel</p> <p>English as opening opportunities to develop intellectually</p> <p>English as opening better life opportunities</p> <p>English as eliminating information and ideological barriers</p>	English offer?	offers
<p>Using Russian abroad</p> <p>Feelings on how Russian is treated abroad</p>	What opportunities does Russian offer?	Opportunities that Russian offers
<p>Studying in Russia</p> <p>Discussing the pros and cons of studying in Russia</p>	How do I feel about studying in Russia?	Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses
<p>Discussing the pros and cons of studying abroad</p>	How do I feel about SA so far?	
<p>Friending and networking with locals</p>	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with locals?	Friendships and networking while abroad
<p>Friending and networking with internationals</p>	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with internationals?	
<p>Friending and networking with other Russians</p> <p>Small-culturing</p>	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with other Russians?	
<p>Politicizing SA in Russia</p> <p>Commercializing SA in</p>	How does government support SA in Russia?	

Russia Commodifying sojourners' life trajectories		
Politicizing SA in the UK Commercializing SA in the UK	How does government support SA in the UK?	

Table 13: Codes, categories and themes from the 3rd round

Having done so, I wrote the prompts summarizing participants' answers along the themes derived. What is also very important to mention here is that I intentionally did not include ALL the themes into the prompts – those that had been already discussed during the previous sessions were left out. That was done mainly due to the time and space constraints – I wanted to cover other themes emerged out of interviews as well. Plus, that step had been deemed as necessary in order to avoid participants getting bored from discussing the same issues over and over again. On that understanding, (for the prompts only) I left out the themes Language and identity, Ideal English, Positioning in the communication – me vs. others, Stereotyping, Accent and Relationships between my English and my Russian. Instead, I focused on the themes that had not been touched yet during previous sessions, which included *Cultural differences and cultural adaptation, Opportunities that English/ Russian offers, Position of English in Russia, Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey, Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses, Friendships and networking while abroad and Governments and SA*. Furthermore, as discussed in 5.1.4, I identified quite sensitive content within the theme *Cultural differences and cultural adaptations*, and decided to leave it out for the fifth individual interview – instead of running the risk to make participants uncomfortable when discussing it during the fourth pair sessions. However, that theme anyway came up during the pair discussion, and got even extended to *Cultural differences, adaptation and affiliations*.

Having written the prompts, I conducted the 4th round of interviewing – and then followed the same procedure of transcribing, coding, categorizing and thematizing the data. The complete list of codes and themes is presented in 5.1.5 and **Appendix (6)**.

Appendix (6): Summary of codes, categories and themes

Below I present a summary of codes, categories and themes identified as the data collection progresses.

1st round of interviewing

Codes	Categories	Themes
Family members speaking different languages Using English in Russia Using English abroad Using Russian abroad	What languages are there in my linguistic repertoire?	Participants' overall linguistic and educational background
Family investing into learning English Learning English to be a good student Learning English to study abroad Learning English to "develop brain" Learning English for exams (IELTS, TOEFL) Enjoying process of learning English	Why was I learning English? How was my motivation changing?	
Learning English at school Not having enough resources to learn English Getting exposed to English through family	Where and how was I learning English?	

<p>members</p> <p>Learning English at university</p> <p>Learning English at English courses</p> <p>Learning English with a private tutor</p>		
<p>Studying at school in Russia</p> <p>Studying at university in Russia</p> <p>Studying at short-term courses in Russia</p> <p>Describing the process of applying to universities</p> <p>Studying at short-term courses abroad</p>	Where was I receiving education so far?	
<p>Working in Russia</p> <p>Wanting to work abroad</p>	What work experience do I have so far?	
<p>Expecting career opportunities improvements</p> <p>Expecting linguistic improvements</p> <p>Expecting intellectual improvements</p>	Why did I decide to study abroad?	
<p>Feelings on speaking English in Russia</p> <p>Feelings on speaking English in the UK</p>	How do I feel speaking English in different contexts?	Language and identity

<p>Associating prestige with speaking English in Russia</p> <p>Wanting to advance English language skills</p> <p>Experiencing problems with not having enough English</p>	<p>What are my relationships with English?</p>	
<p>Feelings when speaking Russian in England</p>	<p>What are my relationships with Russian?</p>	
<p>Experiencing two Is</p> <p>Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages</p> <p>Changing communication style when speaking different languages</p> <p>Identity affecting languages not vice versa</p>	<p>What is correlation between language and identity?</p>	
<p>Not understanding locals because of the accent</p> <p>Expecting difficulties with cultural adaptation</p> <p>Experiencing difficulties with reading academic texts in English</p>	<p>What communication problems do I experience and expect?</p>	<p>Problems experienced while studying and residing abroad</p>

<p>Having too many disciplines when studying in Russia (comparing to the UK)</p> <p>Experiencing pressure when studying at school</p> <p>Teaching (English) is not good enough at university level in Russia</p> <p>Teaching (English) is not good enough at paid courses level in Russia</p> <p>Experiencing gap between taught and used English</p> <p>Teaching (English) is not good enough at school level in Russia</p> <p>Studying at school and university in Russia</p> <p>Having ability to get good education in Russia</p> <p>Not having enough specialists, resources and development in the educational system in Russia</p>	<p>How do I feel about studying in Russia?</p>	<p>Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences</p>
<p>Having less subjects (as abroad) and deepening into them is good</p> <p>Having ability to study what you want is good</p>	<p>How do I feel about SA so far?</p>	
<p>Feeling uncomfortable</p>	<p>How is my English</p>	<p>Relationship between</p>

with L1 attrition Expecting L1 attrition Trying to eliminate L1 attrition	influencing my Russian?	my English and my Russian
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2nd round of interviewing

