

TOWARDS A MULTILINGUAL FUTURE:
THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AT A UNIVERSITY IN EASTERN UKRAINE

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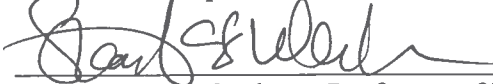
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In memory of Eli and Miriam Freeman,
whose journey from Russia to America made
this dissertation possible and worthwhile.

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ABSTRACT

TOWARDS A MULTILINGUAL FUTURE:
THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AT A UNIVERSITY IN EASTERN UKRAINE

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In Ukraine, the Russian and Ukrainian languages have historically alternated in policy and practice in their official status and social prestige. As in many areas of the world, English is emerging in Ukraine as a language of economic value, social prestige, and education though it is not a language of wider communication. The goal of the research was to explore the ecology of language at a university which is implementing English as a medium of instruction in all subjects for multiple groups of students in Dnipropetrovsk, Ukraine. Ethnographic fieldwork was conducted over the 2010-2011 academic year to answer the following questions: 1) What are the discourses about English language instruction at the university? 2) What is the day-to-day reality of English language instruction at the university? 3) How are English and English-language classroom practices situated in or reflective of the larger language ecology of the university? and 4) How is English language education practically and discursively connected with: Ukrainian language policy, international education policy, and goals of economic development or integration, especially integration with the European Union? Data were interpreted through the lenses of ethnography of communication, discourse analysis, and Conversation Analysis (CA).

It was found that English is a source of prestige and achievement for the university, and is an attempt to recruit students by offering a “European” level of education. Using English as a medium of instruction poses the challenge of finding teachers and textbooks and requires adjustments to classroom management, but also affords opportunities to learn academic content and language. Russian is the predominant native language used to support learning in EFL and English-medium classes. Ukrainian appears to be most prevalent in the written domains of use regardless of the medium of instruction, and in formal spoken situations. Russian was a predominant spoken language. English occupies spaces that Russian or Ukrainian do not, but is not seen as a threat to Russian or Ukrainian because it is a foreign language. Additional languages are used in and out of class in more limited ways, but are seen as equally important as English, Russian and Ukrainian for securing an economic future.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

When I entered university, my parents, it was in 1967. Imagine, Dnipropetrovs'k, closed city, "foreign languages, what for"? Really. And I, but I was so much interested, in fairy tales and everything, and I wanted just to read the books in original language, it was really very interesting for me...

*But this profession saved my son. Because in 1990, the greatest crisis you can only imagine. Do you know what was my uh, salary at that period of time. Can you guess? 7 dollars per month. PER MONTH. Bridget, 7. Then, 10 dollars per month because I was registered for **higher philological degree**. And, what had I to do to survive? I just started translating, interpreting, no practice at all, but, nobody KNEW English language, even for me it was possible to earn money! For one session of translation, I received 20 DOLLARS! So great, great money! I could support my family, I could support my parents, I was **dressed** and so on and so forth...*

You see, and my profession saved me. It was God, He saved me, because all my friends just who graduated from um, technical specialties, they had nothing to eat, nothing to put on, it was the beginning of our independence. Independence, ((hh, high voice)) surprise, surprise, surprise....

It's not bad. It's life, it's life. (Lena Ananyeva, original English from audio file, December 23, 2010)

Lena Ananyeva¹, an English teacher at Alfred Nobel University in Dnipropetrovs'k, Ukraine, regaled these life experiences to me and a British colleague, Bradley, while treating us to an afternoon break of tea and Belgian seashell-shaped chocolates at her desk in her department's teachers' room. Her narrative is likely a reaction to Bradley's earlier comments on how women in Ukraine are being affected by the most recent economic crisis. She later laughs off the current crisis as merely

¹ This and other names that appear in this dissertation are pseudonyms. See Chapter 4 for further explanation of pseudonym and naming conventions.

signifying one cannot afford to buy imported clothes from stores such as Next or Marks and Spencer.

As an American in my late teens when communism ended in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, I remember the events of 1989-1991 as joyous ones in which people were liberated from a totalitarian system. Listening to Lena and others talk about the early days of Ukrainian independence in and out of class, my perception shifted; I came to understand it was a time when the entire economy and its associated way of life collapsed and had to be rebuilt from nothing. Yet it is impossible to regard Lena (or her contemporaries) as objects of pity because of the dramatic but non-despairing tone in which she describes the challenges of that time. Her conclusion: “it’s life”, suggests matter-of-fact acceptance of the cards that Life (or God) has dealt her.

As a sociolinguist trying to understand the spread of English as a global language and its impact on education in Ukraine, I was struck by Lena’s revelation that in Soviet times, choosing English as a university major made her an object of ridicule. After Ukraine became an independent country, however, knowing English brought Lena tangible economic power and material benefits, despite her “limited” experience or qualifications. She framed English as more than a route to survival and prosperity; it was for her a financial savior. Could current students and teachers at Alfred Nobel University hold similar high hopes for the role that English will play in their future?

Situating Lena Ananyeva in the Wider Educational and Linguistic Ecology

It is perhaps not coincidental that someone with such a strong belief in the economic power of English is teaching at a university whose rector [university president]

is promoting English language education. Multiple administrators, brochures, and online sources are promoting opportunities to study academic subjects at Alfred Nobel University in English—including a joint degree program in International Economics/International Management with the University of Wales established in 2010. What does such a program or policy look like at the classroom level? What does education in English signify for students, teachers and administrators at this university, as reflected in their program discourses and practices? These are some of the questions I went to Dnipropetrovsk to explore.

An understanding of the position of English at this university is both affirmed and complicated by events that took place that same morning before my conversation with Lena. Bradley and I had both attended, at Lena's invitation, a performance by first year students about New Year's traditions in different parts of the world. The entire performance was in English with the exception of two terms in Chinese during the presentation about New Year's in China. The performance was recorded by the university news station, and the department chair told the news reporter that students of all majors at Alfred Nobel University study English as a foreign language once or twice a week for five years using the same books as students in "prominent European higher educational institutions" [*krupnikh evropeiskikh vuzakh*] (original Russian from video file, December 23, 2010). Both Lena and the department chair said this policy stands in contrast to other universities in Dnipropetrovsk, where students study English for only one or two years. Could English language education be a means of distinguishing Alfred Nobel University from other universities in order to recruit students? In a country with a

highly centralized education system as Ukraine, how does the rector have the possibility to take such initiative?

When Bradley and I were asked to be interviewed about our impressions of the performance, this triggered for me a negotiation of language use:

I ask Lena whether I should speak in English or Russian. She tells me speak in English; translation will come later. While we talk, I see Bradley speaking Russian. When my turn comes, the interviewer asks me in Russian about my impressions. I give an answer in English about how happy I was to hear the representation of diversity, and somehow I'm able to connect that to my research interests at the university. After my lengthy answer, she responds in Russian, *Ia ne ponimaiu* [I don't understand]. So I restate all of the information in Russian. (Field notes, December 23, 2010)

A few weeks later when I obtained a copy of the news clip, I saw that all the reporting was done in Ukrainian over footage of students' performances. The only other voices heard in the clip were the department chair's, mine, and Bradley's in Russian. What does the use of Ukrainian and Russian in this clip indicate about the relative power and position of the two languages in this context? Where does English fit within that ecology? To what extent are the language choices by the different participants in the news clip and its production influenced by—or taken in spite of—national language policy? How much do individual language abilities and native speaker status play a role?

To answer these questions, it is first necessary to understand the unique context in which they are situated. The introduction of English as a *medium of instruction*—the language or languages (media) through which classes are taught (Cooper, 1989; Hornberger, 2003; Tollefson & Tsui, 2004)—comes at a time when Ukraine is at a political and linguistic crossroads. Since Ukraine declared its independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, the Ukrainian government has been developing language policies

known as Ukrainianization policies to effect a shift from the use of Russian, the language of power in the former Soviet Union, to Ukrainian, the language linked symbolically with Ukrainian nationhood. The shift from Russian to Ukrainian as a medium of instruction has been especially gradual and problematic at the university level because Russian has historically been the language of research and academic discourse.

The Ukrainian Constitution also allows for the protection of Russian and the languages of “ethnic minorities” and encourages the study of languages of “international communication” (Verkhovna Rada, 2008) without being explicit about the role of English in Ukraine. Tarnopolsky (1996) says the Ukrainian government is highly supportive of English as a Foreign Language (EFL), and he sees a link between English and nation-building:

The Ukrainian authorities set the integration of the country into the world community and the international economy as one of their primary tasks in protecting and developing an independent Ukraine. Such a goal is impossible without many people who have a good mastery of foreign languages, especially English. (p. 616)

Additional research suggests Ukrainians see English as having a higher status than either Russian or Ukrainian. Ukrainians may view English speakers more positively than Russian or Ukrainian speakers (Bilaniuk, 2003). Individuals who are not balanced Russian-Ukrainian bilinguals may be more motivated to improve their English than Ukrainian or Russian because of its value as a language of employment or as an international language (Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008; Janmaat, 2008; Sjøvik, 2007). Understanding how the relationship between English, Russian, and Ukrainian is accounted for by multiple university stakeholders—that is, exploring how the university’s choice of English as a medium of instruction impacts and is impacted by

Ukrainianization policies and any desire for Russian-language maintenance—is one objective of this study.

English in a Ukrainian University, European Integration, and Internationalization

The choice of English as a medium of instruction at Alfred Nobel University can be further linked to Ukraine's potential political leanings away from its Russian or Soviet past (and the continued influence the Russian Federation has had over Ukraine) towards the European Union (EU). In 2005, Ukraine became a member of the Bologna Process, a series of multi-national educational reforms whose purpose is to create a barrier-free European Higher Education Area (EHEA). This area is to be characterized by “compatibility and comparability” among the higher education systems and increased mobility of students and educators among member countries (Papatsiba, 2006). Phillipson (2006a) observes that “what emerges unambiguously is that in the Bologna Process, ‘internationalisation’ means ‘English medium higher education’” (p. 16).

An additional major goal of the Bologna Process is “to make European higher education more competitive and more attractive for Europeans and for citizens and scholars from other continents” (European Union, 2007). In Soviet times, the recruitment of foreign students was accomplished in Ukraine and other Soviet republics through exchange programs with China, Latin America, and Africa, and scholarships for students from African countries (Pis'mennaia, 2010; Starr, 2010; Weaver, 1970). Since the political and financial collapse of the Soviet Union, foreign students in Ukraine must pay for their education. In addition, typically university courses which accept foreign students have been taught in Russian or Ukrainian. Studying subjects in Russian as a

foreign language can be a way to promote the development of multilingualism in students who do not speak Russian as a native language, while at the same time it can be a barrier for those same students if accessing academic content in Russian becomes too difficult. How does recruiting students to take university courses in English affect both the numbers of foreign students at the university, and their development of Russian and Ukrainian?

The Policy-Practice Divide in Ukraine

Whether the appearance of English as a medium of instruction at Alfred Nobel University is motivated by Bologna Process policies and practices, Ukrainian national policies, or localized mechanisms, these linkages must be understood in terms of the sociohistorical divide between policy and practice in Ukraine. Historically, “Soviet language policy...exhibited characteristics that exemplified the ‘covert’ in conflict with the more overt policy” (Schiffman, 2006, p. 115). Since independence, Fimyar (2008) has observed that “implementation and monitoring of existing policies has been highly selective and unsystematic” (p. 574). Fimyar adds that the term “faking democracy” is an appropriate term to describe post-communist politics because the goals are democratic but the mechanisms tend to be controlled by former Communist party leaders who have more experience maintaining regimes than a transparent democracy. This has led to corresponding criticisms that education in Ukraine is too centralized (Fimyar, 2008; Tarnopolsky, 1996). Janmaat (2008) argues that since independence, some inroads have been made into making education more democratic. Pupils can choose some classes, and teachers have more flexibility in voicing opinions and using supplementary materials. He

adds, however, that “this autonomy might only exist on paper” (p. 12). My conversation with English teachers and students in Khmel’nyts’kyi in June 2009 revealed that teachers exercise their freedom to bring in supplemental materials, but they have to pay for those materials themselves. Moreover, because of Ukrainian regulations requiring that all course materials be provided free of charge, if teachers want to use different textbooks with students than those developed and provided by the Ukrainian government, they have to covertly persuade all the students and their parents to buy them or risk a school scandal.

Policy-Practice Divide in Language-in-Education Policy

This distinction between overt and covert policy in Ukraine has been documented specifically with regard to the medium of instruction in Ukrainian schools before and after independence. From 1938 to 1991, Russian was officially required in schools without excluding *indigenous languages*—languages of the nationalities of the Soviet republics such as Ukrainian (Solchanyk, 1985). Pragmatically, however, the need to know Russian in order to pursue higher education or rise in party leadership and the purges of Ukrainian-language activists in the 1930s made it clear to Ukrainians that Russian was the sole language of power. Since independence, Ukrainian scholars have observed that sanctions against individuals or groups who fail to comply with Ukrainian language policy laws are generally not imposed (Cherednychenko, 1997; Hrycak, 2006; Søvik, 2007). To explore post-Soviet practices around medium of instruction policy further, Janmaat (1999) conducted interviews with administrators and parents in four cities. Officially, children have a right to study in Russian-medium classes if enough

parents request it. Administrators in 3 of 4 cities claimed Russian-medium classes were not offered because parents did not want classes in Russian for their children. Parents in those same cities, however, asserted decisions to open Ukrainian rather than Russian classes were made by the administration without parental input.

By extension, saying a university has a policy of using English as a medium of instruction and having that policy implemented are two very different things in Ukraine. An additional and crucial objective of this study, then, is to uncover the nature of medium-of-instruction policy in practice at this university and how that practice relates to historical and evolving conceptions of policy implementation in Ukraine.

Research Questions

Given the previously stated issues regarding language, education, and policy in Ukraine, as well as issues that emerged as relevant at Alfred Nobel University, this dissertation addresses the following research questions:

- 1) What are the discourses about English language instruction at the university?
- 2) What is the day-to-day reality of English language instruction at the university?
 - a) What is the ecology of language in English-language classrooms? Are classes conducted only in English or are other languages present? Which language(s) are used by whom for what purposes?
 - b) Does the presence of foreign (non-Ukrainian) students in English classes shape teaching practice and language use in any way? How so?
- 3) How are English and English-language classroom practices situated in or reflective of the larger language ecology of the university?

- a) Does English appear to constitute a threat or a complement to Ukrainian (the official language) or Russian (the language of wider communication)?
 - b) How are additional foreign languages positioned within this ecology?
- 4) How is English language education practically and discursively connected with: Ukrainian language policy, international education policy, and goals of economic development or integration, especially integration with the EU?

Chapter Overview

This dissertation is arranged to reflect the notion that linguistic repertoires move across time and space in fluid ways and at different scales of society (Hornberger & Link, 2012). Chapter 2 elaborates on the broad theoretical and empirical perspectives on language, education, and policy, both within Ukraine and worldwide as described in current academic literature. Chapter 3 provides an overview of the historical, political, geographical, and linguistic factors unique to the Ukrainian context and to Dnipropetrovsk based on books, policy documents, newspaper articles, and discussions with natives of Dnipropetrovsk about important aspects of the city. Chapter 4 describes the research site, the research methods, and the analytical frameworks used in the study. Chapter 5 addresses university discourses about English as a medium of instruction from multiple perspectives including administrators, teachers, students, and university documents. Chapter 6 depicts use of English, Russian, Ukrainian and other languages at the classroom level, and links those uses to language ideologies expressed in interviews and the linguistic culture of Dnipropetrovsk as demonstrated online and in print

documents. Chapter 7 focuses on how mobility from outside of Ukraine into university classrooms is connected with language use and classroom interaction.

The analytical lens widens again in Chapter 8 to look at language use across the whole university, and in Chapter 9 to explore how language discourses and practices are linked to national and supranational language politics and practices as well as ideologies expressed in class and in interviews about the role of economics and government in studying languages and in Ukraine's future. Chapter 10 concludes with reflections on the themes that have emerged in response to the research questions posed in this study and suggestions for how stakeholders and researchers can face the challenges and issues raised in the course of the study.

CHAPTER 2

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, AND POLICY: THEORETICAL AND EMPIRICAL VIEWS

The purpose of this chapter is to elucidate theoretical frameworks and empirical evidence in language, education, and policy which inform this study. While the words “language”, “education”, and “policy” are listed as distinct members of a series, this dissertation is premised on the understanding that these three notions are integrated in multiple ways. That is to say, one can talk about language education (i.e. studying a language as a second or foreign language), language policy, education policy, or policies regulating the choice or use of language(s) in education. More importantly, one can talk about the relationship among languages as evidenced by policy and practice at multiple levels of society.

To account for these relationships, this chapter first describes the driving theoretical lens of the dissertation, the ecology of language framework. Related to the ecology of language framework is literature on language ideologies, language planning and policy (LPP) research, and bilingual or multilingual education. Next, theoretical and empirical perspectives on English as an International Language and English as a medium of instruction (EMI) are elaborated on. The focus then narrows geographically to English as a medium of instruction in Europe and in post-Soviet countries. Based on the literature synthesized in this chapter, I argue that EMI at Alfred Nobel University is simultaneously situated in the spread of English as a language of power and communication worldwide, and in spaces of development of bilingualism and multilingualism.

The Ecology of Language

This study was conducted drawing primarily on the ecology of language as a conceptual framework. Researchers in the fields of language education and LPP (e.g. Creese & Martin, 2008; Hornberger, 2003; Pennycook, 2004; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996) attribute the origins of the term *ecology of language* to Einar Haugen (1972), who argued that the study of language should go beyond the lexicon and grammar one uses in a language, to describe its environment. Researchers should also look at two types of interactions between language and its environment: 1) the psychological interaction in the minds of bi- and multilingual speakers, and 2) the sociological interaction between a language and the society that uses it for communication. The research approach should be dynamic, exploring both the impact of language on the environment and the environment on language. Haugen concludes that one may sum up the ecological status of language by explaining “where the language stands and where it is going in comparison with the other languages in the world” (Haugen, 1972, p. 65).

Just as the term *ecology* in the biological sense has become more associated with the preservation of endangered species (Pennycook, 2004), Haugen’s notion of ecology of language has become a broader metaphor that focuses not only on “where a language stands and where it is going” but also where it should be going. Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1996), drawing on the work of Tsuda (1994), define ecology of language as a framework concerned with human rights, multilingualism, the maintenance of languages and cultures, protection of national sovereignties, and promotion of foreign language education. Hornberger (2003) agrees that the ecology of language framework supports

multilingualism and views language as a resource—something to be valued, preserved, and developed (Ruiz, 1984). She applies the newer ecology metaphor directly to languages by saying, “Languages, like living species, evolve, grow, change, live, and die in relation to other languages and also in relation to their environment” (Hornberger, 2003, p. 320). Creese and Martin (2008) take an explicitly critical approach to language ecology, defining it as “diversity within specific socio-political settings where the processes of language use create, reflect, and challenge particular hierarchies and hegemonies” (p. xiii).

Some researchers are critical of the ecology metaphor itself and warn about its limitations. Pennycook (2004) acknowledges using the ecology metaphor to proclaim that English, like formerly domesticated European animals consuming the flora and fauna of the Australian wilderness, can be called “a feral language, a language that has escaped to upset the delicate ecological environment in which other languages exist” (p. 215). However, Pennycook expresses concern that the reliance on the ecology metaphor may be used in ways that oversimplify the problem by ignoring the social aspects and constructedness of language use. As Edwards (2008) puts it, “languages do have an allotted ‘life’ but it is one granted by human society and culture...if languages decline or ‘die’ it is because the circumstances of their speakers have altered” (p. 16). Moreover, both Pennycook (2004) and Edwards (2008) believe that the idea of languages coexisting peacefully is naïve; one should always assume conflict between languages (and their users).

I take the position that Hornberger’s (2003) definition of the ecology of language is the most comprehensive definition to date, and can be applied to language-in-education

policy research without falling into the pitfalls spelled out by Pennycook and Edwards. Hornberger (2003) acknowledges that languages live and evolve in an ecosystem, interact with their social, economic, and cultural environment, and can be endangered if there is “inadequate environmental support vis-à-vis other languages” (p. 323). She suggests that multilingual LPP must take these ecologies into account, and that individuals and communities who know their languages are threatened can also take measures to save them. Moreover, to assume that languages can only exist in conflict is to assume that people have no ability to work towards linguistic coexistence or symbiosis. This is especially true in Ukraine, where English has not emerged as a language of wider communication and thus at the moment poses a fairly low threat to Ukrainian (Valentyna Kushnarenko, personal communication, January 13, 2010) and where since independence there have been debates about Ukrainian and Russian but the two languages and their speakers have lived in relatively peaceful coexistence (see Shamshur & Izhevskaya, 1994).

The ecology of language framework is most useful for grounding this study in the understanding that language teaching involves introduction of a new language into the language ecology (Mühlhäusler, 1994). As Kaplan and Baldauf (2008) note, “when English is added to an already wide range of languages, its increasing inclusion in the curriculum must, by definition, take time from subjects, often other languages, thus altering the language ecology” (p. 45). An ecology framework also allows spaces to look at additional languages in the ecology and multiple varieties of the same language, their use, and their hierarchies.

Language Ideologies

Blackledge (2008) states that ecological relationships among languages and their speakers “are visible in the ways in which languages are used, and in social actors’ attitudes to, and beliefs about, languages” (p. 27). These attitudes and beliefs about language are known as *language ideologies*. Woolard and Schieffelin (1994) define language ideologies (or ideologies of language) as “links of language to group and personal identity, to aesthetics, to morality, and to epistemology” (pp. 55-56). Kroskrity (2004) notes that language ideologies, “whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice...are typically multiple, context-bound and constructed from the sociocultural experience of the speaker” (p. 496). At the micro level, speakers may have varying degrees of awareness of language ideologies; Kroskrity argues that “sites of ideological production” (which can include universities) are “not necessarily [sites] of metapragmatic commentary and it is only the latter which both requires and demonstrates the discursive consciousness of speakers” (Kroskrity, 2004, p. 506). These definitions of language ideologies represent both psychological and sociological dimensions of beliefs about language and are therefore complementary to the ecology of language framework.

Language Planning and Policy

The term *language planning* was first coined by Einar Haugen in 1959 to refer to the process of language standardization in Norway; ten years later, Heinz Kloss made a distinction between *status planning* and *corpus planning*. Status planning refers to language planning for different functions, while corpus planning refers to planning a language’s form, i.e. spelling, grammar, lexicon, and script (Hornberger, 2006; King,

2001). Cooper (1989) expanded the concept of language planning to include *acquisition planning*, defined as planning toward increasing the number of *users* of a language as opposed to planning for the *uses* of a language. Cooper also asks the broad language planning question, “what *actors* attempt to influence what *behaviors* of what *people* for what *ends* under what *conditions* by what *means* through what *decision-making process* with what *effect*?” (p. 98, emphasis original). In later years, researchers have added the word *policy* to language planning (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997; Ricento & Hornberger, 1996), though whether policy is a component of planning or planning is a component of policy is a subject of debate (Ricento, 2000). Within the context of the current study, *language policy* will refer to a decision or choice about language, as well as the codification of that decision or choice. *Language planning* will refer to the processes that lead up to a language policy, or the processes which result from that policy.

Within LPP is a subfield with a focus on the language of the classroom. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) make a distinction between language planning and *language-in-education planning*, which involves decisions about which languages will be taught, when, by whom, with what materials, and with what assessment and evaluation measures. Medium of instruction policies fall under the framework of language-in-education planning (see Introduction). The importance of language-in-education planning and the medium of instruction cannot be underestimated. Schools are the “transmitter and perpetuator of culture” (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997, p.123) and have a direct impact on users of the language; they are therefore well positioned for status planning, acquisition planning, and corpus planning (Kaplan & Baldauf, 1997). Medium of instruction policies in particular are “a key arena in which political conflicts among countries and

ethnolinguistic, social and political groups are realized” (Tollefson & Tsui, 2004, p. 2). For example, if a minority language is endangered due to social or political pressure to shift to a majority language, educators can cultivate the use of a language among a younger generation, giving the language a better chance of survival (Dick & McCarty, 1997; King, 2001). In fact, some of the best language teaching outcomes result from an *implementational space* (Hornberger, 2003)—aspects of practice not dictated by policy where local entities can adapt or promote best language practices.

Layers and Decision-Making Processes of Language Planning and Policy

In the earliest language planning studies, research primarily focused on studying top-down decisions about official languages made by the governments of newly independent countries in Asia and Africa. In the 1980s and 1990s, a new wave of research recognized language choice, individual and group identities, and bottom-up language planning. For example, Hornberger (1988), in her research on experimental bilingual Quechua-Spanish education in Peru being implemented by the Peruvian government, concluded that any policy might fail if there is no bottom-up, local support. To cover the range of bottom-up and top-down language policy practices, Ricento and Hornberger (1996) developed the metaphor of LPP research as an act of “unpeeling the onion”. They outline four layers of the onion where language planning, policy, and practice occur: 1) legislation and political processes; 2) states (i.e. nations) and supranational agencies; 3) institutions; and 4) classroom practitioners. They define *institutions* as:

relatively permanent socially constituted systems by which and through which individuals gain identity, transmit cultural values, and attend to primary social needs. Examples are *schools*, organized religion, media,

civic and other privately subsidized organizations, and the business community (Ricento & Hornberger, 1996, p. 415, emphasis mine).

Hornberger and Johnson (2007) expand on this concept further to describe how language policies are developed, interpreted, implemented—and in some cases resisted—at multiple levels of society in Peru and Philadelphia. In this multilayered framework, English as a medium of instruction at Alfred Nobel University can be investigated within the domain of LPP at the institutional level.

Cooper's definition of language planning as a "decision making process" in the singular suggests a linear entity. Kaplan and Baldauf (1997) portray decision making theoretically as more reflexive. Language-in-education policy decisions are implemented by identifying target populations, teachers and teacher training programs, syllabi, methods and materials, and costs. These feed into program evaluation, which, along with assessment of student achievement, is used to inform and reshape both language-in-education policy and policy in general. Literature about language planning and policy in Ukraine suggests neither Cooper's nor Kaplan and Baldauf's frameworks for language planning fit the Ukrainian context. Fimyar (2008) characterizes education policy as "chaotic" and "fire-fighting". On the other hand, any perceived failures in planning, interpretation, or implementation at the national level can be viewed as an implementational space for language-in-education policy to develop as Alfred Nobel University stakeholders wish.

Bilingual and Multilingual Education

The relationship between the ecology of language and bilingual and multilingual education can be understood in terms of the general structure of a bilingual or

multilingual education program, and the actual use of one more languages in individual classrooms. Hornberger (1991) offers a framework of bilingual education characterized by three models: transitional, maintenance, and enrichment. *Transitional programs* aim to assimilate children linguistically and culturally into the dominant society, encouraging language shift from their home language to the language of power. *Maintenance programs*, in contrast, aim to maintain the minority language while building competence in the majority language. This approach is an active means to strengthen the cultural value of the minority language, promote a society of language pluralism, and affirm an ethnic group's identity within the national society. *Enrichment programs* go a step further, extending the use of the language for a culturally integrated form of language pluralism which still recognizes the autonomy of language groups. She argues, however, that each of these models can be implemented by a range of program designs and vice versa; there is no one-to-one correspondence between model and design.

Thus, bilingual programs with similar names can result in different outcomes depending on their design. For example, *structured immersion* programs, in which only the language of the majority culture is used, are designed for majority culture assimilation and are thus transitional in nature (Baker, 2001; Elaine Tarone, personal communication, September 29, 2009). They stand in contrast to *immersion* programs that value linguistic and cultural diversity, parental choice, and use of native languages in the classroom in ways that represent an enrichment model. For example, Duff (1995), in her research on an English immersion program in Hungary, emphasizes that she defines immersion programs as foreign language programs for majority-culture students, not minority culture students learning the majority language. She further demonstrates through

conversation analysis that both English and Hungarian are used and valued, fitting the immersion model she describes.

The processes and outcomes of bilingual language policy can also be understood through the concepts of *additive bilingualism* and *subtractive bilingualism*. Additive bilingualism refers to developing both the home language and the target language in school, while subtractive bilingualism involves removing or subtracting the home language from school as the target language is learned (Lambert, 1975; García, 2011). García (2009, 2011) extends the framework further by arguing that in 21st century classrooms, research needs to focus on *dynamic multilingualism* that emphasizes the non-linear relationships between two or more languages in education.

Additional design components of bilingual and multilingual education programs which index the ecology of language include: 1) the place of the languages in school; 2) the treatment of the two languages in the curriculum; 3) the amount of oral and literate development; and 4) the amount and timing of use of each language in the classroom (Baker, 2001; Freeman, 2000; Hornberger, 1991). Within the treatment of languages in the curriculum, for example, offering parallel courses or programs in the students' mother tongue serves as a protective factor against the hegemony of English or other languages of power (Holdsworth, 2004; Mortensen & Haberland, 2012). Conversely, implicit discourse and teaching activities in a bilingual education program can suggest that all languages are valued (Bloch & Alexander, 2003) or that one language continues to be privileged as the language of power (Martin-Jones & Saxena, 1996).

Codeswitching and Translanguaging

Codeswitching—the use of one or more languages or language varieties in discourse—has been a phenomenon of interest to educators and linguists for decades. Gumperz (1972), through audio recordings of naturally occurring talk with bilingual Spanish-English speakers and bidialectal African American speakers of English, showed that codeswitching is not a sign of a lack of grammar or language skills; rather, speakers “build on the existence of alternate forms to create meaning...code switching is also a communicative skill, which speakers use as a verbal strategy” (p. 186). Myers-Scotton (1993), in her oft-cited research in Africa (see Kamwangamalu, 2010), showed how the choice of language in social interaction indexes the degree of formality in the social relationship of the speaker and interlocutors. Speakers may also choose to switch languages based on the personal characteristics of their addressee or whether one is considered an active participant in the conversation (Bell, 1984).

For pedagogical purposes, Kamwangamalu (2010) defines codeswitching as the “simultaneous use of two languages including a target language (L2) such as English and students' first language (L1), or of two varieties of the target language, one standard and one nonstandard, for classroom interaction and instructional exchanges” (p. 127). This includes *intersentential* codeswitching, in which language use alternates between sentences, and *intrasentential* codeswitching (also referred to as *codemixing*), in which individuals students mix one or more language varieties within a sentence.

Some researchers when referring to codeswitching for pedagogical purposes use the term *translanguaging* (see Baker, 2001; Creese & Blackledge, 2011). Hornberger and Link (2012), drawing on the work of Williams (1994) and Baker (2001, 2003), define

translanguaging as “purposeful pedagogical alternation of languages in spoken and written, receptive and productive modes” (p. 262), while García (2009, 2011) builds on this definition to refer to the current communicative practices of emergent bilinguals. Baker (2001) identifies four potential advantages of a translanguaging approach: 1) students understand content more deeply if it is learned in two languages; 2) students can develop the “weaker” language to become balanced bilinguals; 3) parents can support the child in work done in the child’s home language; and 4) translanguaging helps students learn the second language and content necessary to integrate into classrooms with native speakers. Work on translanguaging pedagogy thus far, however, tends to focus on children in elementary and secondary schools in contexts where English is the dominant language. Whether this model or approach is used in higher education contexts where English is a foreign language and is the stated sole medium of instruction in classes is an empirical question this study seeks to answer.

English as an International Language and a Medium of Instruction

From a World Englishes perspective, there are two main theoretical frameworks which can account for the spread of English as an international language, a global language, or a lingua franca. These theories focus on the spread of English from countries of the Inner Circle, consisting primarily of English native speakers, to the Outer and Expanding Circles (Kachru & Nelson, 1996). The Outer Circle consists of countries where English is an official language in a bilingual or multilingual nation, usually due to the country’s status as a former British colony, or, in a smaller number of cases, a U.S. territory. The Expanding Circle includes countries where English has no official or

historical status but where the influence of English is nevertheless increasing (Kachru & Nelson, 1996).

According to Crystal (2003), the only way a language spreads is through the political and economic power of its speakers. If the spread is actively engaged in by Inner Circle countries, especially through teaching and distribution of English language teaching materials, it constitutes *linguistic imperialism* (Phillipson, 2006b; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 1996)—imposing one’s culture, political system, and social values on others through English and denying the linguistic human rights of speakers of languages other than English through language policy and practice.

Other researchers argue, however, that Outer and Expanding Circle countries are not passive agents accepting the imposition of English for hegemonic reasons (Brutt-Griffler, 2002; Widdowson, 1997). In Outer Circle countries such as India and South Africa, where English was only spoken by the colonizers and a select group of natives (Bloch & Alexander, 2003; Brutt-Griffler, 2002), English was learned and used as a tool of liberation (Mazrui, 1993). In Japan, an Expanding Circle country, Butler (2007) identifies eight social, political, and economic factors that have influenced the development of local English in Elementary School policies. While one factor is “the power of English in the global economy” (p. 137), the remaining factors focus on the role of English within Japanese society. For example, local politicians see a relationship between providing opportunities for English study in their school districts and winning votes. Butler concludes, “non-English mother tongue countries see the economic and political benefits of English as a global language and ... this is a major cause of the

spread of English (e.g. Fishman et al., 1996; Spolsky, 2004) rather than simply the result of linguistic imperialism (Phillipson, 1992)” (p. 138).

English and Multilingualism in Europe

Scholars’ framings of English in Europe can be grouped into three themes: 1) English is the lingua franca of Europe, but situated in a context that celebrates and offers spaces for multilingual development; 2) English is hegemonic and a threat to additional languages in the region; and 3) English is at the top of a hierarchy of languages. These framings apply both to the use of Content and Language Integrated Learning (CLIL) at the elementary and secondary levels, or EMI, the designation used for English-medium programs at universities² (Baetens Beardsmore 2009; Hult, 2012; Knapp, 2011). Cenoz and Jessner (2000) refer to English as the “second language of the European Union” (p. viii), while also pointing out that people are learning English as a third language if they already speak or study a national language, a regional minority language, and/or a language from outside the EU (e.g. Chinese, Turkish, etc.). Wilton and De Houwer (2011) write, “English is currently a lingua franca that educated people throughout Europe are expected to know” (p. 5). The terms “lingua franca” and “educated people” suggest an elite form of bilingualism (see Hélot & Mejía, 2008).

Much of the discourse in research points to the imperative to learn English, an imperative accepted as axiomatic. Wilton and De Houwer (2011) observe, “Whatever variety of English is used—one has to learn it” (p. 6). In Portugal, Kerlkaan, Moreira,

² Hereafter, the term “English as a medium of instruction” will be used as a general concept or a term to cover courses at all educational levels for which classes are conducted primarily in English, while the abbreviation EMI will refer specifically to university-level programs on the European continent.

and Boersma (2008) say European university policymakers must “confront the language question and think about changing their curricula from local languages to the international standard: the English language” (p. 241). Phillipson (2006a) quotes the president of Universities UK: “The concept of the bilingual university is already being widely discussed in Eastern Europe; you can now do a medical degree in English in Hungary, for example. *And that’s a trend that is going to continue*” (p. 16, emphasis added). All of these statements demonstrate a sense of resignation about the inevitable role of English in European higher education.

The lingua franca role of English in Europe is also critiqued as hegemonic and for its potential role in language loss or language shift. Tosi (2006) says, “The unofficial but increasingly hegemonic role of English as a lingua franca is, despite the EU official policy of multilingualism, a serious threat to national languages and multilingualism in Europe” (p. 9). Phillipson (2006a) asks, “Are scholars whose mother tongue is not English...involved in a Faustian pact with a devilish linguistic cuckoo in building up the knowledge society that the European Union proclaims its commitment to?” (p. 14). Huguet (2007) notes, “as for the teaching of foreign languages, and as in most Western countries, English has become the hegemonic foreign language” (p. 23). Knapp (2011) notes that students’ and teachers’ fears of problems communicating and comprehending content in English were outweighed by the opportunity to study in English. Coleman (2006) expresses concern that graduates of English-medium universities may end up using English for social purposes and child-rearing, leading to language shift. There has also been a quite extensive theoretical discussion about apparent domain loss for Danish to English in the universities, or at least the threat of it (Haberland & Mortensen, 2012).

At other times, English is framed as the language at the top of a bilingual or multilingual hierarchy. Seidlhofer (2011) says, “all languages are supposed to be equal but English is obviously ‘more equal than others’” (p. 139). Risager (2012) alludes to English-only policies in universities as a practice of language hierarchization—choosing a language that “simultaneously excludes all other languages, specifically the language(s) that compete with it in the context in question” (p.115). Hult (2012) cites Josephson (2004) for his analysis of the hierarchy of languages in Sweden, noting that Swedish and English take supremacy, followed by “major” European and Scandinavian languages, then Scandinavian minority and immigrant languages. All these researchers demonstrate the presence of both English and additional languages—and the power struggles between them—in the European ecology of language.

Spaces for Bilingual and Multilingual Development in Europe?

Despite concerns about the threat of English to multilingualism, some research suggests that there are spaces for the maintenance or development of languages other than English. Hult (2007) reported that Swedish teachers found ways to navigate around official policy and to treat multilingualism as a resource. Söderlundh (2012) conducted ethnographic research in a university in Sweden and found that teachers allowed for dynamic use of multiple languages for exams, and students use Swedish during discussions where English might be expected, marking that switch to Swedish discursively. Risager (2012) found at a university in Denmark that research group meetings were held in Danish and English, but Board of Studies meetings on university policies and regulations were held in Danish, indexing Danish (not English) as the true language of power at the university.

Hélot and Laoire (2011) offer research studies conducted in England, Luxembourg, and France (among other places) that advocate for what they call the *pedagogy of the possible*, which encourages teachers and learners “to respond to all possibilities and potentialities at the classroom level, thus forging one’s own policies that are locally effective and empowering” (p. xvii). De Korne (2012) offers an example of this in Luxembourg, where students involved in a CLIL project used English, French, German, and Luxembourgish in ways that indexed both “monoglossic” (one language) and “heteroglossic” (diverse languages) ideologies. On the other hand, Huguet and Lasagabaster (2007) suggest that EU policies promoting multilingualism are hard to put into practice in bilingual contexts because local teachers are not proficient in the L3, and native speakers of the L3 are not proficient in the students’ L1 or L2.

Data from the European Commission on CLIL offer mixed hope. The 2012 Eurydice report emphasizes that English is widespread but not the only target language of instruction. In fact, the majority of countries that use CLIL offer programs where a state language and a regional or minority languages are used, as well as where a foreign language is the target language (Eurydice, 2012). Malta uses Maltese and English at all schools, while Luxembourg uses Luxembourgish and German or French in schools, and Belgian students in a German-speaking area of Belgium receive instruction in German and French. Of 18,810 schools identified with CLIL programs in the remaining 22 countries in the 2009-2011 school years, only 1,842 (nearly 10%) used a target foreign language of English. Of these, 40 schools used English as a third foreign language. Some countries aggregated data on English as a target language with all foreign languages. In Spain, English (or French or German, or Portuguese) was a possible third

language alongside Spanish and Basque, Catalan, Galician, or Valencian. Other schools in Spain as well as in Bulgaria and Finland identified English as one of several choices of second foreign languages, the other choices being French, German, Spanish, Russian, Italian, or Portuguese depending on the context. When one factors in other types of schools where English is reported present (or is one of multiple foreign languages of instruction students can choose from), the number of schools where English as a medium of instruction rises to nearly half of all CLIL programs in Europe (see Table 2.1).

Table 2.1

Number and Percentage of English-medium CLIL schools in Europe

Type of Program	Number of Schools	Percentage of reported CLIL programs (n=18,810)
1.English as an L2	1,882	10.0
2. English as a state language (United Kingdom)	2,467	13.1
3.English as a possible L2 (Bulgaria, Spain and Finland)	3,074	16.3
4.English as a possible L3 (Spain)	1,279	6.8
Total	8,702	46.2

Compiled from Eurydice (2012). Turkey, Greece, and Iceland do not offer CLIL instruction. Germany, Italy, Austria, Denmark and Sweden are identified as having CLIL programs but did not report data to Eurydice. Norway, the United Kingdom, Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, and France did not report data for some minority languages.