Codes	Categories	Themes
*correcting researcher's interpretations (details of previous experience, eg name of school participant attended, etc)		Participants' overall linguistic and educational background
Feelings on speaking English in different countries Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries Feelings on speaking other languages in different countries	How do I feel speaking different languages in different contexts?	Language and identity
Experiencing two Is Identity affecting languages not vice versa Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages Changing communication style	What is correlation between language and identity?	

when speaking different languages		
<p>Wanting to speak with natives</p> <p>Being afraid of speaking with natives</p> <p>Feeling relaxed when speaking with other international students</p> <p>Not understanding locals because of the accent</p>	How do I feel speaking with native and non-native speakers?	
<p>Using language as a means to express your identity</p> <p>Using non-verbal codes to express identity</p>	How is my language reflecting my personality and my background?	
<p>Worrying about academic progress</p> <p>Worrying about linguistic problems</p> <p>Experiencing difficulties with lacking language knowledge</p> <p>Experiencing gap between taught and real English</p> <p>Attending seminars and workshops</p> <p>Experiencing difficulties</p>	What problems do I experience on SA?	Problems experienced while studying and residing abroad

<p>with cultural adaptation</p> <p>Not understanding locals because of the accent</p> <p>Experiencing difficulties with lacking cultural knowledge</p>		
<p>Transferring English communication features to Russian</p> <p>Transferring Russian communication style features to English</p> <p>Expecting L1 attrition</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p> <p>Experiencing L1 attrition</p>	<p>How are my languages influencing each other?</p>	<p>Relationship between my English and my Russian</p>
<p>Feelings on how Russian is treated abroad</p> <p>Valuing Russian</p> <p>Using Russian abroad</p>	<p>How do I value my Russian in the UK?</p>	<p>Ideologies surrounding different languages (attitudes and values)</p>
<p>Using English in Russia for work and study</p> <p>Using English in Russia in order to get ready for SA</p>	<p>How and when was I using English in Russia?</p>	
<p>Using English in Russia to win prestige</p> <p>Experiencing “value” gap between English use in Russia and UK</p> <p>Being afraid of speaking</p>	<p>How is the value of my English changing as I am moving across time and space?</p>	

English in the UK		
<p>Facing different varieties of English</p> <p>Wanting to get rid of the Russian accent</p> <p>Assessing different accents</p>	<p>What is my attitude towards different accents?</p>	<p>Accent</p>
<p>Positioning when talking to native speakers</p> <p>Positioning when talking to non-native speakers</p> <p>Positioning when talking to people who know English less</p>	<p>How do I position myself and get positioned by others in the communication?</p>	<p>Positioning in communication – me vs. others</p>
<p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to cultural belonging and habits</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to the nationhood and politics</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to language</p> <p>Experiencing unequal treatment as repercussion of stereotyping</p> <p>Experiencing communicative problems as connected to stereotyping</p>	<p>What kind of stereotyping I experience abroad and how do I deal with it?</p>	<p>Stereotyping</p>

Dealing with stereotyping		
Getting rid of stereotypical thinking of others	How do I stereotype others?	
<p>Seeing ideal English as distilled and pure</p> <p>Considering ideal English as the variety spoken by the Queen</p> <p>Considering ideal English as RP English</p> <p>Considering understandability as a central feature of ideal English</p> <p>Considering the absence of mistakes as a central feature of ideal English</p> <p>Seeing ideal English as the variety spoken by Scandinavians</p>	What is my understanding of ideal English?	Ideal English
Shifting attitudes towards perfect English before and during SA	How does my understanding of ideal English differ from what it was before SA?	
Discussing communicative	Have I noticed any peculiarities of	Peculiarities of

<p>peculiarities in the UK</p> <p>Experiencing gap between taught and real English</p> <p>Experiencing different types of politeness</p>	<p>communication process while talking to people in the UK?</p>	<p>communication process</p>
<p>Discussing negative encounters of communicating in the UK</p>	<p>Have I experienced any particularly negative experiences of communicating with people in the UK?</p>	
<p>Discussing positive encounters of communicating in the UK</p>	<p>Have I experienced any particularly positive experiences of communicating with people in the UK?</p>	

3rd round of interviewing

Codes	Categories	Themes
<p>Feelings on speaking English in different countries</p> <p>Feelings on speaking Russian in different countries</p>	<p>How do I feel speaking different languages in different contexts?</p>	<p>Language and identity</p>
<p>Experiencing two Is</p> <p>Identity affecting languages not vice versa</p> <p>Not being able to discuss some particular themes in different languages</p> <p>Changing</p>	<p>What is correlation between language and identity?</p>	

communication style when speaking different languages		
Seeing ideal English as distilled and pure Considering understandability as a central feature of ideal English	What is my understanding of ideal English?	Ideal English
Positioning when talking to native speakers Positioning when talking to non-native speakers Positioning when talking to people who know English less Positioning when talking to other Russians	How do I position myself and get positioned by others in the communication?	Positioning in communication – me vs. others
Transferring English communication style features to Russian Transferring Russian communication style features to English Expecting L1 attrition Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition Experiencing L1 attrition Dealing with L1 attrition	How are my languages influencing each other?	Relationship between my English and my Russian
Taking on different accents Wanting to get rid of the Russian accent Elaborating the reasons	What is my attitude towards my accent?	Accent

for the desire to get rid of an accent		
<p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to cultural belonging and habits</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to the nationhood and politics</p> <p>Experiencing stereotyping connected to language</p> <p>Experiencing unequal treatment as repercussion of stereotyping</p> <p>Experiencing communicative problems as connected to stereotyping</p> <p>Dealing with stereotyping</p>	What kind of stereotyping I experience abroad and how do I deal with it?	Stereotyping
<p>Experiencing different types of politeness</p> <p>Facing different cultures</p> <p>Defining Russianness</p>	How do I define different cultures?	Cultural differences and cultural adaptation
<p>Being influenced by surrounding culture</p> <p>Resisting the cultural influence</p> <p>Culture affecting communication</p>	How does culture affect me?	

Experiencing cultural clashes Dealing with cultural clashes	How do I overcome problems with cultural differences and adapt to them?	
Discussing positions English occupies in Russia Discussing the reasons and repercussions of English positions in Russia	How is English positioned in Russia?	Positions of English in Russia
English as opening better work opportunities English as opening opportunities to immigrate and travel English as opening opportunities to develop intellectually English as opening better life opportunities English as eliminating information and ideological barriers	What opportunities does English offer?	Opportunities that English offers
Using Russian abroad Feelings on how Russian is treated abroad	What opportunities does Russian offer?	Opportunities that Russian offers
Studying in Russia Discussing the pros and cons of studying in Russia	How do I feel about studying in Russia?	Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses
Discussing the pros and	How do I feel about SA	

cons of studying abroad	so far?	
Friending and networking with locals	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with locals?	Friendships and networking while abroad
Friending and networking with internationals	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with internationals?	
Friending and networking with other Russians Small-culturing	What are the peculiarities of building friendship and networking with other Russians?	
Politicizing SA in Russia Commercializing SA in Russia Commodifying sojourners' life trajectories	How does government support SA in Russia?	
Politicizing SA in the UK Commercializing SA in the UK	How does government support SA in the UK?	Governments and SA

4th round of interviewing

Codes	Categories	Themes
Going home for Christmas Staying in the UK for Christmas		Trip home/UK stay for Christmas
Discussing positions English occupies in	How is English positioned in Russia?	Positions of English in Russia

<p>Russia</p> <p>Discussing the reasons and repercussions of English positions in Russia</p>		
<p>English as opening better work opportunities</p> <p>English as opening opportunities to immigrate and travel</p> <p>English as opening opportunities to develop intellectually</p> <p>English as opening better life opportunities</p> <p>English as eliminating information and ideological barriers</p>	<p>What opportunities does English offer?</p>	<p>Opportunities that English offers</p>
<p>Using Russian abroad</p> <p>Feelings on how Russian is treated abroad</p>	<p>What opportunities does Russian offer?</p>	<p>Opportunities that Russian offers</p>
<p>Wanting to get rid of the Russian accent</p> <p>Elaborating the reasons for the desire to get rid of an accent</p> <p>People stereotyping Russian accent</p>	<p>What is the attitude towards my accent?</p>	<p>Accent</p>
<p>Discussing family members' expectations before SA</p> <p>Discussing friends'</p>	<p>What did my friends and family expect me to gain whilst on SA?</p>	<p>Family's and friends' expectations</p>

expectations before SA		
Discussing family members' perceptions during SA Discussing friends' perceptions during SA	How are their expectations different with the real me they see?	
Experiencing inequalities whilst on SA Seeing inequalities whilst on SA	What inequalities do I see and experience whilst on SA?	Inequalities
Dealing with inequalities	What strategies do I use to deal with inequalities?	
Becoming more culturally aware Experiencing identity shock Experiencing cultural confusion Becoming more linguistically aware Experiencing overall identity expansion	What personality changes have I gone through during SA?	Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey
Experiencing overall identity expansion Experiencing linguistic improvements Expecting career opportunities improvements	Why do I study abroad?	Benefits of SA

Expecting linguistic improvements Expecting intellectual improvements		
Discussing communicative peculiarities in the UK Experiencing gap between taught and real English	What are the peculiarities of communicating abroad with different people?	Peculiarities of communication process
Being influenced by surrounding culture Resisting the cultural influence Culture affecting communication	How does culture affect me?	Cultural differences, adaptations and affiliations
Experiencing cultural clashes Dealing with cultural clashes	How do I overcome problems with cultural differences and adapt to them?	
Culture influencing friendship circles Small-culturing	How does culture define my friendship circle?	
Studying in Russia Discussing the pros and cons of studying in Russia	How do I feel about studying in Russia?	Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses
Discussing the pros and cons of studying abroad	How do I feel about SA so far?	