Given the missing and potentially underreported data, the fact that these data are already 2-4 years old, and the certainty that not all of the schools in the third and fourth categories use English as the medium of instruction, one can estimate that the number of

schools across Europe which use English as a medium of instruction is between 40 and 50 percent, though it is one of many media used in classrooms.

At the university level, the numbers are similar—researcher estimates of the number of universities in the EU offering at least one program in English range from 18-47%, though the number depends greatly on the individual country (Wächter & Maiworm, 2007). Cots, Lasagabaster, and Garrett (2012) analyzed language practices at three bilingual universities and found a continuum in which the University of Lleida shows strong support for the local language, Catalan, the University of the Basque Country is working towards balanced Basque-Spanish bilingualism, and Cardiff University is a site where Welsh is present but English is the default language. Mortensen and Haberland (2012) cite Danish national statistics which indicate that as of 2007, 16% of educational programs were offered only in English and another 8% were offered in either English or Danish, with the remaining offered in Danish. In Italy, Gazzola (2012) cites data showing that depending on the type of degree (bachelor's, master's, professional, or PhD), the percentage of Italian universities offering programs taught entirely in English ranges from 10-44%. Gazzola adds, "The number of PTEs [Programs taught in English] in Italy is still rather limited in absolute terms, but the provision of PTEs is on the rise, not only in areas such as economics and business, engineering, and hard sciences, but also in sociology and political science" (Gazzola, 2012, p. 144).

In Finland, Saarinen (2012) shows exponential growth in English-medium university programs. The number of international degree programs in Finland quadrupled between 1996 and 2008; of the 280 international programs in 2008, all but 7

were conducted in English. According to Saarinen, “two programs were run in Swedish (a national language spoken by a minority of the population in Finland), and five in ‘other’ languages, which means Finnish (the majority national language) and Fenno-Ugric degree programs offered for foreigners” (Saarinen, 2012, p. 164). Saarinen’s data suggest that in the context of international higher education programs, even a national majority language can become minoritized due to the popularity of offering some university programs in English.

English as a Medium of Instruction Policies Worldwide

Policies and practices around English as a medium of instruction are truly global phenomena. At the national level, policies stipulating English be a medium of instruction in elementary, secondary, or tertiary education have been reported in such diverse contexts as Armenia (Pavlenko, 2008a), Bolivia (Hornberger, 2009), Korea (Lee, 2009) and Malaysia (Gill, 2004; Tan, 2005), to name a few. Armenian and Bolivian leaders explicitly state their goal is trilingual competence in the national or indigenous language(s), the post-colonial language (Russian and Spanish respectively), and English for international communication. In Korea, the policy is to teach the English language itself in English.

Research on English as a medium of instruction in higher education institutions has been conducted through diverse methods with diverse findings. Al-Jarf (2008) conducted a survey of 470 female students at a university in Saudi Arabia, where English has been competing with Arabic as a medium of instruction. She found that 82% of students surveyed believe Arabic is more appropriate for teaching Islamic studies,

history, Arabic literature and education, whereas English is more appropriate for medicine, pharmacy, engineering, science, nursing, and computer science. Giliomee and Schlemmer (2006) conducted a survey of parents' attitudes towards English as a medium of instruction at public schools and universities in South Africa. The majority of parents reported an acceptance of the practical value of English, but Afrikaans-speaking parents want their children's right to study in Afrikaans preserved. Indian-speaking parents also worry about the maintenance of cultural heritage and ethnic identity in this context. Li, Leung, and Kember (2001) conducted a diary study with follow-up interviews of students at a Hong Kong university. They found that: 1) English is used far less to teach in the classroom than the official policy suggests; 2) given the low levels and limited domains of English use, English operates more as a foreign language than a second language in this context; and 3) students do not feel their English has improved at the university. In each of these cases, English is situated in a bilingual or multilingual context.

English as a Medium of Instruction in Higher Education in Europe

EMI programs are part of a broader set of processes and issues around internationalization in European higher education. Bolsmann and Miller (2008) identify three themes in discourses around recruiting international students to universities: 1) “academic internationalization”, in which universities attract students from multiple national origins by virtue of being centers of academic learning and research; 2) “economic competition”, in which universities recruit university students as a source of income; and 3) “developmental”, defined as providing education and training for colonized nations, i.e. “underdeveloped” countries that were seen as needing help becoming developed as part of a “more general civilizing mission” (Bolsmann & Miller,

2008, p. 80). Bolsmann and Miller's empirical research at four UK universities suggest that academic internationalization discourses include positive references to cultural and intellectual diversity.

According to Bolsmann and Miller (2008), developmental discourses and practices in higher education are less frequent (especially since most countries that historically received developmental educational support are now politically independent from their former colonizers). Nevertheless, the developmental model emerges as part of neo-liberal efforts to support countries with fewer resources. A related phenomenon is the "offshore" university, in which international students stay in their home country and attend a university that is affiliated with another university (often one in the U.S. or UK). Phillipson (2006a), citing data on the 600% increase in international students in Australian higher education, one-third of them overseas, says, "To me there is something fishy (offshore) about expanding higher education at this rate" (p. 21). Jenkins elaborates on why offshore universities are problematic:

Typically, the fact that the university's teaching, testing and research is carried out in exactly the same way as it is at the 'parent' UK institution is seen in an entirely positive light, as also is the teaching of (presumably) British academic English in its Centre for English Language Education. So while the aims of 'global citizenship' and 'a world-class international education' are in themselves commendable, they are apparently to be achieved by local means; and not even local in the Chinese sense, but local to the geographically, culturally and linguistically distant UK. The rather odd implication of the 'offshore university' phenomenon is that universities outside the mother tongue English speaking countries are regarded by the latter as unable to achieve academic internationalisation for themselves, and in order to do so, need complete guidance from mother tongue English institutions. (Jenkins, 2011, p. 933)

It will be shown in this study how the aforementioned rationales impact EMI instruction at Alfred Nobel University.

English as a Medium of Instruction in Post-Soviet Countries

The research on English in “Europe” frequently defines “Europe” as the countries belonging to the EU and/or on the European continent (see Nic Craith, 2006). The degree to which English as a medium of instruction in Ukraine (and by extension, at Alfred Nobel University) follows trends in European countries is an empirical question for this study to answer. To date, information on English as a medium of instruction in higher education institutions in Ukraine and other post-Soviet republics is extremely limited. In Lithuania, Bulajeva and Hogan-Brun (2008) report national data showing a slight decrease in Lithuanian-language higher education and a corresponding increase in English-medium education. However, they still show 98% of institutions surveyed use Lithuanian, and only 3% use English. Given that the total is over 100%, some institutions must be using both the national language and English. Pavlenko (2008a) cites research showing that English is a medium of instruction at higher education institutions in Azerbaijan, Georgia, and Kyrgyzstan. Pavlenko lists multiple languages of instruction for institutions in these countries, so it is not clear whether any of these schools use English as a sole medium of instruction. Moreover, it is important to know who is running the universities where English is a medium of instruction and for what ends. MacWilliams (2003) writes about the American University-Central Asia (AUCA), where courses are taught in English or Russian:

The theory is that if institutions like AUCA—which is backed by the U.S. State Department, the Soros Foundation's Open Society Institute, and the Eurasia Foundation—flourish here, then Kyrgyzstan will gravitate to so-called civil societies of the West in general and the United States in particular. And so the United States may be able to use Kyrgyzstan as a military base convenient to operations in, say, Afghanistan or the Middle East. (A39).

The extent to which English in higher education constitutes a direct threat to Ukrainian or other languages of post-Soviet republics is not clear from the existing literature. Pavlenko (2008a) reports concerns about the rise of English and its impact on national languages in multiple post-Soviet republics. Phillipson (2006a) says, “There is a need for conceptual and empirical clarification of whether English is a useful *lingua academica* or is functioning as a scholarly *lingua tyrannosaura* (Swales)” (p. 19).

Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas (1996) also say:

Former communist countries may be in a better position to ensure that their schools teach a diversified range of languages. On the other hand, because of the miserable economic plight of most post-communist countries and the shortage of local people qualified to teach English, the countries will likely be quite tempted to accept well-intentioned offers from the West and the chance of getting something for nothing (p. 447).

Reports on the Ukrainian education system disseminated by the Council of Europe are similarly mixed. A 2010 country report discusses the language policy of students learning English and/or additional foreign languages in elementary and secondary schools. As for higher education, it is said that “The language of instruction in Ukrainian universities is Ukrainian, but the main subjects for the students of linguistic departments are taught [in] the foreign languages they study” (Ministry of Education and Science, 2010, p. 10). At the same time, it is said that “There is a language requirement for University students of all majors to acquire language training in Ukrainian and one of the foreign languages. Thus Ukrainian universities participate in promoting plurilingualism” (Ministry of Education and Science, 2010, p. 10). In this report, Ukrainian is simultaneously positioned (officially at least) as the language of instruction and as an academic subject. More importantly, English and Ukrainian are situated within

the goal of developing plurilingual citizens. This positive framing of Ukraine's multilingual potential is corroborated by another Council of Europe report:

In particular the ambient plurilingualism of Ukrainians – who may not be very conscious of their competences in several languages – is remarkable. Many Ukrainians speak several languages to different levels of competence and although they may feel that this is not especially significant they have in fact the potential for advanced plurilingualism. This needs to be valued and the development of 'language awareness' or 'éveil aux langues' is strongly recommended so that Ukrainians will value and celebrate their plurilingualism with the further effect that respect for other people's languages and language rights is enhanced. (Council of Europe, 2011, p. 7)

However, this report was based on reports from Ukraine combined with a 5-day visit by Council of Europe. More research is needed on how English as a medium of instruction fits with policies and practices of plurilingualism. In the next chapter, it will be further shown why this question is so important and so complicated in the Ukrainian context.

CHAPTER 3

LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, AND POLITICS IN UKRAINE

The purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on the political, linguistic and educational features of the national and regional context in which this research study is situated. Historically, the Ukrainian nation has been shaped—and at times, submerged—vis-à-vis its relationship with neighboring powers. This history informs Ukraine’s present-day status as an independent state with aspirations towards affiliations with both the EU and Russia. Geopolitical developments and developments in language policy (including language-in-education policy) have influenced the development of Ukrainian and Russian in Ukraine—both as linguistic entities and as languages with recognizable (albeit not fixed) patterns of *vitality* (Stewart, 1968). Additional languages exist in Ukraine but in small numbers. The rights of minority languages are preserved but through means that have complex implications for the status of Russian. English is not considered a minority language nor is it quite as prevalent as a medium of instruction as in European countries (see Chapter 2). Specific factors (or, to use a term often heard in Ukraine, peculiarities) of the underlying linguistic culture also inform language use patterns observed at Alfred Nobel University. The Ukrainian educational system is framed as emerging from the deplorable conditions of the Soviet system and moving towards Europe. The City of Dnipropetrovs’k serves as a microcosm of the historical, linguistic, political, and language-in-education features found in the country as a whole. This chapter reviews each of the contextual pieces in turn.

A Brief Geopolitical History of Ukraine

There is much debate among historians about whether Ukrainians and Russians share a common origin, or whether Ukrainian history was artificially fused or co-opted by Russia to justify expansion of its empire (see Magocsi, 2010; Søvik, 2007). What is not disputed is that the origins of present-day Ukraine can be traced back to a principalitate established in the late ninth century known as Kyivan Rus' (Bilaniuk, 2005; Magocsi, 2010; Pavlenko, 2002). The principalitate's earliest known ruler was Oleh (beginning in 878 A.D.), who was succeeded by Ihor, Olha, and Sviatoslav. These rulers, though memorialized in a statue outside St. Michael's Cathedral in Kyiv³, were followed by three highly celebrated rulers of Kyivan Rus': Volodymyr the Great, Iaroslav the Wise, and Volodymyr Monomakh. Magocsi (2010) credits these three rulers with the territorial expansion and political consolidation of Kyivan Rus', while simultaneously acknowledging that there was much turnover of princes during their reign—an indicator of the “disintegration” to come.

According to Magocsi (2010), the official end of Kyivan Rus' came in 1240 with the Mongol invasion and destruction of Kyiv. The southern part of present-day Ukraine fell during this time under the rule of the Tatars of the Crimean Khanate, part of the Golden Horde of Chinggis Khan. From the 1200s to the 1600s, other parts of present-day Ukraine belonged to independent Galicia-Volhynia, Zaporizhia, or the Kingdom of Poland and Lithuania (Bilaniuk, 2005; Magocsi, 2010; Pavlenko, 2002). Meanwhile, the

³ “Kyiv” /kiiv/ is the transliteration of the Ukrainian name for the capital of Ukraine (Київ). “Kiev”/ki Ev/, as it is more commonly known in English, is the transliteration of the Russian (Киев).

Muscovy tribe was consolidating power and fighting the Mongols, setting the stage for the Russian Empire led by the Romanovs.

In 1648, the Ukrainian Cossacks, led by Hetman Bohdan Khmel'nyts'kyi and with the alliance of the Ottoman Empire, won a battle to successfully defend present-day eastern Ukraine against invasion by the Polish army (Magocsi, 2010). Magocsi (2010) notes that subsequent battles were less successful, leading to a stalemate that Hetman Khmel'nyts'kyi felt could be resolved only through an alliance with Muscovy. This decision was formalized in 1654 with Khmel'nyts'kyi's signing of the Treaty of Pereiaslav which joined Muscovy with the territory along and east of the Dnieper River. As Russia grew into a tsarist empire under the rule of Peter I in the late 1600s and early 1700s, Russia's power over the Ukrainian territory grew. Under the reign of Catherine II, the Russian Empire expanded further west, covering about two-thirds of present-day Ukraine. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, the portion of Ukraine that was part of the Russian Empire operated as an independent country until the Russian Civil War ended. Ukraine then became a Soviet Socialist Republic in 1920, a status that would remain until 1991.

During the same time period as the Russian Empire's expansion and transition to the Soviet regime, the lands north and west of the Russian Empire belonged to Poland and/or the Austro-Hungarian Empire. From 1917 until 1939 these lands belonged to Poland, Romania, Hungary, or Czechoslovakia. As World War II started, the Soviet Government supported by the Red Army began the "voluntary" reunification with the Soviet Union for lands inhabited by ethnic Ukrainians. The lands between Ternopil and the Carpathian mountains (including the city of L'viv) were reunited in 1939, and the

lands in Transcarpathia were reunified in 1944 after the Nazi occupation ended (Magocsi, 2010). Both areas have remained part of the Ukrainian nation ever since.

Ukraine as a 21st Century Borderland between the EU and Russia

One might think that in an age of internationalization and globalization a discussion about Ukraine today should start with Ukraine's position in the global economic and political power structure. However, the word *Ukraina* means "borderland", and even references to Ukraine that include the words "world" or "global" emphasize Ukraine's position in relation to Russia and Europe. For example, when Ukraine became a member of the World Trade Organization in 2008, a New York Times article heralded the news as "a milestone for the former Soviet republic that helps clear the way for a valuable free trade agreement with the European Union" (Kramer, 2008, n.p.). This sentence starts by framing Ukraine as formerly a part of one political union, then repositions Ukraine as a country that, by becoming a member of a global ("world") organization, can get around the obstacle of being part of that Soviet past ("clears the way") and move metaphorically towards greater cooperation with a different political union (Europe).

The view of Ukraine as between Russia and Europe is supported in part by Ukraine's present geographical position (see Figure 3.1). As a result of the 2004 and 2007 EU enlargement, four of Ukraine's seven neighboring countries are EU members (Hungary, Slovakia, Romania, and Poland) and three are former republics of the Soviet Union—Russia, Belarus, and Moldova. Additionally, Ukraine shares a border with Transdnistria, a sliver of land east of the Dniester River in Moldova and west of the

Ukrainian border (shown in shading in figure 3.1). Transdnistria declared its independence from Moldova in 1992 and considers itself loyal to Russia, one of the few countries which recognizes the sovereignty of Transdnistria.



Figure 3.1. Present-day Ukraine and its Bordering Countries (Magocsi, 2010). Shading of Transdnistria added.

Ukraine is also a key material transit country; pipelines carry natural gas from Russia to eastern and western Europe via Ukraine. This has been the source of two major debates between Russia and Ukraine, one in 2006 and another in late December 2008-early January 2009 (Pirani, Stern & Yafimava, 2009). The latter dispute was a conflation of efforts on Russia's part to raise Ukrainian gas prices closer to European prices (a

politically and financially infeasible move for Ukraine), and the Ukrainian gas company's failure to repay debts⁴. The crisis was resolved peacefully on January 20, 2009, but Russia cut off supplies for three weeks until the crisis was settled. As a result, European buyers have been questioning their dependence on Russian gas, and Russia and other countries have been pondering alternates to Ukraine as the predominant transit country for natural gas (Chernavsky & Eismont, 2012; Pirani, Stern & Yafimava, 2009).

Ukraine's overall political trajectory since becoming an independent state in 1991 has further continued to influence how people evaluate the degree and direction of growth of the Ukrainian nation-state since its independence. As D'Anieri, Kravchuk, and Kuzio (1999) asked over a decade ago, "Will the [Ukrainian] state gravitate toward Russia, toward the West, or remain in between?" (p. 268). The 2004 presidential election was considered by Ukrainians and Europeans a major step for Ukraine towards the West. Ukrainians had a clear choice between electing pro-Western candidate Viktor Yushchenko, or electing the Russian government-backed Viktor Yanukovich. When Yanukovich was declared the winner, Ukrainians protested in the streets, declaring his victory a result of fraudulent election practices. This "Orange Revolution" culminated in a victory for Yushchenko. However, Yushchenko was unable to deliver the hoped-for political and economic changes, an inability compounded by the global economic crisis of 2008 (Ward, 2010; Way, 2010). As a result, during the next election Yushchenko lost

⁴An outwardly similar payment crisis emerged in early 2013 between the Ukrainian airline AeroSvit and world airports, causing flights to be canceled and travelers to be stranded for days.

the first round of elections January 17, and the runoff on February 7, 2010 was between Yanukovych and Yushchenko's prime minister, Yulia Tymoshenko.

Yanukovych went on to win the 2010 election, and interpretations of this result were initially mixed. From the perspective of international media such as the New York Times, the Economist, CNN, and the Associated Press as well as international election monitoring organizations, the 2010 election appeared to be the fairest and most transparent election in independent Ukraine to date—a sign of progress for the country towards Western democracy. On the other hand, there were concerns among Orange Revolution supporters that Yanukovych would take Ukraine back towards a more pro-Russian society and political system.

These latter concerns are justified by a number of reports of undemocratic moves by the Yanukovych administration—most notably the arrest and imprisonment of opposition leader Yulia Tymoshenko for her negotiations with Putin in the aforementioned gas dispute of 2009 plus additional charges of embezzlement of gas funds (see Marples, 2011). Additional evidence comes from the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which monitors elections in multiple countries. Their team of staff and volunteers observed the October 2012 parliamentary election cycle and concluded that the elections were not conducted in accordance with international standards due to lack of transparency and impartiality in the pre-election balloting and media promotion processes (OSCE, 2013).

In March 2012, an Association Agreement (European Commission, 2012) between Ukraine and the EU was drafted; the Foreign Minister [Secretary of State] of Ukraine plans to sign in November 2013 ("Foreign Minister", 2013). The purpose of the

agreement, according to the European Union External Action Service (EEAS), is “to accelerate the deepening of political and economic relations between Ukraine and the EU, as well as Ukraine’s gradual integration in the EU Internal Market including by setting up a Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area” (European Commission, 2012, p. 2). Equally important as the Free Trade Area is the agenda for reforming 28 sectors of Ukrainian government and society, which will achieve the goal of “gradual approximation of Ukraine’s legislation to EU norms and standards” within a time frame of 2-10 years after the signing of the agreement” (European Commission, 2012, p. 5). At the same time, the agreement seeks to allow for the “dynamic approximation” of these reforms, and the agreement overall is based on fact that “Ukraine is recognized as a European country which shares a common history and common values with the Member States of the EU” (European Commission, 2012, p. 2). The underlying message from the EU to Ukraine, then, is “you are one of us, but you still need to become one of us”.