5th round of interviewing

Codes	Categories	Themes
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<p>Discussing family members' expectations before SA</p> <p>Discussing friends' expectations before SA?</p>	<p>What did my friends and family expect me to gain whilst on SA</p>	<p>Family's and friends' expectations</p>
<p>Discussing family members' perceptions during SA</p> <p>Discussing friends' perceptions during SA</p>	<p>How are their expectations different with the real me they see?</p>	
<p>Experiencing overall identity expansion</p> <p>Experiencing linguistic improvements</p> <p>Expecting career opportunities improvements</p> <p>Expecting linguistic improvements</p> <p>Expecting intellectual improvements</p>	<p>Why do I study abroad?</p>	<p>Benefits of SA</p>
<p>Being influenced by surrounding culture</p> <p>Resisting the cultural influence</p> <p>Culture affecting communication</p>	<p>How does culture affect me?</p>	<p>Cultural differences, adaptations and affiliations</p>
<p>Experiencing cultural clashes</p> <p>Dealing with cultural clashes</p>	<p>How do I overcome problems with cultural differences and adapt to them?</p>	
<p>Culture influencing friendship circles</p>	<p>How does culture define my friendship</p>	

Small-culturing Not fitting into past friendship circles Small-culturing	circle?	
Communicating in the classroom	What are peculiarities of communication in classroom?	Peculiarities of communication process in the classroom
Communicating outside of classroom	What are peculiarities of communication outside classroom?	Peculiarities of communication process outside of the classroom
Languages interference impacting communication	How does languages influencing each other impact the communication process?	Peculiarities of communication process related to different languages influencing each other
Being influenced by surrounding culture Culture impacting communication	How does culture influence communication process?	Peculiarities of communication process related to cultural differences and cultural clashes
My language ideologies impacting communication	How does the ideological discourse surrounding different languages influence communication process?	Peculiarities of communication process related to my past and present linguistic ideologies
Wider discourse language ideologies impacting communication	How does my attitudes to different languages influence communication process?	

Experiencing inequalities whilst on SA Seeing inequalities whilst on SA	What inequalities do I see and experience whilst on SA?	Inequalities
Dealing with communication problems	What strategies do I use to cope with communication problems?	Strategies to cope with problematic situations in communication process (excluding inequalities)
Dealing with inequalities	What strategies do I use to deal with inequalities?	Strategies to cope with problematic situations related to inequalities
Becoming more culturally aware Becoming more linguistically aware Experiencing cultural confusion Experiencing overall identity expansion Meta-reflecting on voice/identity	What personality changes have I gone through during SA?	Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey
Commodifying sojourners' life trajectories	How does government support SA in Russia?	Governments and SA
Commercializing SA in the UK Objectifying sojourners Demonizing Russians	How does government support SA in the UK?	

Codes	Categories	Themes
Becoming more culturally aware Becoming more linguistically aware Experiencing cultural confusion Experiencing overall identity expansion Meta-reflecting on voice/identity	What personality changes have I gone through during SA?	Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey
Shifting language ideologies Shifting attitudes to different cultures	How has my ideological framework changed during SA?	
Discussing relationships with friends Discussing relationships with family	How did my relationships with friends and family change during SA?	
Communicating in the classroom	What are peculiarities of communication in classroom?	Peculiarities of communication process in the classroom
Communicating outside of classroom	What are peculiarities of communication outside classroom?	Peculiarities of communication process outside of the classroom
Languages interference impacting communication	How does languages influencing each other impact the communication process?	Peculiarities of communication process related to different languages influencing each other
My language ideologies impacting	How does my attitudes to different languages	Peculiarities of communication process

communication	influence communication process?	related to my past and present linguistic ideologies
Wider discourse language ideologies impacting communication	How does the ideological discourse surrounding different languages influence communication process?	
Culture impacting communication	How does culture influence communication process?	Peculiarities of communication process related to cultural differences and cultural clashes
Dealing with communication problems	What strategies do I use to cope with communication problems?	Strategies to cope with problematic situations in communication process (excluding inequalities)
Dealing with inequalities	What strategies do I use to deal with inequalities?	Strategies to cope with problematic situations related to inequalities
Experiencing unequal treatment of voice Meta-reflecting as a way to spot unequal treatment	Is my voice being treated unequally?	Voice and inequalities
Silencing voice in Russia Silencing voice in the UK	When and how do I have to silence my voice?	
Looking for ways to solve the silencing	How do I deal with it?	

issue		
Studying in Russia Discussing the pros and cons of studying in Russia	How do I feel about studying in Russia?	Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses
Discussing the pros and cons of studying abroad	How do I feel about SA so far?	
Discussing the advantages of studying in the UK	What are the benefits of studying in the UK?	Benefits of studying in the UK
Defining Russianness Highlighting differences between R in Russia and R abroad Small-culturing	How are Russians abroad different from Russians in Russia?	Russians abroad: who are we?

7th round of interviewing

Codes	Categories	Themes
Experiencing unequal treatment of voice Meta-reflecting as a way to spot unequal treatment	Is my voice being treated unequally?	Voice and inequalities
Silencing voice in Russia Silencing voice in the UK Experiencing Russian silencing ideologies while in the UK	When and how do I have to silence my voice?	
(Not)looking for ways to solve the silencing issue	How do I deal with it?	