The EU is not the only entity in this agreement, however, that demonstrates ambivalence in international relations; the Yanukovych administration demonstrates desires to be both European and Russian. Yanukovych’s choice to first visit Brussels rather than Moscow after he was elected in 2010 suggested he was putting the EU ahead of Russia (Levy, 2010), but the Brussels visit was shortly followed by a Moscow visit which solidified Ukraine’s relationship with Russia (Socor, 2010). Ukrainian officials have been quoted expressing interest both in signing the Association Agreement and in entering (or partially entering) a Customs Union with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan (“Foreign Minister”, 2013). The European Ambassador to Ukraine, Jan Tombinski, has echoed Brussels’ disapproval of that plan (see “European Commission”, 2012) saying

that “the Customs Union will be a shift of sovereignty in decisions about trade on a level of common organs of the Customs Union... It will not be compatible in a sense of the decision of European path of Ukraine” (Irklienko, 2013). The final outcome of the agreement remains to be seen.

Language Planning and Policy in Ukraine

The Ukrainian and Russian languages, along with Belarusian and Rusyn⁵, constitute the East Slavic branch of the Indo-European language family (Lewis, 2009). These languages are generally understood to derive from a common Old Slavonic language, also known as Church Slavonic or Old Church Slavonic. There are debates about the timing of the transition from one language to multiple languages (Magocsi, 2010), but a safe estimate is the transition began to solidify in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries.

As in most contexts, it is difficult if not impossible to discuss the corpus and status planning of Russian and Ukrainian in Ukraine without explaining the history of language policy in the country. In the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, after the treaty of Peryiaslav came into effect, Ukraine experienced its first period of Russification as the Russian Empire’s increased political involvement in Ukraine brought, among other changes, the use of the Russian language instead of Ukrainian in official settings. This was followed by a period of more relaxed language policy in the mid-eighteenth century, during the time of the painter and poet Taras Shevchenko.

⁵Rusyn (also known as Ruthenian) is referred to in some scholarly texts as a dialect of Ukrainian rather than one of the languages of the East Slavic language family. Lewis (2009) points out that Rusyn speakers themselves, who live in the Carpathian Mountain region, identify the language as separate from Ukrainian.

Through his poetry, Shevchenko was able to elaborate colloquial Ukrainian into a language with a literary standard. The expression of ethnic Ukrainian consciousness in Shevchenko's poetry aroused the Russian Empire's suspicions that he was a nationalist and a revolutionary. These suspicions led to his periodic arrest and exile (alternated with opportunities to study painting) until his death in 1861 at age 47 (Zaitsev, 1955).

The Ukrainian language was most severely restricted in the lands under the Russian Empire by the Ems Ukaz [Decree] of 1876, which prohibited Ukrainian language and literature in most aspects of public life, including as a medium of instruction in public schools (Friedman, 2006; Hrycak, 2006; Shevelov, 1989; Solchanyk, 1985). After Ukraine became a Soviet republic in 1920, that situation was briefly reversed through Stalin's *korenizatsiia* (indigenization) policies which—officially at least—required officials to learn the local language of the republics and, in Ukraine, gave space for extensive language planning meetings. The linguists at these meetings drafted over one hundred rules on spelling and grammar in attempts to reconcile the Poltava dialect of eastern Ukraine with the Galician dialect found in southeastern Poland, as well as cope with rendering borrowed foreign words into Ukrainian (Bilaniuk, 2005; Magocsi, 2007; Shevelov, 1989). From the end of the 1920s to the 1930s, these developments became a pretext for Stalin to accuse linguists of “treasonous irredentism” (i.e. collaborating with Poland) and have them executed or exiled (Fishman, 2006; Friedman, 2006; Shevelov, 1989; Solchanyk, 1985). Stalin then ordered spelling rules to bring the language closer to Russian. For example, in Russian the letter Г is pronounced as /g/ in Russian and /h/ in Ukrainian. The letter Ħ was added to Ukrainian to represent the sound /g/ but it was removed from the Ukrainian alphabet in the 1930s (Bilaniuk, 2005); it has only slowly

re-emerged in use since the 1990s. While the laws were relaxed again in 1938 to require students to study Russian while still allowing for the indigenous (i.e. Ukrainian) language, it was understood that Russian was the main language of power until the end of the Soviet Union.

It is important to note that from the 1800s until 1944, the areas of present-day Ukraine then controlled by Poland or the Austro-Hungarian Empire did not have any restrictive policies on Ukrainian. Although there was social discrimination, there was space to develop support for the Ukrainian language. As a result, there is a corresponding *geolinguistic* (Cartwright, 2006) pattern in which people in the east tend to speak more Russian and people in the west tend to speak more Ukrainian, though there is much individual variation on both sides (Bilaniuk, 2005). In addition to an “east-west” divide, Ukraine has an “urban-rural” divide, with Russian primarily used in cities and Ukrainian in the villages across the country (Shevelov, 1989). This geographical tendency is still used as a pretext for referring to Ukrainian pejoratively as a “village dialect” (Bilaniuk, 2005; Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008).

The transition from Soviet to post-Soviet language policy in both parts of Ukraine began before the official declaration of independence in 1991. Following the lead of other Soviet republics and the activism of multiple religious, political and literary groups (see Magocsi, 2010), the Ukrainian Soviet government passed the Law of Languages in October 1989. According to Arel (1995), the law established that: 1) the sole official language of administration was Ukrainian; 2) Ukrainian language study was mandatory in all Russian schools; 3) higher educational institutions must transition to teaching in Ukrainian; and 4) signs should be in either Ukrainian only or Ukrainian and Russian.

Article 10 of the Constitution, adopted in 1996 and amended in 1999, reifies the status of Ukrainian as the sole language:

Article 10

- The state language of Ukraine is the Ukrainian language.
- The State ensures the comprehensive development and functioning of the Ukrainian language in all spheres of social life throughout the entire territory of Ukraine.
- In Ukraine, the free development, use and protection of Russian, and other languages of national minorities of Ukraine, is guaranteed.
- The State promotes the learning of languages of international communication.
- The use of languages in Ukraine is guaranteed by the Constitution of Ukraine and is determined by law. (Verkhovna Rada of Ukraine, 2008)

In addition to the Constitution, multiple laws were passed prior to Yanukovych's election as president which elaborated the status of Ukrainian as the official language of government, law, and official documentation (Pavlenko, 2008b). Media laws were passed stipulating that all Ukraine-based television stations and billboards be in Ukrainian, and that foreign movies either have Ukrainian subtitles or (more commonly) be dubbed into Ukrainian. The law on foreign movies was controversial but was upheld by the Constitutional Court in 2008 (Borisow, 2008; Sewall, 2008). It has been found, however, that eastern regions⁶ are more likely to disregard pro-Ukrainian language policies, and are not sanctioned for this failure (see Bilaniuk, 2010).

Law on the Principles of State Language Policy

In early July 2012, as the Euro 2012 soccer tournament was drawing to a close in Kyiv, the Verkhovna Rada [Ukrainian parliament] passed a law that runs counter to the

⁶ *Region* is an emerging English translation for *oblast'*, a political subdivision of the Ukrainian nation equivalent to a province or state. Some texts cited, however, may still use the term *oblast'*.

Ukrainianization trend (and possibly to the Constitution). The “Law on the Principles of State Language Policy” stipulates that if a region has a language spoken by more than 10 percent of the population (as defined in the 2001 Census⁷), that language may be given the status of regional or administrative language in addition to Ukrainian (Gorchinskaya, 2012).

Pro-Ukrainian language factions have contested the law in a number of ways. The law has been condemned by international organizations in the Ukrainian diaspora including the Ukrainian World Congress and the Australian Federation of Ukrainian Organizations. In the western part of Ukraine, the government of L’viv proposed to challenge the law in Ukrainian Constitutional Court (“L’viv City Council”), and the council of Ivano-Frankivsk declared the new law void on its territory (“Ivano-Frankivsk”, 2012). Former President Viktor Yushchenko declared the law a “strategy for de-Ukrainization⁸” (“Yushchenko”, 2012). Protests and hunger strikes were staged in Kyiv, Kharkiv, and L’viv.

Regardless, almost immediately after President Yanukovych signed the law in August 2012, city councils in eastern Ukrainian cities (e.g. Kharkiv and Kherson) began passing laws giving Russian official status in their region—the main language seen to be supported by the law. In addition, some languages have achieved a regional or administrative status—for example, Romanian in Chernivtsi, Hungarian in Zakarpattia, and the Tatar language in Crimea. The Dnipropetrovs’k Regional Council took a more

⁷ The next census in Ukraine is scheduled to take place in 2013.

⁸ The terms “Ukrainianization” and “Ukrainization” are used interchangeably.

subtle approach to the issue. According to *Kyiv Post*, their initial reaction was to support the language law, but not declare Russian an official language (“Dnipropetrovsk Regional Council”, 2012). Less than one month later, however, the council passed a measure to implement the law (“Russian becomes regional language”, 2012).

In terms of its development and implementation, the law is controversial for a number of reasons. It was reported by opposition leader Arseniy Yatsenyuk that to pass the bill through the Verkhovna Rada “every procedure that could be violated has been violated” (“Ukraine rushes through”, 2012). The head of the Verkhovna Rada, Volodymyr Lytvyn, resigned over the passage of the bill (Herszenhorn, 2012), though his resignation was ultimately rejected (“Verkhovna Rada”, 2012). The bill is expected to cost both the government and private companies millions of dollars to provide materials in more than one language. Mostly, however, the law is seen as a political move by Yanukovich. Soldak (2012) says it serves to distract citizens from “more important issues like the state of the economy or reforms”, and may even be a means of artificially generating conflict among Ukrainians. The Gorshenin Institute, a Ukraine-based communications and consulting firm, declares that the language issue was an “artificial injection into the national agenda” which served to make the opposition leaders appear to be Ukrainian nationalists who could not focus on the main issues (“The adoption of the Law on Language Policy”, 2012). These observations underscore the fact that in Ukraine pro-Russian language policy is continually intertwined with the political aspirations of Russian-speaking groups in power.

Minority Languages and Language Rights in Ukraine

According to 2001 census data, Russian is the largest “minority language” group, comprising 29.6% of the population (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2003-2004). Another survey conducted by a Russian research institute shows that a majority of the Ukrainian population—around 60%—has active proficiency in Russian (Pavlenko, 2008b); an additional 20% claim passive proficiency. Thus, the vitality of Russian is stronger than one would expect of a ‘minority’ language. Nevertheless, Russian is guaranteed protection along with other minority languages in the Ukrainian Constitution and by Ukraine’s signing of the European Charter for Regional and Minority Languages (ECRML), which protects the languages of people who numerically are fewer than the rest of the State’s population and whose language is not a state language (Nic Craith, 2006).

Besides Ukrainian or Russian, 2.9% of the population speaks a language of one of 130 ethnic groups, though the percentage of speakers claiming their ancestral language as their mother tongue varies widely. According to the Ministry of Education and Science in Ukraine (MON), only four languages other than Ukrainian or Russian are used as a medium of instruction in schools: Romanian, Hungarian, Crimean Tatar, and Polish (MON, 2010). Like the use of Ukrainian and Russian in and out of schools, geography plays a major role. Yakobets (2004) found that Romanian-language schools are offered in only 3 regions: Chernautsi (Chernivtsi), Odesa, and Transcarpathia (Zakarpattia), all on the border of Romanian-speaking countries. Gordon (1996) said of the Polish minority: “they make up only 0.43% of the population and are not geographically concentrated in one area. This has no doubt contributed to the assimilation and loss of

national identity of the Polish population in Ukraine” (p. 226). Whether these numbers will increase as these languages gain official status outside of school through the 2012 Law on the Principles of State Language Policy remains to be seen.

English as a Medium of Instruction in Education in Ukraine

English cannot be understood in Ukraine to be a minority language, as officially individuals who speak English as a native language were not counted in the 2001 census. In official education reports from MON to the Council of Europe, English is regarded as a foreign language and a lingua franca in an age of globalization, but not as a medium of instruction. On the other hand, English can be positioned above Russian when treated as a foreign language, as seen in the following quote from MON: “foreign languages take the second place after Ukrainian in terms of importance and special attention” (MON, 2010). The report does not mention Russian at all, and English is reportedly studied by 90 percent of school children in Ukraine (MON, 2010). Other languages commonly learned are French, German, and Spanish. Roughly 10 percent of pupils study two foreign languages at once.

At the university level, EMI programs for specialties [majors] other than foreign language philology, foreign literature, or translation are rare compared to European countries (see Chapter 2). The Web sites of 183 Level III and IV public and private universities in 4 major areas of Ukraine (Kyiv city, Dnipropetrovs’k, the Crimean peninsula, and L’viv) were reviewed to determine their use of language and their mention

(if any) of the language of instruction at the university⁹. Of the 156 universities with working Web addresses, only 93 (60%) even have a link to information in English, and 27 of those 93 sites advertise links to English that in reality are blank or contain the same information in the original language. Two sites, rather than providing translations of text themselves, rely on an imbedded version of Google Translate to provide information in the necessary language for viewers.

Only 6% of the Web sites reviewed (10 out of 156) state on their Web site that they offer English-medium courses (in this context, understood both as programs of study and groups taking their subjects in English) outside of EFL, translation, or literature courses. Of these, three universities offer programs based on relationships with four universities in the EU. The National Academy of Public Administration, in addition to “professional courses in English”, has a special project now on “English Skills for Civil Servants involved in EU Integration” taught by the British Council (the UK's language-teaching outreach arm worldwide). The National Aviation University has a private “English speaking project” for teaching courses in English which attracts foreigners. In one case, however, the university’s English information site looks like a letter from a French university inviting a partnership, and the Web links to the French university are broken. The main page of the French university mentions dual-degree and “twinning” programs with other universities but none are in Ukraine.

Of the 10 university sites, two indicate in sections targeting foreigners or international students that programs are run in English **plus** Ukrainian or Russian. A

⁹ Special thanks to Hanna Schlosser and Li Bai for their efforts on this task.

medical school in Crimea says courses are offered in English and Russian. A law academy advertises instruction in Ukrainian, Russian, and English. According to the Nigerian online magazine *Bella Naija*, the Ambassador of Nigeria to Ukraine has warned students not to study in Ukraine because of the low level of English spoken in Ukrainian universities, adding that they will learn more if they learn the local language (Adeyemo, 2012). The ambassador's support for learning the local language, rather than being framed as an opportunity for multilingualism or even acknowledgement of the relationship between medium of instruction and learning potential, indicates that studying in the local language is an alternative to compensate for the lack of English in Ukrainian universities.

Patterns of Linguistic Culture in Ukraine

While one cannot generalize all linguistic and cultural interaction in Ukraine, there are three key nuances in the general linguistic culture in Ukraine which underpin research at Alfred Nobel University: the definition of native language, dispreference for the term “bilingualism”, and marked attitudes towards codemixing. Research in Ukraine combined with statistics on self-identification of native language in the census over time (Arel, 2002, 2006; Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008; Hrycak, 2006; Friedman, 2006) indicate the term “native language” (*ridna mova* in Ukrainian, *rodnoi iazyk* in Russian) is more often used to refer to one's nationality rather than the language spoken in an individual home. In other words, a Ukrainian-born person who speaks mostly Russian at home will still identify their native language publicly and in surveys as Ukrainian because they have grown up in Ukraine. In education, this distinction may account for the choice to identify

the offering of general education in the languages of national minorities as including Russian (to refer to ethnic Russians who study in Ukraine rather than Russophone Ukrainian citizens) and Moldovan, which is a variety of Romanian spoken in Moldova but counted separately from Romanian.

As for bilingualism, in Soviet times “bilingualism” in practice was a euphemism for ethnic Ukrainians learning to speak Russian (Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008; Cherednychenko 1997). A 2007 survey of language use suggests ethnic Ukrainians are still 2.7 times more likely than ethnic Russians to be bilingual at home (Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008). To counterbalance that historical practice, speakers in Ukraine have been observed engaging in *cooperative nonaccommodation* (Pavlenko, 2008b) or *nonreciprocal bilingualism* (Bilaniuk, 2005, 2010), in which one speaker speaks Ukrainian (or Russian) and the interlocutor continues in the other language rather than switching to accommodate the first language spoken. This suggests not only an acceptance of Ukrainian, but also at least a passive proficiency in two languages.

Other evidence of proficiency in two languages comes in the degree of mixing of Ukrainian and Russian. While extensive research has been done, for example, on the meaningful use of intersentential codeswitching among Spanish-English speakers (see Chapter 2), in the Ukrainian context this mixing is marked with the pejorative metapragmatic term *surzhyk*. Historically *surzhyk* referred to a low-grade mixture of wheat grains (Bernsand, 2006; Flier, 1998), and was generally applied metaphorically to the practice of Ukrainian peasants who were trying to sound more cultured or educated by adding Russian words to their speech—often incorrectly (Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008). Currently, the term is used to cover such diverse referents as entire village dialects, the

insertion of Russian words into Ukrainian speech, the fusing of Russian and Ukrainian grammatical and phonological features, or a Russian “accent” in one’s Ukrainian (Bilaniuk 2005; Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008).

Surzhyk has been called a “disease”, a product of “Ukrainian self-hate and self-denigration”, and a “national tragedy” (Bernsand, 2006; Bilaniuk, 2005). Such comments indicate the desire for language purity, cultivating a language separate from Russian, or elevating the status of Ukrainian (Bilaniuk, 2005; Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008; Friedman, 2006). On the other hand, Bilaniuk (2005) spoke with a Ukrainian who said people concerned with linguistic purity are perpetuating Soviet models of cultural correctness. Bernsand remarks, “It is more seldom pointed out that the original connotations of the term specifically relate it to the struggle for survival...it would not seem unreasonable to argue that surzhyk in some circumstances kept hunger away” (Bernsand, 2006, p. 87). To extend the metaphor that mixed grains are better than no grains at all, the “Better *surzhyk* than Russian!” ideology means it is better to have an “impure” language than no language of one’s own.

The Educational System in Ukraine

Schools at all three levels of education (elementary, secondary, and tertiary) begin the school year on September 1. Children enter elementary school at age 6 or 7; after four years, they move onto secondary school. Officially, students attend “basic” secondary school from grades 5-9 and “upper” secondary school from grades 9-11 (MON, 2010), though colloquially these grades tend to be referred to as middle school (*srednaia shkola*).

In elementary and secondary education, Ukrainian is the predominant language of instruction; a Russian-language class can be opened at a school if 8-10 parents request it (Janmaat, 1999). As a result, there has been a corresponding—though not identical—distribution of Ukrainian- and Russian-language elementary and secondary schools nationwide that favor Ukrainian-language instruction in the west and Russian-language instruction in the east. In southern and eastern regions, the percentages of Ukrainian-language classes are lower than the ethnic Ukrainian population (Hrycak, 2006); conversely, in Kyiv and the western Ukrainian regions, percentages of Ukrainian-language school attendance have increased to levels higher than the native Ukrainian population (Arel, 1996; Bilaniuk & Melnyk, 2008; Janmaat, 1999; State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2003-2004). Arel (1996) says, “The quiet Ukrainianization of the Kiev schools suggests that both the Russian-speaking Ukrainians and the Russians of Kiev find it in their interest to integrate into the nation-building project” (p. 77).

As for higher education, according to the MON web site, there are 846 higher educational institutions nationwide which in the 2011-2012 school year served 2.3 million students, 53,000 of whom were foreign students (MON, 2012). The institutions are divided among four levels of accreditation. Schools, technical schools and colleges comparable to junior colleges in the United States are identified as Levels I-II, while level III-IV designations are for universities, academies, and institutes which offer bachelor’s, “specialist”, and master’s degrees. Institutions are further divided into state (i.e. public), communal (jointly owned by state and local governments), and private universities. The language of instruction in universities—without qualification or categorization—is Ukrainian (MON, 2010).

State universities, which may be called “state” or “national”, constitute half of the universities in the country. State universities have two types of students: “budget” (*biudzhetni* in Ukrainian, *biudzhetni* in Russian) and “contract” (*kontraktni* in Ukrainian, *kontraktni* in Russian). Budget students have received high marks in school and high grades on their final state exams, so despite the moniker “budget” the financial support they receive is merit-based. At a private university, all students (or rather, their parents) pay full tuition. Regardless of the source of income for the university or its students, all degrees are conferred by MON. Moreover, MON determines which subjects are compulsory for students for the first two years of study. Perhaps this uniformity in curriculum at the national level explains why all Ukrainian universities seem to offer courses in “double periods” of 80 minutes each, though based on my experience the timing of courses and breaks can vary from university to university.