Studying in Russia Discussing the pros and cons of studying in Russia	How do I feel about studying in Russia?	Education in Russia and abroad: similarities and differences, pluses and minuses
Studying in the UK Discussing the pros and cons of studying abroad	How do I feel about SA so far?	
Discussing the advantages of studying in the UK	What are the benefits of studying in the UK?	Benefits of studying in the UK
Defining Russianness Highlighting differences between R in Russia and R abroad Small-culturing	How are Russians abroad different from Russians in Russia?	Russians abroad: who are we?
Becoming more flexible and adaptable Becoming more culturally aware Becoming more linguistically aware Experiencing cultural confusion Experiencing overall identity expansion Meta-reflecting on voice/identity	What personality changes have I gone through during SA?	Changes I underwent throughout my SA journey, incl. the current research (concluding remarks)
Shifting language ideologies Shifting attitudes to different cultures	How has my ideological framework changed during SA?	
Discussing friends' expectations and	How did my relationships with	

<p>perception of SA</p> <p>Small-culturing</p> <p>Not fitting into past friendship circles</p>	<p>friends and family change during SA?</p>	
<p>Shifting motivation to learn English</p> <p>Reminiscing on motivation in the past</p>	<p>How has my motivation to learn and use English changed over SA?</p>	
<p>Discussing changes initiated by the study</p>	<p>How has the research changed me?</p>	
<p>Becoming more flexible and adaptable</p> <p>Becoming more culturally aware</p> <p>SA affecting future me</p>	<p>How will my experience of SA help me in adapting to new realities in the future?</p>	<p>Cultural differences and cultural adaptation (in a long term perspective)</p>
<p>Planning the future after SA</p> <p>Lacking the sense of home</p> <p>Feeling (un)comfortable with L1 attrition</p> <p>Not fitting into past friendship circles</p>	<p>What do I expect upon SA completion?</p>	<p>Future plans: anticipating re-entry shock</p>
<p>Wanting to stay abroad</p>	<p>What do I want to do after SA?</p>	
<p>Anticipating re-entry shock</p> <p>Discussing the strategies to deal with re-entry shock</p>	<p>How am I going to cope with re-entry shock?</p>	

Appendix (7): Small stories original transcripts

5.1 Margo/Timur, 1st interview

- 1 *Timur* *u:: язык меняет еще тебя самого /making a hand gesture, turning his head towards his shoulder/*
- 2 *Margo* *да: язык меняет тебя самого /mirroring interlocutor's non-verbal behaviour/ (.) (0,3) как как два лица получается (0,3) две личности (0,2) одна Марго которая говорит на английском это ОДИН ЧЕЛОВЕК (.) (1) и который говорит НА РУССКОМ (0,2) это другой человек*
- 3 *Timur* *необязательно только ↑Марго (0,2) Тимур тоже /mirroring interlocutor's non-verbal behaviour/*
- 4 *Margo* *во::т (laughter)*
- 5 *Alena* *(laughter)*
- 6 *Timur* *Тимур гораздо (0,5) который англичанин (0,1) Тимур ему вследствие того что это его неродной ↑язык (0,4) ему сложнее выразить свои чувства эмоции сложнее там °не знаю° шутки какие нибудь шутить (0,1) ОН ГОРАЗДО НИЖЕ В РАЗВИТИИ чем вот Тимур который русский (.) во::т я (0,2) °я бы так сказал° (0,1) он вроде такой ↑же но из за того что он себя плохо выражает иногда он второму Тимур кажется слегка не так*
- 7 *Margo* *у них конфликт кажется*

- 8 Timur у них конфликт кажется (0,1) да
- 9 Margo у нас конфликт (0,2) ВОТ ОСОБЕННО КОГДА КОГО
НИБУДЬ СЛУШАЕШЬ (0,3) И ДЕСЯТЬ РАЗ
ПЕРЕСПРАШИВАЕШЬ СОРИ (laughter)
- 10 Timur как как можно считать этого человека УМНЫМ
- 11 Margo образованным
- 12 Timur интеллигентным
- 13 Margo в этом что то есть на самом деле
- 14 Timur (laughter)
- 15 Margo мне кажется (0,3) что Margo from Russia ((Russian accent))
она СЕРЬЕЗНЕЕ что ли (0,2) на самом деле (0,2) как то
английский меня расслабляет °что ли° (.) (1) мне (0,1) мне
проще вот допустим где-нить зарубежом ↑подойти (0,3) к
каким-то незнакомым людям (0,3) там и заговорить там с
ними подружиться затусить (0,4) чем и я себе слабо
представляю подходишь в клубе к русским где-нить в
Москве и °начинаешь с ними беседовать беседы и так
далее° (0,7) это вообще ну вряд ли (laughter) и а зарубежом
мне легко все дается по=
- 16 Timur = потому что сама вот международная обстановка она=
- 17 Margo да
- 18 Timur = подразумевает знакомства (0,1) общение=
- 19 Margo =свободное=

20 Timur да

21 Margo = а дома вот ты более скованный

22 Timur да

23 Margo да

5.2 Alisa/Yana, 1st interview

- 1 Alisa я считаю это очень важно изучать родной язык (0,1) я помню (.) не знаю как насчет вас ((addressing this to Yana)) но (0,2) у ↑нас (0,1) был [такой предмет в ↑школе=
- 2 Yana [ДА ДА У НАС ТОЖЕ как говорят в русском языке родная речь (0,2) не помню как у нас ещё учебник назывался (0,3) английский язык ↓аналитический там есть определенная структура как ты должен говорить (0,5) то есть они просто привыкают к этому с рождения (0,3) и поэтому они учат только литературу (0,2) русский же язык строится по другому так как мы можем строить предложение абсолютно разными ↑конструкциями постоянно менять их (.) то есть получается наш язык включает ОБЕ ЭТИХ СОСТАВЛЯЮЩИХ (0,2) и именно поэтому мне кажется что необходимо учить такие предметы как родная речь (.) (1) ТО ЕСТЬ ИМЕННО ДЛЯ ТОГО ЧТОБЫ ИСПОЛЬЗОВАТЬ ЯЗЫК НЕ КАК ИНСТРУМЕНТ (.) чтобы не говорить механически (0,2) а чтобы именно понимать что это

средство с помощью которого ты можешь передать себя

- 3 Alisa ну:: (0,1) на самом деле я все же думаю что в английском тоже есть много таких нюансов но просто мы о них не знаем потому что для нас ° это все-таки иностранный язык ° [И:: =
- 4 Yana [Я БЫ ПОСПОРИЛА [С ЭТИМ
- 5 Alisa [НУ Я ВСЕ-ТАКИ [СЧИТАЮ ЧТО=
- 6 Yana [в ↑английском языке именно вот эти нюансы (0,2) которые мы не учитываем (0,1) они относятся именно к литературному языку и (0,1) то есть их как правило в обычной речи не ↓используют (0,5) а в русском языке слишком много того что люди используют в обычной речи и это является основой языка (1) то есть это уже не литературный язык все-таки русский язык включает обе эти составляющие в себя (0,3) так как он не является ↑аналитическим
- 7 Alisa а какой точно вопрос был ↑точно
- 8 Alena мы обсуждаем отношение к русскому (0,1) и английскому языку как к родному в России и в Англии /making a hand gesture/
- 9 Alisa как к родному в России и ↓Англии /mirroring a hand gesture/
- 10 Yana в России и ↓Англии
- 11 Alisa отношение к русскому (0,1) и английскому как к родному в

*России и Англии (1) я все-таки считаю что ↑английский
очень яркий и образный язык (.) ДАЖЕ СЛЕНГ (0,1) а иногда
даже ТЕМ БОЛЕЕ (0,2) сленг (1) /turning her body to Yana/*

- 12 Yana /turning her body towards Alisa/
13 Alisa Мы просто не знаем ВСЕ структуры чтобы играть с ним
так же как с русским
14 Yana мы не знаем все структуры (0,3) я хочу подтянуть сленг
(0,3) но все такие русский (0,1) он другой и более сложный
по структуре
15 Alisa все-таки английский так же и более живой /smiling/
16 Yana /smiling/

5.3 Margo/Timur, 4th interview

- 1 Margo в России (0,1) ты пишешь с ctrl с ctrl v ↑википедия
2 Timur ДА ДА ДА
3 Margo ↑все (0,2) не уазывая источник (0,3) то есть (0,1) [нашел
какую то ШНЯГУ в интернете запулил ее=
4 Timur =ctrl с ctrl v
5 Margo ctrl с ctrl v все 15 минут
6 Timur да (0,6) или ↑вообще (0,1) сдал чужую работу (0,1) может
никто ничего не заметить

- 7 Margo да (2) да то есть качество образования здесь ГОРАЗДО ВЫШЕ (0,4) то (0,1) КАК преподносится материал (1) то есть в России ты ТУПО ЗАПИСАЛ (0,3) теорию переписал с доски (0,3) здесь ты ↑ничего не пишешь (0,2) но тебе очень много всего рассказывают (0,3) и рассказывают примеры других ↑стран (1) российские преподаватели этого (0,1) ну они просто не знают (0,2) то есть у них ↓ТЕОРИЯ (0,6) что это вот ТАК (0,2) а то есть посмотреть под другим углом им ↑СЛАБО
- 8 Timur у нас (0,2) препод ((student slang)) по военной медицине много рассказывал примеров из других стран=
- 9 Margo ну значит=
- 10 Timur =они много летали (0,2) по всяким стихийным бедствием
- 11 Margo =значит он ↓клевый был (1) у меня таких не было
- 12 Timur (laughter) показывает фотки там с Таиланда (0,2) °когда там было цунами°=
- 13 Margo прикольно
- 14 Timur =они там такие на грузовике ↑едут (0,5) к ним жираф в окно заглядывает (0,4) °слоны какие-нибудь (0,1) тигры бегают там по ↑улицам°
- 15 Margo не ну это прикольно (0,3) значит был экспириенс (0,4) а у нас вот дальше экономики города ↑хабаровска (0,5) °и