The Bologna Process and Higher Education in Ukraine

The Bologna Process in Ukraine has ostensibly resulted in a major restructuring of its educational system in order to meet compatibility goals. Universities who are members of the process are switching from 5-year specialist degrees and post-graduate (*aspirantura*) degrees to a “three cycle” structure characterized by a three-year bachelor’s degree program, a two year master’s degree, and a three-year doctorate. At one point, the Ukrainian government also planned to extend the elementary and secondary school system from 11 years to 12 years starting with the 2000-2001 school year to conform to the European or Bologna educational timeline (Janmaat, 2008). However, this would have left universities with no freshman class in the 2011-2012 school year, so the plan

was eventually withdrawn. What has been implemented is the European Credit Transfer System (ECTS), a grading system consisting of both points and a letter grade which is used to allow for comparable assessment of transcripts and grades among Bologna Process member countries or universities.

Critiques of the Ukrainian System of Education

The Ukrainian system of education has been critiqued for a number of reasons. Specifically in higher education, Frances Cairncross, board member of the Foundation for Effective Governance think tank established by the wealthy Ukrainian Rinat Akhmetov, reported in a *Kyiv Post* editorial that Ukrainian universities are too small, too numerous, and have too little funding for teaching and research to be effective, highly ranked research universities. She also believes that universities in Ukraine don't encourage students to question, are rampant with cheating and bribery, and have "far too little emphasis on teaching English" (Cairncross, 2010).

Fimyar (2010) summarizes the critiques as a discourse of "educational crisis". She cites government reports and her previous research, all of which point to "low quality, low efficiency, inadequate financing, the lack of personnel, technological resources and physical facilities" as well as the "widening inequalities between rural and urban schools, mushrooming of private tutoring and non-state universities, widespread bribery, and corruption" (Fimyar, 2010, p. 63). These critiques are not only lobbed at Ukraine by outsiders; they are found within the texts of Ukrainian education policy, as this Parliamentary Degree indicates:

The modernization of the educational content is being carried out slowly, the interdisciplinary and intersubject links are weakening. The network of

general secondary, vocational, and higher educational establishments of different forms of ownership is in need of improvement. The network of general secondary education establishments for gifted students: specialized schools, gymnasiums, collegiums, lyceums—is developing slowly. The ruination of the system of preschool and out-of-school education continues. The schools in rural areas are in crisis. The achievements in the supply of pedagogical staff in the general secondary education are falling. (Parliamentary Degree “On the Results of the Parliamentary Hearings ‘On the Implementation of the Education Laws’”, No. 210-15, from October 24, 2002, in Fimyar, 2010)

Another of the rationalities or “formations beneath discourses” which Fimyar (2010) identifies in policy discourse is “catch up Europeanization”. Janmaat (2008) similarly writes that one of Ukraine’s challenges is reforming education so that its citizens are able to compete in a global marketplace. While one outcome of this struggle is the proliferation in Ukraine of private schools which offer to train students for global work, the other two outcomes Janmaat (2008) observes are restructuring of the secondary school system to meet “European” standards, and participation in the Bologna Process. In the educational sphere, then, it can be said that Ukraine, as in general politics, is striving to be European to overcome a state of “crisis”. While foreign language education is seen to be an important part of that outcome, there is less emphasis at this time on English-medium education. However, as Ukrainian officials learn more about how this trend is spreading in Europe, they are more likely to add it to their reform agenda. For that reason, an understanding of the implications for any university in Ukraine to have an EMI program is sorely needed.

The City of Dnipropetrovs’k

The city in which Alfred Nobel University is situated, Dnipropetrovs’k, lies about 500 km [300 miles] southeast of Kyiv. With over 1,000,000 residents, it is the third

largest city in Ukraine after Kyiv and Kharkiv (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2003-2004). In the Dnipropetrovs'k region, 32% of the population is ethnic Russian, but an additional 17% of ethnic Ukrainians claim Russian as their mother tongue (State Statistics Committee of Ukraine, 2003-2004). Thus, Dnipropetrovs'k is a highly Russian-speaking area.

Dnipropetrovs'k was founded in 1776 by Duke Potemkin under the name Katerynoslav [Ekaterinoslav in Russian, in honor of Tsarina Catherine II] as a town and fortress at the western edge of the “New Russia” region of the Russian empire (Magocsi, 2007, 2010). After the Bolshevik revolution, the city was renamed Dnipropetrovs'k to shed its tsarist roots. The city was decimated in World War II, but eventually became the center of the Soviet military-industrial complex (Magocsi, 2007). Until the end of the *perestroika* period of the late 1980s it was a “closed city”, meaning only Soviet citizens were permitted to enter (Oleg Tarnopolsky, personal communication, February 11, 2010; Alexander Malygin, personal communication, February 9, 2010). In fact, the entire region was off-limits to foreigners except for the town of Kryvyi Rih, two hours southwest of Dnipropetrovs'k (Alexander Malygin, personal communication, February 9, 2010). A prominent missile factory in Dnipropetrovs'k during Soviet times, Yuzhmash, still operates and currently cooperates with international investment partners worldwide (see “Sea Launch”, 2011).

In addition to aerospace, Dnipropetrovs'k is a major center for mining, metallurgy, the natural gas industry, and politics. In fact, it is rather difficult to separate the industrial base of Dnipropetrovs'k from its political base. It is well known that former prime minister and current (political) prisoner Yulia Tymoshenko prospered in the

natural gas industry in Dnipropetrovs'k. Former President Leonid Kuchma also began his Soviet and post-Soviet career in the military-industrial industry in Dnipropetrovs'k (Magocsi, 2010). Magocsi adds about the post-Soviet era: "Whereas Kuchma himself may not have directly benefited from privatization, others around him certainly did; these included his friends, some family members, and in particular his former Soviet managerial colleagues interconnected with oligarchic 'clans' based in Kiev, Dnipropetrovs'k, and Donetsk" (p. 737).

Since 2001, the city's embankment of the Dnipro river has undergone numerous renovations by the city government to add pedestrian walkways, restaurants, fountains, and sculptures. Figure 3.2 depicts a representative fountain sculpture found on the waterfront across from Alfred Nobel University (note that the fountain does not operate in winter).



Figure 3.2. Water Fountain on Lenin Embankment. Photo by author, May 2011.

On the “day of the city” celebration at the opening of yet another fountain in Theater Square, the mayor of Dnipropetrovs’k described these measures as efforts to make a more European city (field notes, September 12, 2010).

Chapter Conclusion

Ukraine has been an independent state less than 25 years out of its more than 1000 years of existence. The country is at a crossroads as it ponders how best to strengthen its position by forging alliances with the EU, Russia and the customs union, or both. Internally, the style of political administration also shifts between a “Western style” democracy and a “Russian style” authoritarian approach.

These shifts at times have supported Ukrainian speakers, Russian speakers, minority speakers, or disenfranchised all three groups in and out of educational settings. The degree of support for one language or another depends heavily on geography due to the historical development of the different areas of Ukraine. Language-in-education policy seems to be prominent in implementing national language policy goals, but the overall infrastructure of the educational system leaves much to be desired, even for those who work in the Ukrainian educational system. Additional shifts are underway to improve the Ukrainian system of higher education to make it more like Europe. Dnipropetrovs’k, as a large city in eastern Ukraine with a history dating back to the Russian Empire, is unsurprisingly a predominantly Russian-speaking city. Yet its infrastructure is also being transformed to be more “European”. The strong parallels between developing a European system of education and a European city cannot be overlooked.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH SITE AND METHODOLOGY

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research site, Alfred Nobel University, and the methodology of this study. As this is an ethnographic research study, much of what is reported here about Alfred Nobel University emerged as significant over the course of ethnographic fieldwork. Moreover, the parameters of data collection were shaped by the unique characteristics of the educational structure of Alfred Nobel University. While this structure has much in common with universities across Ukraine, the uses of English and other languages for educational purposes are unique to this site and are accounted for in the research design.

About Alfred Nobel University

Alfred Nobel University is a private university which was established in 1993 (two years after Ukraine became an independent country) under the name Dnipropetrovs'k University of Economics and Law (DUEL in English, *DUEP* in Ukrainian). In December 2010 the name was changed to *Dnipropetrovs'kyi Universitet Ekonomiky ta Prava imeni Alfreda Nobela*—Alfred Nobel Dnipropetrovs'k University of Economics and Law. Shortly after completing fieldwork, I was informed that the university had added some degree programs for the humanities and has thus been renamed Alfred Nobel University. This name reflects the transition to being a “classical” university rather than one that focuses solely on economics and law (Oleg Tarnopolsky, personal communication, September 30, 2011).

I was further advised to use the real name of the university in the dissertation. While this poses some challenges in terms of confidentiality, it also indicates that having an English-medium program and being the focus of this research is a source of pride for the university. There is an additional risk that my dissertation could become an instrument of publicity for the university. However, at no time did I feel my topic choice, access to classes or students, or communications with teachers and students were controlled for that purpose.

In the 2010-2011 school year, Alfred Nobel University served over 8,000 students at three sites: 5,200 at the main university in Dnipropetrovs'k, 1,600 at the branch in Kremenchuk (300 km north of Dnipropetrovs'k on the Dnipro river), and 600 in Reni (1000 km southwest of Dnipropetrovs'k on the Danube River and close to the border with Romania). Of the four levels of university accreditation awarded by the Ukrainian Ministry of Science and Education (Nikolayenko, 2007), Alfred Nobel University has received a level IV accreditation, the highest. This distinguishes the university from technical and professional schools operating at levels I and II which offer junior specialist degrees (the equivalent of an Associate of Arts degree) and are not participants in Bologna Process reforms (Nikolayenko, 2007; www.mon.gov.ua). The level IV accreditation laminates the university with a high mark of distinction among academic-oriented institutions at levels III and IV. Moreover, the university claims to be one of the first to start implementing the Bologna Process reforms.

The Social Significance of Alfred Nobel University's Status as a Private University

It was mentioned in Chapter 3 that students in state universities may get merit scholarships or pay for their studies, while all students at private universities pay for their studies. During fieldwork, some people I talked to around Ukraine (usually those affiliated with state universities) argued that students at private universities are spoiled children who could not qualify to enter a state university, so their rich parents then paid for them to enter a private university.

Not surprisingly, students and teachers at Alfred Nobel University argued in interviews that the quality of education in terms of support from the rector and teacher-student interaction was higher than at state universities. A philology student commented in an interview that other universities operate like elementary and secondary school where teachers think “I’m best and you are the student, and you are stupid” and teachers scream instead of giving support as they do at Alfred Nobel University (quotes in original English from audio file, April 8, 2012). A teacher commented that her experience at a state university was that most teachers were just reading from a book. The teacher added that if she were to use such an approach at Alfred Nobel University, the students would fall asleep. This and comments from other teachers (as well as my observations at Alfred Nobel University) give the impression that Alfred Nobel University students need to be entertained in order to hold their attention, a fact that could justify the critiques of teachers from state universities while not necessarily justifying the methods typically used at state universities.

Facilities were also rated as higher at Alfred Nobel University than at state universities, a fact I noticed myself (at least, for most parts of the university). One teacher

attributed this to the rector's desire for students to get used to being in luxurious surroundings—surroundings the rector, a former Economics Minister for President Kuchma, was already accustomed to. A student who considered attending both Alfred Nobel University and a state university said he visited the state university with his father, who concluded that nothing had changed in 20 years except that the buildings had gotten more dilapidated. This student added, “And from my friends, I just heard that um, there are many many cold rooms. At that university. And they just on their informatics they just sit in coats, scarfs, gloves” (original English from audio file, February 28, 2011). I replied that I had seen (and experienced) that level of cold in many university classrooms, but not at Alfred Nobel University. In fact, the only day I saw students wearing coats during class was the first day it was below freezing (-11 C/12 F), and there were other days in winter when students asked for permission to open the windows because it was too warm inside! Students and teachers also told me that bribery (teachers demanding that students pay for higher grades) is practically nonexistent, especially compared to other universities. As one student put it, “we are graded according to the things we achieve, not according to [the] thickness of our wallets” (original English from audio file, April 6, 2011). In short, there are multiple indicators that Alfred Nobel University's status as a private university gives it a lower or questionable reputation to people outside the university. The students and faculty of Alfred Nobel University, however, have come to the conclusion that Alfred Nobel University offers a higher standard of education than nearby state universities.

Layout and Resources of Alfred Nobel University

Alfred Nobel University's main campus in Dnipropetrovsk is situated on the corner of Naberezhna Lenina (Lenin Embankment Street) and Vulitsa Iuliusha Slovatskoho (a street renamed after a Polish writer in honor of the university's cooperation with a university in Poland), and faces the embankment of the Dnipro river. The campus' main entrance consists of a gated brick courtyard, the centerpiece of which is the "Planet Alfred Nobel" sculpture. According to a granite marker etched in Ukrainian in the courtyard, the sculpture was placed there in 2008 in honor of the 40-year anniversary of awarding Nobel Prizes in Economics. It further serves as a symbol of the "contributions of the people of Ukraine to the cause of nuclear disarmament" (*symvol vnesku narodu Ukraïny u spravu iadernoho rozzbroiennia*) and the "power of Ukraine as one of the world leaders in aerospace development" (*symvol mohutnosti Ukraïny – odnoho zi svitovykh lideriv kosmichno-budivnoi haluzi*). Its main goal, however, is to "popularize science and exalt the creative genius of people, their striving for enlightenment and goodness, and honor the names of talented pioneers in scientific thought on planet EARTH" (*populiaryzuvaty nauku i vozvelychuvaty tvorchyi henyi liudyny, ii prahnennia do svitla i dobra, slavyty imena talanovytykh pioneriv naukovoï dumky na planeti ZEMLIA*). For most students and visitors, however, its main function is to serve as an attractive backdrop for photographs. The sculpture is surrounded by three yellow buildings with green trim (*Korpus A (1), Korpus B (2), and Korpus C (3)*). Figure

4.1 shows a picture of the sculpture in the courtyard and the entrance to Korpus B with a sign in Ukrainian for the admissions office.¹⁰



Figure 4.1. Courtyard and Entrance to Korpus B of Alfred Nobel University. Photo by author, November 2010.

The three buildings are interconnected by corridors on the 2nd floor of Korpus B. Korpus A and Korpus B can be entered directly from the courtyard, but Korpus C can only be accessed via Korpus B. Room numbers are 4 digits: the first for the korpus number (1, 2, or 3), the second for the floor number, and the last two digits for the room number. For rooms on the 4th floor of Korpus C, one also has to know which of two stairwells will lead to that room, as the Hall of Nobel Laureates is in the middle of the 4th floor passageway. At first it felt like a maze. When I had to stop a teacher (Aleksandr Nikolayevich) one September afternoon to ask for help, even he described the building

¹⁰ See Chapter 8 for a further discussion of the university courtyard and its signage.

structure as an enigma comparable to that found in the Umberto Eco novel *The Name of the Rose*. Eventually I learned to make my way around on my own; this process of understanding the university's physical structure became a metaphor for making the strange familiar (see Spindler & Spindler, 1982) during the process of conducting fieldwork as a whole.

The interior of the university contains a range of practical and decorative resources from basic to luxurious. The foyers of Korpus A and Korpus B have white tiles which are mopped clean throughout the day by an elderly woman. These foyers also have flatscreen TVs which show announcements or video from the university's television channel. The Korpus B entrance has a flatscreen TV which often shows "English Club TV", a cable station with English-language programming. However, the sound is usually turned off and any subtitles are often in Russian or Ukrainian, which means the channel provides little to no input in English to students.

A typical classroom has wooden rectangular desks, arranged in rows of two or three, which face the front of the room where there is a table for the teacher (sometimes on a raised platform). Behind each desk are two or four chairs depending on the length of the desk. The chairs have metal legs and thin wooden seats and backs. Often on the side of the room to the students' left and the teachers' right there is a row of high windows which could be opened by anyone year-round. Other rooms have individual desks and chairs, a long oval table, or desks for two seats arranged in a U-shape. Some lectures and seminars are held in an auditorium accessed from the second floor of Korpus B. There are at least three "computer classrooms" consisting of a set of computers at an oval table surrounded by individual workstations. The relatively new Hall of Nobel Laureates

(accessed through Korpus C), with plush green seats and walls decorated with golden images of Nobel prize winners in economics, is seen only during conferences and special events with guests from outside the university. The golden medal-reliefs of the laureates, however, are also represented on the “Planet Alfred Nobel” sculpture.

Nearly every room has a blackboard whose quality can be measured by one’s ability to read information written on it. Some blackboards were not much bigger than a desk, while others had three parts, two of which could open and close; this allowed a teacher to fold the board and write more information on the back. There is not always chalk in the room, but there is always a rag to clean the chalk off with. Some rooms are decorated with inspirational quotes or drawings, but other rooms are not. Most of the rooms have a computer, projector, and a screen or flatscreen TV. These are mainly used for PowerPoint presentations by teachers or students, and occasionally for showing videos or video clips (from a flash drive or CD, not directly from the Internet).

Near the university are multiple indicators of relative prosperity. Across the street from the university on Iuliusha Slovatskoho is Friends’ Time, a coffee shop chain featuring espresso and coffee drinks costing 15-25 UAH each (\$2-\$3), donuts, muffins, pastries, sandwiches, and free Wi-Fi. It is close to “Western” coffee prices, but affordable enough to be popular with students on their big break or after school. I also spent many happy hours there eating, drinking coffee, working on my field notes, working online, and occasionally chatting with students I knew—including one student who had decided to have coffee instead of going to class. (Individual students regularly skipped classes despite the fact that roll was kept by a group monitor, but not all students spent that time at a coffee shop.) On the Naberezhna Lenina side of the street was the

Rio restaurant, bar, and banquet hall. Often luxury cars such as Mercedes Benz sedans and Range Rovers were parked outside. Two blocks away was Prospekt Karla Marksa, the main street of Dnipropetrovs'k, with the Opera House on the corner. Further up the street were TGI Friday's and the "Elite Center" supermarket and shopping center. A shopping mall, *Most* [Ukrainian for "Bridge"]¹¹ was a 15-minute walk or a short *marshrutka* [minibus] ride away.

Not all shops and services in the area were for the well-to-do. I recall entering a shop around the corner from the university called *Sotsial'nye Produkty*, which I mentally translated at the time as "Social Groceries". The "social" marker plus the "without GMO [Genetically Modified Organisms]" sign to me signified that it was an organic foods store, and I started buying *pelmeni* [Russian meat dumplings] there. One day I was in the Applied Linguistics department office and I told colleagues about this store. They replied that it was a market for people with limited income; the "social" meant that it was offered at low prices (i.e. "Socialist" or "Social Welfare", not "Social"). They advised me not to continue shopping there, as the quality is not reliable.

The Wales Program

In January 2010, I was informed by email that, as part of an "international project", there would be a very new program in which two groups of 25 students each would study in English from their first year to their fifth year. This program eventually came to be known to me (and referred to at the university) as the "Wales program",

¹¹ This could also potentially be a play on words with the English meaning of most.

because the project in question is a partnership with the University of Wales. In addition to having all courses taught in English, students in the Wales program have the possibility of obtaining a joint Bachelor's degree in Business Management from Alfred Nobel University (with the diploma issued from the Ministry of Education in Ukraine) and the University of Wales.

During fieldwork, I learned that the agreement to start the Wales program was developed over the period of a year (September 2009-September 2010) and was officially “validated” in December 2010. The university also applied to the Ministry of Education of Ukraine for permission to run classes in English. Because the University of Wales operates on a 3-year Bachelor's degree program (consistent with the Bologna Process) and Alfred Nobel University's Bachelor degree program is a 4-year program, the first year of the Wales program at Alfred Nobel University is considered a “preparatory” year. This preparatory status gives students time to prepare for the language requirements of speaking and writing in English. It also gives students time to take courses required by the Ministry of Education which cannot be studied in English—either because the practicality of such subjects necessitates their being taught in Russian or Ukrainian (e.g. Ukrainian history, Ukrainian language) or because teachers cannot be found who can teach the subject in English. As part of the process of establishing and maintaining this agreement, the University of Wales sent a team to visit Alfred Nobel University in spring 2010 and March 2011. The team also had plans to request writing samples from Wales program students starting in Fall 2011.