строительных компаний города хабаровска° (0,3) они
ничего не ↑видели

- 16 Timur но ДА ты права (0,6) здесь в целом качество образования
 ВЫШЕ (0,3) как то оценивают вот объективно людей (1)
 у нас человеку поставят тройку за то ↑(0,1) что он
 пришел на ↓экзамен=
- 17 Margo мэм ((marker of agreement))
- 18 Timur =или что то там попытался ↓сделать
- 19 Margo да да
- 20 Timur за то что (0,4) РЕФЕРАТ СКОПИРОВАЛ с интернета=
- 21 Margo = или просто там скомпоновал=
- 22 Timur =и отправил
- 23 Margo типа вариант (0,3) У МЕНЯ СЕГОДНЯ ХЕРОВОЕ
 НАСТРОЕНИЕ ПОЭТОМУ ВЫ ВСЕ ПОЛУЧИТЕ НА БАЛЛ
 НИЖЕ (0,2) тоже здесь такого не будет
- 24 Timur здесь так (0,2) как то объективно оцениваются
- 25 Margo да (0,2) реально объективно
- 26 Alena Мэм
- 27 Timur вот
- 28 Margo или там (0,1) ТЫ МНЕ НРАВИШЬСЯ (0,3) поэтому я
 ((изображает препода)) поэтому ты придешь на экзамен

а тебе автомат =

- 29 Timur =ТУПО ПОТОМУ ЧТО ТЫ МНЕ НРАВИШЬСЯ
- 30 Margo здесь тоже такого не ↓будет (1) все на экзамен и все по правилам
- 31 Timur что еще (0,1) ну: (0,1) то что оснащение да здесь ЛУЧШЕ (0,3) я прям удивился (0,2) что можешь прийти ВЕЗДЕ ГДЕ ХОЧЕШЬ РАСПЕЧАТАТЬ ЧТО ТЕБЕ НАДО
- 32 Margo люди в лабораториях то что зависают (0,1) это реально то есть=
- 33 Timur Да
- 34 Margo =могут заниматься наукой (0,2) вот кто особенно в естественных науках там химии
- 35 Timur в химическом корпусе там идешь (0,1) столько всякого оборудования хитрого я не знаю там стоит
- 36 Margo у нас тоже да (0,1) строительная лаборатория в civil engineering ((English word)) есть
- 37 Timur да (0,2) причем (0,1) ну (0,1) видно что люди спокойно могут этим пользоваться (0,2) если им нужно [то есть они
- 38 Margo [то есть ты РЕАЛЬНО можешь в своем деле НЕОГРАНИЧЕННО в

принципе развиваться

- 39 *Timur* *да у нас такого нет такого оснащения*
- 40 *Margo* *Да*
- 41 *Timur* *у меня друг работает в этом (0,2) в институте химическом (0,3) там там нет для них ничего (1) ° финансирование слабое ° (1) ЛЮДИ ХОРОШИЕ (0,2) но финансирование слабое*
- 42 *Margo* *да (2) плюс дисциплина (0,3) как Ирина говорит (0,1) я (0,1) говорит (0,1) не думала (0,1) что мне за сколько там за 5 минут сразу 5 баллов снимут ↓(0,2) я говорю А КАК ТЫ ДУМАЛА↑ (0,3) то есть для нее это было открытие например (0,3) что ей пять баллов сняли за то ↑ (0,2) что она там что то ПЯТЬ ИЛИ ДЕСЯТЬ минут (0,2) она про минус пять баллов (1) а там да↑ (0,2) ты мог тянуть резину и говорить да я завтра принесу да я завтра принесу ((imitating a Russian student speaking)) ну:: пожа::луйста я завтра принесу ((imitating querulous tone of voice)) (0,3) и ЭТО РАБОТАЛО (1) здесь как бы нет потому что все на равных условиях*
- 43 *Timur* *мне больше все равно нравится здесь (0,1) что (0,3) по сравнению со школой (0,1) университет в россии был свободным местом↓ ты хочешь (0,1) °ходи не ходи° (0,1) то есть тебя никто не заставляет (0,4) просто если ты*

не будешь ходить там (0,1) отрабатывать занятия
 ↑(0,2) ты все не сдашь и тебя отчислят ↓ (1) ЗДЕСЬ ЕЩЕ
 БОЛЬШЕ СВОБОДНО (0,1) чем у нас чем в российском
 университете (1) ты можешь ЕЩЕ МЕНЬШЕ можешь
 ходить=

44 Margo Да

45 Timur =можешь вообще еще (0,2) ЧЕМ УГОДНО МОЖЕШЬ
 ↑ЗАНИМАТЬСЯ =

46 Margo на самом деле да

47 Timur = НО ТО ЧТО ОТ ТЕБЯ ↑ТРЕБУЮТ (0,3) ТЫ ОБЯЗАН (0,1)
 ДОЛЖЕН ЭТО ЗНАТЬ СДАТЬ ВЫУЧИТЬ

48 Margo ДА

49 Timur и ↓отчитаться (0,3) ну вот то есть

50 Margo и РЕАЛЬНО ЗНАТЬ (0,3) а не как то там

51 Timur ДА и РЕАЛЬНО ЗНАТЬ на самом деле

52 Margo Да

53 Timur то есть (0,1) тут еще больше как бы развиваются
 человеческие качества

54 Margo тайм менеджмент и так далее

55 Timur да::

- 56 *Margo* *и все остальное*
- 57 *Alena* *мем мем понятно то есть здесь*
- 58 *Margo* *И: СОЗНАТЕЛЬНОЕ ОТНОШЕНИЕ (0,2) ко всему что происходит*

5.4 Kristina/Irina, 7th interview

- 1 *Kristina* *да: образование за границей (1) это прикольно (0,2) получаешь тут новый опыт (0,3) которого у тебя не было*
↓раньше /looking at Irina/
- 2 *Irina* *в России когда учился (0,2) а тут всякие ↑assignments ((English word)) /looking at Kristina/*
- 3 *Kristina* *↑tutorials ((English word))*
- 4 *Irina* *group ↑projects ((English word)) (laughter)*
- 5 *Kristina* *↑workshops ((English word)) (laughter) ну: (1) по большому счету (0,3) ну:: (0,3) потому что у меня это не конкретно мне нужно какое образование здесь (0,2) но просто (.) я подумала*
- 6 *Irina* *я подумала ПРИКОЛЬНО*
- 7 *Kristina* *для опыта (0,1) да ↑для (0,3) я не знаю (0,3) ну ты сама же вот (0,3) ты понимаешь (1) как бы (0,3) не могу найти (0,4)*
- 8 *Alena* *для общего развития*
- 9 *Kristina* *для общего развития (0,2) да*

- 10 *Irina* на ↑работе /looking at the researcher/
- 11 *Alena* и в плане профессии в том ↓числе=
- 12 *Irina* потому что знаешь (.) (0,3) когда хочешь работать в компании (0,1) где это надо будет (1) и потому что я хочу далее работать за границей (1) но (0,2) а так прикольно
- 13 *Kristina* даже интервью вон берут (0,1) и мы не работаем (0,1) мы учимся (0,5) теперь я поняла (0,1) почему Тимур сказал отпуск=
- 14 *Alena* =достаточно долгий=
- 15 *Irina* =который уже затянулся=
- 16 *Alena* =то есть (0,1) уже начинает надоедать=
- 17 *Irina* =что я уже хочу работать=
- 18 *Kristina* =но все равно прикольно= (laughter)
- 19 *Irina* =и можно еще потусить (0,2) °еще немного°
- 20 *Kristina* наливай еще (laughter)
- 21 *Alena* но работать уже хочется ↓по-нормальному
- 22 *Irina* да и в идеале здесь (0,5) в идеале (0,1) я бы закончила здесь degree ((English)) (0,5) и я осталась бы здесь работать (0,1) да (0,1) ДА это было бы /showing thumb up/
- 23 *Kristina* degree ((English word)) (0,2) это (0,1) конечно прикольно (0,1) да (0,1) я закончил university ((English word)) (0,1) в Англии /snapping the fingers/ это же круто

- 24 *Irina* из top 100 rating universities ((English word)) мира
- 25 *Kristina* да и друзья (0,3) я думаю они мной гордятся (0,3) что у них есть подруга которая выиграла грант (0,1) уехала за границу (0,2) у меня моя знакомая одна моего друга (0,6) рассказывает что к ней пришел какой то ее друг (0,1) который знает моих друзей (laughter) =
- 26 *Irina* = (laughter) и начинает рассказывать про тебя (0,3) было то же самое
- 27 *Kristina* и начинает рассказывать (0,5) что вот у его друзей есть какая-то ПОДРУГА которая получила грант (0,9) и учится за границей (0,1) и она такая (0,1) BOT (Russian discourse marker – connecting the parts of the story) (0,2) у нас тоже есть подруга (0,2) она получила грант и уехала за границу (laughter) =
- 28 *Irina* =(laughter) да и еще там подробности (0,3) BOT (Russian discourse marker – connecting the story) В АНГЛИИ УЧИТСЯ =
- 29 *Kristina* =АГА В ЛИДСЕ (0,1) и показывает фотки там вконтакте каком-нибудь ((Russian social network platform)) или инстаграме (laughter)=
- 30 *Irina* =и тут понимают=
- 31 *Kristina* =что об одном человеке говорят (laughter)
- 32 *Irina* (laughter) как помнишь (0.5) ты рассказывала когда Тимура искала /looking at the researcher/ ((addressing the turn to the

researcher))

- 33 *Kristina* да точно у Ишана еще спросила
- 34 *Alena* да (0,3) было дело (0,4) ты знаешь русских (0,5) да знаю=
- 35 *Irina* =познакомь меня=
- 36 *Kristina* =его Тумур зовут (laughter)
- 37 *Irina* (laughter)
- 38 *Alena* (laughter)
- 39 *Irina* да и в принципе (0,3) друзья перед отъездом (0,2 как бы двое (0,1) они блин очень круто МОЛОДЕЦ наконец то ты:: (0,3) это получила и так далее (0,3) вот потому что двое друзей у меня есть (0,2) которые они в принципе со мной на одной волне (0,5) по этой части но видать действий у них по минимуму
- 40 *Kristina* да тоже есть такое они вроде говорят (0,2) да круто хотим как ты но вот расшевелиться (1) это вот им не хватает конечно
- 41 *Irina* да (0,3) и ты такой (0,3) бли::н
- 42 *Kristina* ага не думаешь
- 43 *Irina* они сами на это не пойдут (0,9) ну как бы они теоретически хотели бы чтобы у них было так
- 44 *Kristina* еще такие бли::н это так кру::мо ((imitating another person speaking))

45 *Irina* *тебе ма::к повезло ((imitating another person speaking))*

46 *Alena* *ну (0,4) так НАЧНИ возьми и сделай*

47 *Irina* *[ДА*

48 *Kristina* *[ДА*