How Students Enrolled in the Wales Program

Of the 25 students enrolled in the Wales program in the 2010-2011 year, interviews revealed that 11 Ukrainian students matriculated directly into the program when they applied to the university, as most Ukrainian students apply to and are admitted directly to a department or major (often referred to in English as a “specialty”). An additional 6 students who enrolled in the Ukrainian/Russian-medium program of international economics took an exam in English and were invited to join the English-medium program based on those exam scores. The remaining slots in the class were offered to foreign students; 7 students from Nigeria were recruited by the university’s international relations office in conjunction with a professional recruiting firm. Some students from Nigeria had extra difficulty obtaining visas, so the start of the Wales program courses in English was delayed until November 1. In addition, 2 students originally from Algeria who transferred to the university from another university in Dnipropetrovsk in mid-November asked to join the Wales program and were accepted.

Reasons for Choosing Alfred Nobel University as a Research Site

There are two main justifications for focusing my research on a single university. The first and foremost is that while many universities in Ukraine reportedly offer some academic subjects in English, only Alfred Nobel University has been implementing a systematic EMI program. Observing a second site which did not have such a program would not have answered questions about the language ideologies and practices around teaching in English. Moreover, there was ample opportunity to observe and interact with stakeholders in English-medium, Russian-medium, and Ukrainian-medium classes.

These observations yielded insights about the degree of intrasite variation in language or educational practices and attitudes.

Second, there was a historical connection with Alfred Nobel University that provided a secure foundation for conducting the research. I had visited the university three times prior to conducting the research—in November 2001 to lead a workshop for teachers, in October 2002 for an English teaching methods conference, and in May 2009 at another conference where I first learned of the rector's plans to require students to study subjects in English. The first two visits occurred while I was a U.S. Department of State English Language Fellow in Kharkiv, Ukraine and Khmel'nyts'kyi, Ukraine respectively; the third visit coincided with a 6-week tour of Ukraine to meet with teachers and solidify a research topic and research site. Each of the three visits to Alfred Nobel University came about because of the professional association between my advisor, Dr. Nancy Hornberger, and Professor Oleg Tarnopolsky. Professor Tarnopolsky is a *doktor nauk* [Doctor of Science], the chair of the Department of Applied Linguistics and Methods of Foreign Language Teaching at the university, a former vice-rector of the university, and a two-time Fulbright Scholarship recipient. He was a visiting scholar at the University of Pennsylvania Graduate School of Education in 1999, during which time Dr. Hornberger was his mentor. When I proposed that the university's plans to teach subjects in English be the topic of my dissertation research, Professor Tarnopolsky was immediately open to the idea. Moreover, I trusted that he would honor his promise to support access to the university and facilitate the completion of my research. This trust felt fully justified by the end of the fieldwork.

Educational Structure of Alfred Nobel University

As in all other elementary, secondary and higher educational institutions in Ukraine, the school year at Alfred Nobel University officially begins September 1. This day is referred to in Russian as *Den' Znani* (Day of Knowledge). The school year is then divided into four “modules” which are roughly the equivalent of quarters. Normally, classes run over two or four modules. In the 2010-2011 academic year, the first module went from September 1st to the end of October, and the second module ran from the 1st of November until the end of December. This was followed by two weeks of vacation for New Year's (January 1st) and Christmas (January 7th). The spring modules ran from February to April, and then from April until the end of May. The month of January was reserved for “session work”, which is an exam period (*sessia* in Russian and Ukrainian). There was a second period of session work in June. In most classes, students who obtained a certain grade in their coursework during the semester could automatically pass the exam. Generally, then, students taking exams during session work were either making up missed or poorly done work during the semester, or were 4th year students who were taking state exams.

Groups

As in other universities across Ukraine, students in the first year at Alfred Nobel University are assigned by the university to a group of up to 25 students with whom they take all of their classes for the duration of their program. Each group can find their schedule on the university timetable of classes by a name assigned to their group by the department. For example, students in the first year of international economics, as I witnessed at the organizational meeting, were assigned to groups designated “MEK-10-

1” and “MEK-10-2”. MEK is the abbreviation for the Ukrainian *Mizhnarodna Ekonomika*, “10” indicates the year, and 1 indicates the group.

The significance of a group as a social and educational unit at the university cannot be understated. In an EFL class that was discussing the statement, “School days are the happiest days of our life,” one student (Sergei) commented, “It’s depend on the classmate, because when it’s uh, good classmates right classmates, it’s the best moment our life. If they evil, it’s the, the worstest time of our life” (original English from audio file, October 20, 2010). One student who entered the Wales program after matriculating at Alfred Nobel University told me he chose to study in English-medium classes rather than Russian-medium classes in part because of the other people in the English-medium group; he reiterated at the end of the interview that making friends in his group was one of the “best points” of his educational experience. The framing of my research design, then, will focus not on *classes* I observed that were taught in English, but rather *groups* of students, the classes they took (in English, Russian, or Ukrainian), and their teachers.

Timing and Types of Classes

Lessons were always 80 minutes long and were referred to in English as “double periods”, i.e. two 40-minute lessons. In most parts of Ukraine, this double period is referred to in Russian as *para* (pair); in Dnipropetrovs’k it was called *lenta* (ribbon). At Alfred Nobel University the schedule for these double periods went as follows Monday thru Friday:

1 st period	8:30-9:50
2 nd period	10:05-11:25
“Big break”	11:25-12:05
3 rd period	12:05-1:25

4 th period	1:40-3:00
5 th period	3:10-4:30

There were 6th and 7th periods as well, but these were for evening programs (*zaochnyi* in Russian and Ukrainian) attended by students obtaining a second degree.

Classes were designated as “practical classes” that focused on studying a language for communicative purposes, or professional classes—academic subjects such as philosophy, economics, etc. Professional classes were either lectures or seminars. Lectures, as the name suggests, consists of one teacher presenting information to 2-4 groups, usually in a large auditorium and often with the aid of a portable microphone. Seminars were held with 1 group (or a subgroup) for the purpose of reviewing the material covered in the lecture. Lectures and seminars could be led by the same professor, or one professor could deliver the lecture and different professors could lead the seminars. For practical classes, groups were often divided further into subgroups. Generally students had 15-20 lessons (24-26 hours) on 7-9 subjects (including foreign languages) per week.

Due to the number of subjects and hours students were required to attend (as well as teachers’ scheduling needs), classes were distributed over a rotating two week schedule referred to as “numerator” and “denominator” (*chislitel’* and *znamenatel’* in Russian, *chysel’nyk* and *znamennyk* in Ukrainian)¹². If it was a numerator week, students attended the classes listed “above the line” for that day and time; if it was a denominator week, students attended classes below the line. If there was no line in the box for that day

¹² In other schools, I’m told, these two weeks may be referred to as “1st week” and “2nd week”. Another variant I heard at Alfred Nobel University was “odd” and “even”.

and time, students attended that class weekly. The first week of school was always a numerator week, the second week was a denominator week, and the third week reverted back to numerator. There was usually a sign on the first floor at the entrance of the second building as well as in department offices indicating the week.

Figure 4.2 shows a timetable excerpt for groups of students in the first year of international economics (*Mizhnarodna Ekonomika*) and commodity analysis and commercial activities¹³ (*Tovaroznavstvo i Torgovel'ne Pidpriemnitstvo*, abbreviated as TVP). The first column indicates the day of the week as well as the time of the lesson. The full timetable shows the lessons from Monday to Friday; the excerpt shows the timetable for Thursday only. Each group has a column for the course offered at that day and time, followed by a column called *auditoria*. In this column, the classroom where the course meets is added in pencil by the university's "dispatcher" (and is subject to change). The third group in the table is the Wales program group.

Time	IEC-1-2010	Auditorium	IEC-2-2010	Auditorium	IEC (Engl) - 2010	Auditorium	TVP-2010	Auditorium
Thursday								
8.30-9.50	Foundations of Economic Theory Sr. Lec. Lastname F. M.				Computer of Science (2) F. M. Surname, F. M. Surname		Chemistry AssocProf Lastname F. M., Lastname F. M.	
10.05-11.25	Ukr. Language AssocProf L		Syst. Tech. Prod. Lastname F. M.		Foreign Language Practic F. M. Surname, F. M. Surname		Chemistry AssocProf Lastname F. M.,	
	Syst. Tech. Prod. Lastname F. M.		Ukr. Language AssocProf L					
12.05-13.25	Sociology Prof. Lastname F		Physical Education		Mathematics for Economists F. M. Surname, F. M. Surname		Physical Education	
	Ukr. Language AssocProf L		OET Lastname F. M.					
13.40-15.00			Sociology Prof. Lastname F		Mathematics for Economists F. M. Surname, F. M. Surname			
	OET Lastname F. M.		Physical Education					
15.10-16.30					PE			

Figure 4.2. Timetable for 1st Year Students. This schedule is a composite of Module 2 of the Fall Semester and Module 1 of the Spring Semester. Translation from Ukrainian is

¹³ "Commodity analysis and commercial activities" is the English translation provided on the university Web site.

indicated by italics. The use of Ukrainian and English is original to Fall Module 2, and will be discussed further in Chapter 8. See Appendix B for a full timetable in the original language format.

Teachers' and Students' Language and Educational Background

According to information provided in interviews, the majority of students and teachers observed were born and raised in the city of Dnipropetrovs'k. The remaining students and teachers grew up in cities and small towns in the Dnipropetrovs'k region, or other cities in southeastern Ukraine. Only one student grew up west of Dnipropetrovs'k, and no one grew up west of Kyiv. It is not surprising then, that 10 interviewees reported speaking only Russian at home. Others framed their language use in terms of geography; if they had relatives who were from villages, or if they travelled to Western Ukraine to visit family, they spoke Ukrainian. There was also a historical-generational divide in language use. Some students reported that they knew both Russian and Ukrainian, but they spoke more Russian at home because their parents or grandparents grew up in the USSR and did not know Ukrainian as well. Two of these students indicated that being able to speak Ukrainian was a source of pride for them (or that not having the opportunity to speak it at home was a source of shame).

When asked about the primary language of instruction in school, nine teachers and students said it was Russian, four said it was Ukrainian, and three said it was a combination of Russian and Ukrainian. One of these students, Andrei, reported that at the lyceum (a type of secondary school) the medium of instruction depended on the teacher (see Chapter 6 for a discussion of this pattern at Alfred Nobel University). Another student, Pyotr, who grew up in a smaller town, reported that Ukrainian and Russian were used at his school. Andrei studied Ukrainian as a subject, and Pyotr studied

Russian as a subject. Oksana pointed out that at her school, “Ukrainian was like in English language, but it was more times during the week than English.” The school’s choice of which language is studied as a subject, then, indicates which language is the dominant language in the school, and which is positioned like a second or foreign language.

How Students and Teachers Learned English¹⁴

While Chapter 3 mentioned the current and historical regulations regarding learning English and additional foreign languages in school, Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2012) discuss the reasons why students cannot rely on public schools alone for development of their English language skills. Consistent with this evaluation of public schools, sixteen students indicated receiving additional language training from a tutor or a commercial language school, and one student had both. Students’ time in these extracurricular activities ranged widely, from 6 months to 7 years. Three of the students specifically gave criticisms of the public school system as part of the rationale for studying English elsewhere. Only one student felt their tutor was not ultimately the reason their language improved, attributing their success instead to Internet communication and watching movies.

One student cited the opportunity to travel or study English abroad for a few weeks as their alternative to hiring a tutor or studying in a commercial language school—one of four students who directly attributed their development in English to travel, work

¹⁴See Chapter 6 and Chapter 8 for discussions of how students and teachers learned additional foreign languages or intend to learn additional foreign languages.

or study abroad. In fact, the majority of interviewees had experience traveling, often to Russia, Turkey, and countries of the EU. Only half of those traveling abroad used English; others used English, Russian or the local language depending on the context. Generally, the limited time one spends traveling would indicate that it is not as strong a factor in language development as tutors or schools. However, travel can be a source of additional practice or motivation, as in the case of a Wales program student, Miroslav, who went to Poland and came back interested in developing his English.

Methodology

This dissertation is an ethnographic case study of a university increasingly implementing a policy of English as a medium of instruction. In the tradition of cultural anthropology, ethnography is defined as systematically and thoroughly describing a culture from both an *emic* and an *etic* perspective. The emic perspective is the point of view of the people in the culture (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007; Hornberger, 1995) in terms of native categories (Spindler, 1982), while the etic perspective “is situated outside the system studied, in which units and classifications are determined on the basis of existing knowledge of similar systems, and against which the particular system is measured” (Hornberger, 1995, p. 235). Ethnography involves participant observation (in which one both observes and participates in cultural phenomena), collection of written documents and other cultural “artifacts” at the field site, and interviews. Ethnographic research also looks closely at how *discourse*—communication beyond the individual sentence level—in particular contexts reproduces or alters the power structure of a culture

or society (Hornberger, 1995). McCarty (2011), in summarizing the history of language policy research, frames the ethnography of language policy as answering seven questions:

1. What does language education policy “look like” in social practice?
 2. How do policy processes normalize some languages and speakers, and marginalize others?
 3. How are language users and practices “disciplined” or regulated through explicit and implicit policies?
 4. How are people and communities defined through these policy processes?
 5. Whose interests are served by these policy-making processes?
 6. How do minoritized speech communities exercise agency in the face of oppressive language policies?
 7. How can we use ethnographic work to create a more socially just world?
- (McCarty, 2011, p. 4)

Ethnography is well suited for language-in-education policy research. As Canagarajah (2006) argues, “LPP is about ‘what should be’, but ethnography is about ‘what is’” (p. 153); moreover, “the classroom is an important site of policymaking at the microsocial level” (Canagarajah, 2005, p. xxi). Ethnographic research on language policy in educational contexts has been conducted in numerous locations, including: on an experimental bilingual education policy in Peru (Hornberger, 1988), revitalization of the Quichua language in Ecuador (King, 2001), multilingual language use in South African classrooms (Bloch & Alexander, 2003), in teacher education programs in Sweden (Hult, 2007, 2012), and school programs in Peru and Philadelphia (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007, 2011), among others. More recently, ethnography of language policy and practice in higher education contexts have been conducted by Martin-Jones (2011) at a vocational university in Wales, and by Hornberger and Swinehart (2012) on individual enactments of language policy and practice in an Andean Intercultural Bilingual Education program (see Chapter 2 for additional ethnographic research on English as a medium of instruction).

Research Scope and Time Frame

I arrived in Dnipropetrovs'k in mid-August 2010. Professor Tarnopolsky and his wife helped me settle into the university's *obshchezhitie-gostinitsa* (Russian for dormitory-guesthouse), after which he arranged brief introductory meetings between me and school administrators and helped me plan my initial visits to classes. At the time, he also informed me that for any class I wished to visit for the first time, I should tell him first so he could contact the teacher. I felt this request was a combination of his desire to explain the project to the teacher, and his ability to convince the teacher to say yes. As I became more comfortable at the university, I strayed from this advice and started entering new classes on my own, a strategy with varying degrees of success. Three teachers let me in right away. One teacher asked me to come back because it was the first class and he was nervous. Another teacher pulled me out of the class as soon as she walked in, upset that no one had informed her about the research project; she eventually let me observe another day.

From September 2010 to the end of December 2010, and again from early February to May 2011 (an academic year), I observed between four and seven 80-minute lessons per week for a total of 171 lessons; of these, I captured 46 lessons on audio, video, or both¹⁵. Most of these lessons I planned to visit in advance based on the students' timetable and my desire to balance the types of lessons or groups I saw each week. For other lessons I was invited to see a particular group or class, or I walked by a

¹⁵ 171 lessons should total 228 hours, with 61 of those hours audio or video recorded. However, a few classes were attended for less than the full period, and 5 of the 46 classes were only partially recorded.

classroom and saw one of the focal groups in it and decided to see what was happening. During the January session, I prepared my interview questions and started coding my field notes. From February to April 2011, I conducted semi-structured interviews with 26 students and 4 teachers while still observing classes.

In addition to observing classes and conducting interviews, throughout the year I attended university conferences, presentations, and performances at which I took notes and photos or recorded video. I also collected paper artifacts from the university and took photos of the university over this same time period. Additionally, I had informal conversations over coffee or tea with students and teachers; a few of these conversations were recorded (with permission), a practice inspired by the ethnographic fieldwork of Dong Jie (Blommaert & Jie, 2010). Finally, I made a brief follow-up visit in April 2012 for informal meetings and observations to identify any major changes at the university which needed to be accounted for in this dissertation. Table 4.1 shows an overview of the activities conducted and their timeline.

Table 4.1

Research Scope and Modes of Data Collection

Method (September –May unless otherwise indicated)	Resources Used		
	Written/Paper	Audiorecording	Photo and Video
Class observations	√	√	√
Attendance at school events	√	√	√
Teaching English to English- medium teachers	√	√	
Informal conversations	√	√	
Collection of artifacts	√		√

Structured interviews with teachers and students (30) (February-April 2011)	√	√
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A Note about Social Media

From December 2010 to the present, I have accepted invitations from students and teachers to be friends on the social networking sites Facebook and *Vkontakte* [In Contact, a Russian social media site]. For the most part, status updates, chats, photos, online journal entries, and online language practices have served as an informal affirmation of the direction of my analyses and conclusions. When an online communication seemed essential to include in the dissertation, I obtained permission from the author to quote that communication.

Groups Observed over the Academic Year

In my initial meeting with Professor Tarnopolsky, I was informed that there were four types of groups who study English: 1) the Wales program students; 2) future translators and interpreters; 3) students taking immersion courses in English but not in the Wales program or studying English as a major; and 4) students from other fields of study taking only practical classes in English. The initial goal, then, was to observe at least one group of students in each of these four categories. Because of the number of classes taught in English in the Wales program, the Wales program group quickly emerged as the group I observed most often, followed by one group each in the second and third categories: a) a group of 9 second-year philology [foreign languages and literature] students; and b) a group of 24 third-year international economics students taking an economics class in English. From the fourth category, one group of students from the psychology department was occasionally observed. In addition, I was invited by an

English instructor for law students to observe two special events in English, a mock trial and New Year's presentations.

Table 4.2 shows the breakdown of groups, courses, teachers, and individual lessons observed. Some courses list the names of two teachers instead of one; the second name is that of a teaching assistant the university provided as part of an experimental support program for some Wales program classes. For math and informatics, which were taught by teachers trained primarily in their content area, the assistants were trained in English language and pedagogy and could provide language support or correction to the professor as needed. For regional economics, which was taught by someone with primary training in English language and pedagogy, the assistant was a professor from the economics department.

All teacher names shown with the courses are pseudonyms. Following customs observed at the university, teachers are referred to with two names, a first name and patronymic (a middle name derived from their father's first name). Although foreign students and I often called teachers by their first name only without a negative reaction from the teachers, using a two-name format for teachers in the dissertation makes it easier to distinguish between teachers and students. Students are referred to by a first name only (also a pseudonym). The names are written with the most common Romanized version of the original Russian spelling to reflect the fact that the teachers and students I interacted with at the university seemed to use the Russian form of their names rather than a Ukrainian variant (e.g. Galina instead of Halyna). In some cases, teachers are given multiple pseudonyms or multiple students are given a common pseudonym to further ensure their confidentiality. Professor Tarnopolsky was one of the teachers

observed, and was also given a pseudonym for those classes. When he acts purely as a consultant or administrator, I refer to him hereafter by his real first name and patronymic, Oleg Borisovich. The only other person from Alfred Nobel University who appears in the dissertation with their real name is the rector of the university, Boris Ivanovich.

Table 4.2

Groups, Subjects, and Number of Lessons Observed

Teacher	Subject	Medium of Instruction	Number of Modules	Number of Lessons
<i>Wales Program Classes</i>				
Viktor Andreyevich	English practical class	English	4	17
Viktoria Sergeyevna	English practical class	English	4	16
Mikhail Grigoryevich (Viktoria Sergeyevna)	Math (lecture and seminar)	English	3	16
Svetlana Petrovna	Economic science (lecture and seminar)	English	3	15
Dmitri Bogdanovich (Natalia Petrovna)	Regional economics (lecture and seminar)	English	1	8
Galina Mikhailovna	Enterprise systems technology (EST) (lecture and seminar)	Russian	2	7
Aleksandr Nikolayevich	Philosophy (lecture and seminar)	English	1	6
Viktoria Sergeyevna	Psychology (seminar)	English	1	6
Aleksandr Nikolayevich	Sociology (lecture and seminar)	English	2	4

Tatiana Konstantinovna	Life safety (lecture and seminar)	English	1	3
Viktor Andreyevich	Psychology (lecture)	English	1	3
Olga Nikolayevna (Nadezhda Sergeyevna)	Informatics (lecture only)	English	1	2
Ludmila Anatolievna	Ukrainian language	Ukrainian	2	2
Lesya Dmitrovna	Ukrainian history and culture	Russian	1	1
<i>Philology</i>				
Viktor Andreyevich	English practical class	English	4	22
<i>International Economics</i>				
Larisa Ivanovna	International economics	English	4	21
Natalia Petrovna	Marketing	Russian	1	1
Tatiana Mikhailovna	English practical class	English	1	2
<i>Psychology and Law</i>				
Paulina Viktorovna	English practical class	English	2	4
Lena Ananyeva	English practical class	English	1	2
Total	19			158

Additional observations were made of teachers of students from the Wales program and the philology program as indicated in Table 4.3. Often I was simply invited by the teacher to observe these classes, but these observations also helped me obtain a more well-rounded picture of the difference between teaching students in English and

teaching in Russian or Ukrainian (or the difference between teaching students in the Wales program and students from Russian-medium groups in a similar specialty). None of these lessons were audio or video recorded.

Table 4.3

Additional Lesson Observations by Teacher

Teacher	Subject	Language	Total Lessons
Viktor Andreyevich	Methods of Foreign Language Teaching (lecture and seminar)	Russian	8
Aleksandr Nikolayevich	Philosophy	Russian	1
Aleksandr Nikolayevich	Sociology	Russian	1
Viktoria Sergeyevna	Philology	English	1
Galina Mikhailovna	EST for 1 st year international economics students (Seminar only)	Russian	2
Total	5	5	13

Interviews

Among the three most frequently observed groups, 26 students and 4 of their teachers were selected for interviews. Questions covered the following themes (though they were not necessarily asked in this order): personal background; professional or academic background; general classroom practices; language practices in class; general language use and attitudes; identity; the Bologna Process and EU integration; and language policy. Interviews were conducted between February and April 2011. Most interviews were 30-60 minutes, but a few interviews went as long as 90 minutes. Students could choose to be interviewed individually, in pairs, or in a group of three.

Most of the interviewees were also shown photos or video clips, or heard audio clips of various teaching and language activities and then given a chance to comment on them.

While some of the teachers (and I) had target students in mind, ultimately participation in the interviews was voluntary.

The Language of the Interviews

Appendix C contains the interview prompts developed in English and Appendix D contains their translation into Russian and Ukrainian. The questions were adapted from those used by King (2001) before arriving in Dnipropetrovsk and were revised again onsite to account for phenomena observed during the Fall term.

The questions are more structured than typical ethnographic interviews. My informal conversations with teachers and students indicated that open-ended questions tended to elicit short, vague answers, and class observations suggested teachers' questions were narrowly targeted to elicit specific answers. In addition, the language of questions needed to be precise in all three languages to avoid miscommunication. Finally, some questions needed to be constructed with counter-intuitive syntax. I had learned through one-on-one consultations with Oleg Borisovich and observations of his lectures on cross-cultural communication that communication tends to be more direct in Ukrainian/Russian speaking culture than in English-speaking culture. For example, he told students that in Russian one can tell someone, "you are wrong" but Americans and British do not like this construction. He told me that starting a question with "Don't you" in English is the equivalent of a polite question form in Russian (e.g. "Don't you want to sleep?" is a translation of *ne khochesh spat'?*). I was also advised that if I saw something I did not understand to ask directly, "Why did you do it that way?" Thus, if a student or

teacher said “yes” to the question, “Is Ukrainian the language of higher education?” I was prepared to challenge them with the follow-up, “why are you able to take/teach courses in English?”

A draft question list in English was reviewed by a Viktor Andreyevich in January 2011 to ensure the language was culturally appropriate and comprehensible. In the question about how people identify themselves, I was advised to change the word “global” to “international” because there are jokes about Ukraine being the world, including a “funny souvenir” of Ukraine in the form of a globe. Also, for questions that asked about the use of Russian alone (based on my observation that that was the only language used), I was advised to change the question to mention both Russian and Ukrainian; the reason was described me to in Russian as *na poderzhku shtanov*—to keep one’s pants up, a metaphor for political correctness (field notes, January 25, 2011). Once the list was acceptable to Oleg Borisovich and Nancy Hornberger in English, I drafted a translation into Russian which was checked and corrected by two native Russian speakers. A third teacher then helped me translate the Russian-language version of the question list into Ukrainian using Google translate (translate.google.com). This was then checked by Oleg Borisovich before the interviewing phase began.

To allow space for spontaneity during the interviews, a one-page network of question categories and keywords was created in the qualitative software ATLAS.ti and printed out for each interview. As the interview progressed, I checked off topics that were discussed, and I could move around the page to follow up on questions that seemed most relevant to the conversation at that moment. In addition, after the interview ended, I asked if students had questions for me. At times this turned into a freer conversation

which elicited new information; other times, the tables were turned and I was interviewed about America or my feelings about Ukraine and the university.

The majority of students were told at the beginning of the interview about the choice of language of the interview, in three languages [English in plain text, Russian underlined, Ukrainian in bold]: “you have the right and the possibility today, to choose the language of our conversation, English, i na angliiskom i na russkom, tol’ko na russkom, **anhlyis’koiu ta ukraïns’koiu, abo til’ko ukraïns’koiu, iak vy bazhaete, kak vy khotete**, as you wish” (original language from audio file). Table 4.4 shows how students and teachers responded to this explicit discussion about the use of language with me in the interview:

Table 4.4

Type of Language Choice and Associated Metapragmatic Commentary by Number of Interviewees

Type of choice	Metapragmatic Commentary (original language from audio transcripts)	Number of interviewees
English only	“I’ll talk maybe English, it’s for me like a practice.” “It’s better for us if we will speak on English of course.”	12 Students 2 Teachers
English and Russian	“So we will answer in English and if we something don’t know how to say we will in Russian, yes?”	4 Students 0 Teachers
Chose not to choose	“Wow. I don’t know. Maybe you will choose.” “Vsyo ravno” [Translation from Russian: “It’s all the same to me.”]	1 Student 1 Teacher
Choice never offered	Conversation with interviewees started immediately, or interviewee’s first language was English	9 Students 1 Teacher

Discursively these choices involved multiple turns and negotiations. Some students hesitated or giggled before choosing English. When students said “English and Russian” there was further negotiation of whether questions would be in English and

answers would be in Russian, or vice versa. In some cases, I told students who chose English that if they wanted at any time to use Russian they could. Some students who chose to do the interview in English at times switched briefly into Russian or Ukrainian during the interview if they forgot a word or to quote something. Only one interview was conducted primarily in Russian (with Pyotr from the Wales program group), and that was not an explicit choice. After we exchanged hellos in English, Pyotr asked me a question in Russian about shutting the door, so I responded in Russian. When I asked (mostly in Russian) what language he wanted the interview in, he answered in Russian, *vsyo ravno* (it's all the same to me). Since he spoke those words in Russian, I continued the interview in Russian.

In the flow of the interview, some questions came out differently than intended. The question “why are you able to take/teach courses in English?” came out in English as, “HOW IS IT POSSIBLE FOR YOU to take/teach courses in English”? This was my interlanguage adaptation of the Russian *kak možno* [how is it possible]. This could have incorrectly influenced students’ answers away from the target of the question, or it may be that no matter how I phrased the question, additional issues regarding language and policy were more prominent in their mind at that time (see Chapter 9). I had also intended to construct a question, “Don’t you worry that studying in English will limit your development in Russian or Ukrainian?” In reviewing my interview questions months later, however, I saw that while this construction came through in the Russian and Ukrainian, my internal discomfort with this grammatical construction led me to say in English, “DO YOU EVER WORRY that studying in English will limit your development

in Russian or Ukrainian?” The overwhelming majority of questions, however, were answered with an orientation to the original purpose of the question.

My Positionality and Role at the University

The most important tool in ethnographic research is the ethnographer (Nancy Hornberger, personal communication; King, 2001). Agar (1996) notes that “a social category will be assigned to the ethnographer by the group members. The category may change over time, but one will always exist” (p. 91). Hornberger (1988) asserts that in fact multiple social categories may be ascribed simultaneously to the researcher. It is important that one of these roles be someone who acts on the principle of *reciprocity*. As Hammersley and Atkinson (2007) state, “the fieldworker can demonstrate she is not an exploitative interloper, but has something to give” (p. 69). When I began my research at Alfred Nobel University, I anticipated that my collection and interpretation of the data, as well as the means of reciprocity, would be influenced by my being: 1) an English language teacher; 2) a doctoral student focusing on sociolinguistics and language policy; 3) an American and native speaker of English; 4) a descendant of people who grew up in what is now Ukraine and Belarus; and 5) a speaker of Russian as a foreign language in which I am proficient, and Ukrainian as another foreign language in which I have more limited proficiency. The first three facets in particular came to be salient in ways which will be illustrated in the following subsections.

She is One of Us: Access and Consent to Participate in Research

At the organizational meeting¹⁶ I attended for first-year students of international economics, a department administrator, Evgeny Viktorovich, introduced me to the students by saying in Russian that I was an *aspirantka* (graduate student) from the USA. He then went on to say, “*ona nash chelovek*” (She is one of us) (Paraphrased quote, field notes, August 31, 2010). Oleg Borisovich had used a similar phrase, *ona nasha*, when he introduced me to the teachers of the department. In these introductions I was framed as an American, a student, but also “one of us”. I not only felt christened as an honorary Ukrainian with these words, I felt they were a signal to students and faculty to allow me access to their classes. Perhaps these words were also designed to encourage students to answer questions openly and freely as they would with their compatriots. What is certain is that I had unexpected ease in getting access to classes to observe. Occasionally a teacher asked me not to observe an individual lesson because it was the first class, or because it was a “boring” class (i.e. a test day or individual work), but generally the larger struggle over the course of the year was with teachers and students who asked me to visit their classes more often. I eventually started telling some teachers and students that I was using a numerator-denominator system to visit classes every other week.

Consent forms for audio and video recording were distributed to students and teachers of the three primary groups the last week of September and the first week of October. One student in the Wales program group refused initially, but in November changed her mind. Two students in the philology group also refused. Only audio

¹⁶ This term is a translation of the Russian word *organizatsiia*.

recordings were used in the philology classes, and when the students who did not want to be recorded spoke, the recorder was stopped. For the most part, teachers and students did not show an “observation effect” from the use of a video camera. One teacher did ask nervously how I was using the video, yet when I showed clips from the video during an interview, this same teacher requested copies to show her mother how she teaches in English. In fact, four teachers and students asked for copies of audio or video clips of their class. Another teacher also was concerned that the students were nervous in front of the camera, and asked me to turn it off (a request I complied with).

Only one student, Andrei from the Wales program group, was continually distracted by the video camera. He often waved to it and, when assigned by an EFL teacher to write an essay assignment about “any object in the room, including Bridget’s camcorder”, he wrote a story called “Camcorder from Hell”. In the story, I came one day to class with the camcorder. When I pointed it at students, they closed their eyes and put their heads down on the desk. When I left they woke up again, but “there was something strange, when it went out of the room, we didn’t have any emotions and we lost our irises” (original language from video file, December 9, 2010). Given Andrei’s willingness to talk to me in and out of class and his general penchant for horror stories, I think the camera was merely inspiration and a source of attention rather than a source of longstanding trauma.

My Role in Classes

When Viktor Andreyevich first introduced me to the Wales program group, he told the group, “if you want to ask questions you are welcome. If not, please leave her to do her work” (field notes, September 2, 2010). As the year progressed, though, I found I

was called on or looked on by students and teachers of EFL and EMI classes as a resource in two ways. First, students at times asked me to help them with the pronunciation, spelling, or meanings of words; usually these questions were whispered to me if I was sitting nearby. I helped when I could as long as it was not the answer to a test or exercise (and for tests they usually asked each other for that support, not me). Sometimes a student asked me to offer the English equivalent of a Russian word. It is worth noting that students also posed such questions to teachers, indicating that students do not usually have dictionaries or translation software, and that this role was customary. Teachers also at times asked me about English pronunciation, spelling, vocabulary or grammar, either in a whisper or in front of the class.

A more unexpected role ascribed to me was an evaluative or corrective function. As Viktor Andreyevich told students when introducing a lesson on writing a letter to apply for a job as a lifeguard at a swimming pool, “We are swimmers and Bridget is a lifeguard.” When I asked “How so?” the reply was, “You keep us from doing something really wrong” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, September 17, 2010). While this statement was hyperbole on Viktor Andreyevich’s part, it is aligned with a more sincere hope expressed by Lena Ananyeva that I could give them pointers on the “drawbacks” of the university (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, December 23, 2010).

In Viktor Andreyevich’s EFL classes in particular, I was often asked to participate with students in the process of evaluating students’ work. Along with students I was asked to complete a written form and rate students to help choose the winner of two “literary contests”, as well as to “comment” on student presentations or student writing.

“Commenting” is a kind of feedback, usually negative, given to each student orally in front of the whole class. I was very uncomfortable in both roles, as I wanted to stay “neutral” in my observations. However, this “neutrality” (as opposed to the more “direct” approach to evaluation reportedly favored by teachers) combined with many hours seeing me at the back of the room taking notes may have made students uncomfortable, as evidenced by a question that emerged from some students at the end of interviews—“What do you think of our group?” Moreover, I recognized early on that complying with this request served as a form of reciprocity with the teacher (and perhaps the students). Also, the request to comment served as a window onto cultural norms of interaction, as it is common for teachers and students to give very direct comments to each other. For example, in one of Viktor Andreyevich’s EFL classes with an essay contest, students made comments such as “It’s a very funny story, but there were some mistakes and in some places there wasn’t the logic”, “I have heard it before, that’s why it’s maybe something kind of banal,” and “Everything was all right but the topic is not very interesting for me”. Yet when I asked the students, “Do you feel that you are too negative to each other when you criticize each other?” they replied with a chorus of “No’s”. One student added, “It help to improve our abilities” (original English from video file, February 18, 2011). That said, when I saw an EFL teacher yell at a student after a class presentation *Uzhas!* (Terrible!) and *Koshmar!* (Nightmare!), I felt compelled to respond by developing a workshop called “Effective Feedback for Promoting Oral Communication.” I delivered this workshop to the university’s EFL teachers, three groups of schoolteachers in Dnipropetrovs’k, at the TESOL Ukraine conference, and at a pedagogical university in Crimea.

Teaching English to (Future) English-Medium Teachers

In the interest of both reciprocity and understanding teachers of English-medium classes, I offered to co-teach English classes that Alfred Nobel University organized for its teachers. There were two groups of about 6 professors each who were meeting with one of two English language teachers from the university two times a week up to 3 hours a day. These groups were designated as “advanced” and “intermediate”. Once a week for two hours I taught the advanced teachers group from October to December, and the intermediate group from late January to mid-May. Both groups of teachers included teachers and their department chairs, which meant I had to manage whole class conversations and pair work strategically so that teachers did not have to debate with or make excessive mistakes in front of their superiors. In addition, although I planned lessons and assignments from the *Communicate: Strategies for International Teaching Assistants* textbook (ordered from the U.S. via amazon.com) for the advanced group and the *Language Leader* book for the intermediate group, often teachers were unable to come to class or complete these assignments due to their work duties. In the case of two teachers, these work duties included teaching classes in English. As a result, sometimes I had only one teacher at a lesson, which turned the lesson into conversation practice or tutoring. Nevertheless, I was told by the teachers and Oleg Borisovich that it was useful for them to have practice with a native speaker. For me, I also had an opportunity to analyze my own use of Russian while teaching primarily in English, and engage in conversations with teachers about the education system in Ukraine and at Alfred Nobel University as compared with my experiences in the USA.

How I Position Myself in the Study

Throughout the study and in the analysis and writing of the dissertation, I was most aware of my position as a teacher, an American, and an educational linguist. I am an experienced English language teacher old enough to be the (young) parent of students, and teachers tended to have more to say in English than students. Thus, I tended to spend more time informally talking with teachers than with students during and after class. I did try to interact with students before and after class, but these were usually limited to short greetings or conversations in passing. I also tried to stay open to student perspectives, and let students know I was “on their side” too. For example, I sympathized with students who complained to me about teachers, and I promised not to tell the teacher when I saw students clearly heading away from school instead of to a class I knew was taking place shortly. Still, due to the increased interaction with teachers compared with students, the data and the interpretations presented here tend to be richer when viewed through the teachers’ lens than through the students’ lens.

However much I tried to be Ukrainian or even received compliments on being nearly Ukrainian, I could not completely deny my American upbringing and worldview. I would never call Ukraine “the Ukraine”, “Russia”, or “the Wild East” as some of my friends and family members have. Over the years I have grown to feel more at home in Ukraine, and in Dnipropetrovsk more so than any other Ukrainian city to date. Yet, the only way I could feel at home was to let go of my American expectations, and stop being critical of practices I saw in and out of class that seemed “different”, dangerous, chaotic, laughable, or simply frustrating. At the same time, I recognize that this choice to let go of my criticisms and tolerate or adopt local behaviors is part my research agenda to

portray Ukraine in a positive light (or at least, to account for apparently inappropriate behavior). That agenda is in conflict with the realization that there are behaviors that I saw as inappropriate and in need of being challenged, or are at least different from what I know and perhaps should be documented in detail. My view of phenomena observed at Alfred Nobel University (and in Ukraine in general) is further framed to some extent by my awareness of Ukraine's current social, economic, and political position in the world. The confluence of these tensions and aspirations is best illustrated in comments I made to two students, Oksana and Aleksandra from the Wales program group, at the end of an interview:

Aleksandra: And what about Ukraine? Do you like this country?

Bridget: I love Ukraine. That is why I keep coming back. Yeah. Um, I love the people here first all. You know, one student I interviewed said, Ukrainians have an open soul, *otkrytaia dusha*. And I think it's absolutely true. People here are so open and welcoming, um, and they may have a 100 dollars in their bank account but they'll you know, feed you. All day and all night. Yeah, and, you know, I want to see Ukraine grow, and become strong and you know, reach the European level and not um as my friend in Germany just told me, there was an article in [a newspaper in] Germany called "Ukrainians eat and drink themselves- no, Ukrainians smoke and drink themselves to death"¹⁷. ((We giggle)) So I want to see Ukraine not do that, and Ukraine not be seen that way in the world. So, if I can say, well there are things that people do in Ukraine that you know, to someone who doesn't know Ukraine it looks crazy, but it's not crazy, it's just you know, normal and here are the reasons why. So that's my goal. (Original language from audio file, March 10, 2011)

In the linguistic arena, my views of the ecology of language in Ukraine and general relationships among language ecology, multilingualism, and language development have been shaped by my language learning experiences in and out of

¹⁷ The article, titled "Ukraine raucht und trinkt sich zu Tode" [Ukraine is smoking and drinking itself to death], was printed in the *Mannheimer Morgen* on March 1, 2011. Retrieved from www.morgenweb.de.

Ukraine. I had studied neither Russian nor Ukrainian before 2001, when I was offered a position as an English Language Fellow in Ukraine. At that time my program advisor said I should study Russian since I would be working in Kharkiv, a large eastern city where more people tend to speak Russian. Knowing Russian would also make regional travel easier. I not only absorbed this explanation, my co-workers in Kharkiv affirmed this position by taking it upon themselves to help me learn Russian. In Khmel'nyts'kyi I had a chance to learn and use more Ukrainian along with Russian, but in Moldova I used Russian when English was not spoken. Had I been placed first in Khmel'nyts'kyi or points west, I most likely would have been Ukrainian-dominant and struggling to speak Russian. This conclusion is based on: 1) a discussion with a Peace Corps Volunteer in Luts'k, who has studied Ukrainian and is fluent but says when he tries to speak more than a sentence in Russian, he ends up shifting to Ukrainian and 2) a conversation with two Ukrainian Americans, one of whom is Russian dominant and one of whom is Ukrainian dominant, who reported similar experiences to me.

Other foreign languages I have studied to varying degrees are connected with my choices or opportunities to live in or travel to places where speakers of that language can be found. Growing up in Southern California, I chose to study Spanish rather than French because I knew there were more Spanish speakers than French speakers in California and nearby Mexico. When I taught English in Korea, I took Korean classes. I started studying French and German when I began travelling to Western Europe, and I have continued to develop German through friendships with people from Germany and Ukrainian teachers of German language (who speak that language better than English). In essence, my main motivation for learning languages has been the ecology of language

in places I was living or wanted to return to, a fact which shapes my interest in the ecology of language as a conceptual framework as well as the data highlighted in the dissertation.

Data Analysis

All field notes, audio transcripts (including interviews), and video transcripts were annotated and coded using the qualitative software ATLAS.ti. Codes were applied using both an open-coding process and codes made from interview questions. For the findings presented in Chapter 6, the data were reviewed a second time to identify tokens of Russian use in EMI and EFL classrooms. These tokens were sorted according to a framework developed jointly by Oleg Borisovich and myself.

Member checks, defined by Preissle and Grant (2004) as “sharing data or tentative interpretations with participants and revising them accordingly” (p. 174), have been conducted occasionally. Preissle and Grant warn researchers that member checks can be useful for checking participants’ views of what happened in an event, provided they do not become “member vetoes of sensitive or controversial views” (p. 178). With that caveat in mind, in the current study member checks have been used for two purposes: to confirm the linguistic accuracy of field notes and transcriptions, and to compare my interpretation of the social meaning of events observed with the interpretations of the actors involved.

Member checks were conducted during fieldwork through the following means: a) consultancy meetings with Oleg Borisovich; b) informal conversations during or after an observed class with the observed teacher or students; c) showing of audio and video

clips (not during interviews); and d) offering field note samples to teachers for reflection. Occasionally, member checks have also been conducted after fieldwork via email or Facebook message.

Data were further reviewed by codes and co-occurring codes and sorted into themes within those codes. Vignettes and quotes from actors were chained together and interpreted through the main lenses of ethnography of communication and nexus analysis. Analyses were also informed by discourse analysis (including critical discourse analysis) and conversation analysis. Each of these analytical tools is elaborated on below.

Ethnography of Communication and Nexus Analysis

As Hymes (1968) explained, ethnography of communication “is concerned with situations and uses, the patterns and functions, of speaking as an activity in its own right” (p. 101). Ethnography of communication is based on the concept of speaking as a system of culture, viewed within the holistic context of culture or community. Like linguistic grammars and anthropological ethnographies, it uses speech as evidence of other patterns but “brings [speech] into focus in terms of its own patterns” (Hymes, 1968, p. 101). Ethnography of communication is also based on the notion that language practices establish participants as in-group or out-group, with an emphasis on social inequalities and how language use maintains or creates power relations. Finally, it emphasizes situated linguistic behavior and the relationship between form and function (Hornberger, 1995; Saville-Troike, 1996).

A principal analytical tool for conducting an ethnography of communication in a community is the SPEAKING rubric. The rubric is intended as a heuristic, not an *a priori* classification (Hymes, 1968). Each letter in the word SPEAKING represents one or

more components of communication the ethnographer can analyze. *S* stands for the setting of a speech act, and includes both the physical setting (time, place, physical circumstances) and the psychological or cultural definition of an occasion (Hymes, 1972). An example in the Ukrainian context would be an academic or social *konkurs* (contest/competition) and the time and location of that *konkurs*. *P* stands for four types of participants—the speaker/sender, addressor, hearer/receiver/audience, and addressee (Hymes, 1972). *E* stands for ends and includes both the goals and outcomes of communication. Hymes (1972) emphasizes that “conventionally expected or ascribed outcomes and goals must be distinguished from purely situational or personal, and from the latent and unintended” (pp. 61-62). Moreover, individual variations in interaction and motives will lead to various outcomes. *A* stands for speech act sequence. Both message form and message content are essential subcomponents of the speech act sequence (Hymes, 1972). *K* stands for key, the expressive features of speech such as tone and manner. Hymes (1972) points out that when message content and message key conflict, key takes precedence; for example, when a statement is ironic. *I* stands for the instrumentalities used, which Hymes says includes varieties of a language or registers. In bilingual or multilingual settings, it can also refer to the codes or languages used. In the context of the proposed study, I will focus on switches among Ukrainian, Russian, and English observed and stakeholders’ metacommentary on appropriate or inappropriate uses of instrumentalities vis-à-vis other components of SPEAKING. *N* stands for norms of language use, and includes both “behaviors and proprieties” attached to speaking (Hymes, 1972, p. 63) and norms of interpretation of speech. *G* stands for genres, categories of speech that may occur in or as a speech event. An example of a genre is a

joke, which can be a speech event unto itself or can be nested in a “casual” conversation or formal speech.

Scollon and Scollon (2007, 2009) describe nexus analysis as an analytical approach that builds on Hymes’ approach to narrative analysis, ethnography of communication, and Vygotskian activity theory to describe links between micro-level ethnographic observations and macro-level ethnographic contexts. According to Hult (2010), nexus analysis is organized around the unit of *social action*, defined by Scollon and Scollon (2004) as any action mediated by material, symbolic, cultural, and/or psychological means and perceived by others in a social network as an action. Hult identifies examples of social action that range from drafting or interpreting language policy to teaching a national curriculum to future teachers.

Social action lies at the nexus of three elements: 1) historical body, 2) discourses in place, and 3) interaction order (Scollon & Scollon, 2004). The historical body consists of the individual memories, beliefs, and social practices which inform individuals’ social action (Hult, 2010). Discourses in place are the decisions, practices, and beliefs in which interaction is situated (Hult, 2012, November). A subset of these discourses in place is what Scollon and Scollon (2003) refer to as *geosemiotics*, signs with specific meanings according to the place those signs are situated in. An example is the way in which commercial and government signs in Ukraine changed after independence to index a new sociopolitical hierarchy for Ukrainian, Russian and English—“Ukrainian or even English [were] placed in the privileged position over the formerly dominant Russian”(Scollon & Scollon, 2003, p. xi). Finally, social action is mediated by the interaction order, which is defined as the norms for face-to-face interaction (Hult, 2010). Hult (2010) notes that the

task of the analyst is to determine which discourses in these three dimensions across space and time are relevant to any particular social action.

Another related analytical concept which informs this study is *scale*. *Scale* is defined as a “space where diverse economic, political, social, and cultural relations and processes are articulated together” (Fairclough, 2006, p. 65). Scales are nested (Hult, 2010) or vertical units of social organization (Blommaert, 2007) such as a local scale, a national scale, a regional scale, or a global scale (Fairclough, 2002). Relations between scales are dynamic and thus both practices and discourses around those practices can be “re-scaled” (Fairclough, 2006). Data collected were analyzed for the degree to which language practices are (or are not) reflective of policies and discourses in place at the individual, classroom, university, regional, national, or supranational scales.

Discourse Analysis, Critical Discourse Analysis, and Conversation Analysis

In interpreting data to answer the research questions regarding discourses, discourse is understood to be more than the language used in moment-to-moment interaction. Blommaert (2005) defines *discourse* as a complex combination of multiple semiotic resources that are used in action (including language). Gee (2011) refers to this as Discourse with a capital D—“a characteristic way of saying, doing, and being” (p. 30). Pennycook (2010) connects linguistic discourse with the notion of practice by noting, “the usually pluralized term ‘practices’ turns literacy, language, and discourse from abstract entities into everyday activities that need to be accounted for” (p. 22). From the perspective of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), van Dijk (1993) argues these discourses can circulate in ways that reproduce power structures and power inequalities. Study findings presented in the subsequent chapters that focus on discourses should be

understood as reflecting actual language use, non-verbal semiotics, practices, and the power relations inherent in the discourses and their circulation.

For interpreting interview quotes and informal conversations with teachers and students, general principles of conversation analysis (CA) have been applied. CA is defined as the process of “discovering how participants understand and respond to one another in their turns at talk” (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008), with an emphasis on categorizing the organization of sequences of turns (Sacks, Schegloff, & Jefferson, 1974). Power relations and general social organization among speakers can further be delineated by analyzing the pattern of turn-taking and silences (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008).

There are some key adaptations of the CA approach in this study. CA is normally used only on recordings of naturally occurring talk (Hutchby & Wooffitt, 2008). In some cases, the approach has been applied here to paraphrased quotes. Second, CA usually involves detailed transcriptions including not only turns, pauses, and silences but also overlapping turns, raised or lowered pitch, and soft or loud voice. As tones are used with different signifiers in Russian or Ukrainian (and may affect speech in English), interpreting the tones used in moment-to-moment interaction would require a level of analysis outside the scope of the current study.

Two key principles in CA which apply to the analysis of data collected from this study are the concepts of *adjacency pairs* and the oriented nature of talk. Schegloff (2007) defines an adjacency pair as two turns taken by two speakers one after the other. The first part of the pair, initiated by the first speaker, establishes the type of utterance and the type of response that is possible or needed to complete the pair. For example, the question “Do you know what time it is?” is a request for information with a possible

response of “4:00”. The second pair would be the response (e.g. 4:00) which completes the adjacency pair sent. As for the oriented nature of talk, Sacks, Schegloff, and Jefferson (1974) state that “any party's contribution to turn-order determination is contingent on, and oriented to, the contributions of other parties” (p. 726). In other words, if a speaker initiates a question, a hearer is oriented to providing the most relevant answer possible at the juncture in the conversation that seems to allow for that answer. If the response is not oriented to the first speakers’ purpose (or seems to violate a turn-taking rule), a repair may be initiated.

The principle of “orientedness” helps me understand answers I received to questions I asked in general conversations and informal interviews. For example, after Lena Ananyeva told me that Alfred Nobel University is the only university teaching foreign languages for five years, we had the following adjacency pair:

Bridget: Why do you think this university is different?

Lena Ananyeva: I have seen and talked to other universities. (Field notes, December 23, 2010)

The underlying goal of my question was to elicit a description of the characteristics of the university, or the reasons the university president (rector) had articulated for offering EFL courses for a longer-than-average period of time. Lena Ananyeva, however, understood the question as “How do you know this university offers more years of English study than other universities?” and oriented her answer to that. This led to my repair, a clarified restatement of the question:

Bridget: Why did this university decide to offer English for 5 years and other universities don’t?

Lena Ananyeva: It is a special project of our rector. He insisted that all students will study English for 5 years, only with the help of books from Europe. (Field notes, December 23, 2010)

In structured interviews, I did not always repair when the students' or teachers' answer was oriented to something other than my intended meaning. Instead, I coded those answers both by the question I was asking and the question the student or teacher was answering.

Limitations

Despite the rigorous and comprehensive nature of the research, there are some limitations. The findings can be understood to be representative of one university in Ukraine; experiences at other universities in Dnipropetrovs'k and especially in western Ukraine or state universities in eastern Ukraine are likely to be different. All data were collected before the Euro 2012 cup and before the new Law of Languages was passed in July 2012 (see Chapter 3). It is possible especially on the questions about language policy that the discussions and answers would have been more in-depth if the data had been collected after this time.

There are two classes I did not observe for the Wales program group. One was a Russian language class attended by foreign Wales program students while the Ukrainian students were attending the English-medium ESP class. I was informed by the office of international relations that the teacher of the Russian language course was completely new to the university and it would be inappropriate to observe. The second was the physical training (PE) class; in order to keep the number of classes manageable, I made the executive decision to focus only on academic subjects. Discussions of the use of language in PE, however, are included in the findings.

Planned interactions with administrators and parents did not materialize. When I discussed the interview protocols with Oleg Borisovich, I was informed that administrators would not have time for interviews. Parents were not interviewed because opportunities to interact with them never materialized. Parents were seen on campus during the ceremony for first year students, or when they were called by a teacher to discuss students' grades and attendance, but I did not interact with them personally. I was also not invited to students' homes to meet parents as I was in Kharkiv and Khmel'nyts'kyi. This may have been due to the fact that I was not their teacher, or that, as Oleg Borisovich pointed out, such invitations are rarer in Ukrainian culture than in American culture even among colleagues who know each other well.

Chapter Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that Alfred Nobel University has a structure that in many ways is consistent with the structure of universities in Ukraine. Its approach to the use of languages, however, is unique even in eastern Ukraine, as are its pedagogical and material resources. This uniqueness demands an ethnographic case study approach. The study has been designed to capture language use across a number of intra-university contexts at regular intervals over a sustained period of time (one academic year). The main findings from this research presented in the subsequent chapters shows that the nuances and moment-to-moment changes in language use, as well as background on the people who are using language in this context, justifies the ethnographic, single-university approach.

CHAPTER 5

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF ENGLISH-MEDIUM EDUCATION AT ALFRED NOBEL UNIVERSITY

As indicated in the Introduction, one of the goals of this research study is to understand what having academic subjects taught in English signifies for Alfred Nobel University. Stakeholders of any policy or program may have differing views about its goals, views which can heavily influence practice. In addition, the process of implementing a relatively new educational policy or program (or experiencing it as a teacher or student) can generate a number of ideas, positive and negative, about the policy or program and its practice. Ideologies expressed about teaching and learning in English can also index English's position in the ecology of language at Alfred Nobel University.

The main purpose of this chapter is to elaborate on themes which have emerged in multiple modes of discourse regarding the overarching principles and day-to-day practical aspects of EMI at the university. These modes include: a) oral, print, and online messages circulated from administrators to prospective students, current students, and members of the educational community; and b) practices observed among teachers and students which reflect the challenges, adjustments and opportunities of teaching and learning in English. An additional goal of the chapter is to synthesize comments about teaching and learning in English which were addressed directly to me by teachers and students in the course of my fieldwork. These comments may have been targeted to me as a researcher known to be interested in these issues and possibly seen as sympathetic to teachers' and students' struggles, or may be deferential to my identity as a native speaker

of English. These comments may further represent an idealized view of EMI or its significance in this context. Nevertheless, such comments index the significance of teaching and learning in English at Alfred Nobel University, and offer practical lessons for those interested in English as a medium of instruction worldwide.

A Means of Recruitment and a Sign of Achievement for the University

Alfred Nobel University, its administrators, and its professors put forth two main discourses regarding offering courses in English: 1) offering courses in English is a means of attracting students to attend the university; and 2) studying in English or completing a course of study in English is an indicator of high student achievement, which in turn is an accomplishment of the university. The prestige of teaching in English is further connected to and situated in discourses about a metaphorical “European” standard of education, and a literal standard of one English-medium program offered jointly by Alfred Nobel University and the University of Wales (the Wales program). These discourses are elaborated on in the following subsections.

Oral Discourses from University Administrators

From my pilot visit in 2009 to the present day, I have observed many declarations from the rector, Boris Ivanovich, and administrators of Alfred Nobel University in multiple forums about teaching in English. The pilot visit was timed around an English teaching conference at which the rector of the university announced plans to teach academic subjects in English. Shortly after my arrival at Alfred Nobel University in 2010, I met with the rector. When I explained to him (in Russian) that I had decided to conduct research at Alfred Nobel University based on his comments at that 2009

conference, he said that English gets attention because it is an “international” (*internatsional’nyi*) language, and that teaching subjects in English is part of their “strategy” (*strategia*) (field notes, August 21, 2010). My notes do not elaborate on the “strategy” the rector is referring to, but his ideology became clearer in two additional events I attended—a general meeting, and a ceremony for first year students. The function of the general meeting, I was told, is for the administration to present to the university faculty and staff a review of the previous year’s activities and a description of the plans for the coming academic year. At that meeting, the rector spoke in Ukrainian about the competition among universities in Ukraine, and then talked about the implications of that competition for Alfred Nobel University, in words summarized in my field notes as follows:

The only way for the university to survive is to increase the quality of the university, and to innovate. Every staff member is part of that—administrators, professors, secretaries, and so on. There is no other way (*inshchoho buty ne mozhe*). They have to meet the demands of a constantly changing professional market both in Ukraine and globally. At this point he also mentioned that the university started a program to train international economics students in English. He mentioned the university’s awards. Former President of Ukraine Leonid Kuchma awarded national scholarships to students for contributions to science. The university also won an award as enterprise of the year. These are signs the university is going the right way. (Field notes, August 30, 2010)¹⁸

The “program to train international economics students in English” can be linked discursively to two points made by the rector. Offering EMI is part of the need for the university to be creative in order to compete for students in an increasingly competitive global education market. It also may be bundled with the scholarships and business

¹⁸Special thanks to Viktoria Sergeyevna for serving as an interpreter at this event.

awards as one of the university's accomplishments. The award for enterprise of the year which the rector referred to is the "Leader of the Branch" National Certificate and medal conferred on the university by the state statistical authorities in 2009 after their calculating the ratings and activity results of over 300,000 different organizations and enterprises in Ukraine for that year (Oleg Tarnopolsky, personal communication, April 6, 2011). Offering courses in English similarly situates the university as a leader.

At the ceremony for the first year students, the rector stood in the courtyard in academic regalia, surrounded by the faculty, first year students of all majors, and their families. He spoke in Ukrainian about the quality of Alfred Nobel University in Ukraine, in Europe, and in the world, and then explained that an English language program is starting at the university. This was followed by a description of a "European cadre [specially trained group of students] from the first to the fifth course" (*evropeiskii kadry*¹⁹ *z persho po p'iatyi kurs*) (field notes, August 31, 2010). While my notes about the connections between this statement and the statement about the English-medium program are limited, the mention of the English-language program seems to be linked to the quality of the university on multiple scales, including a "European" scale.

The concomitant values of English and a European level of education were reiterated at the organizational meeting I was allowed to attend for first-year students of international economics. At this meeting, department administrators oriented new students to the routine of university life—schedules, room locations, exam schedules, and

¹⁹ The word *kadry* in public discourse traces back to the days of Josef Stalin and his famous quote, *kadry reshaiut vsyo*—"the workers will decide everything".

program guidelines, for example. A vice-rector of the university, Evgeny Viktorovich, made opening remarks which included two references to the Wales program: studying *na inostrannom iazike* (Russian for “in a foreign language”) and *poluchit’ evropeiskii (diplom) na angliiskom iazike v Ukraine* (Russian for “get a European diploma in English in Ukraine”) (field notes, August 31, 2010). The value of both a diploma obtained through studies in English and a diploma connected with a European university are implicitly high. Evgeny Viktorovich made similar comments about the Wales program in Ukrainian with a similar sense of accomplishment at the opening of a one-day seminar for middle and high school teachers in January 2011:

Evgeny Viktorovich got up and spoke in Ukrainian. He said we (the university) are the first in Ukraine to prepare students in an English-language program. I heard pride in his voice as he announced this. He then said this project is with the University of Wales. In the end, students will get a diploma that is “our Ukrainian” in International Economics and (from Wales) in International Management. (Field notes, January 20, 2011)

In this announcement, Evgeny Viktorovich’s high, emphatic intonation and reference to being the first university in the country to implement an English-language program suggested a sense of university accomplishment. The program is also distinguished by a duality of scale—the program provides two diplomas, one from “our Ukraine” and one from abroad. At the international economics organizational meeting, another administrator, Yaroslav Denisovich, seemed to use a similarly excited tone when assigning students to groups as he announced in Russian that one group “*budet zanimat’sia na angliiskom*” (will study in English), with emphatic stress on “*na angliiskom*” (field notes, August 31, 2010).

Printed and Online Promotional Discourses

Written and online discourses from the university make the linkages between offering courses in English and recruitment or achievement at a European level more substantive, while also indexing the fact that English is but one of many foreign languages that is valued at Alfred Nobel University. In late September 2010, I attended an open house (literally a “day of open doors”) for prospective university students. Representatives of different majors stood in front of tables set up with brochures and books written by university professors. The head of the International Economics Department laid out tri-fold brochures about the department. I asked for a copy and saw that the entire brochure was in Ukrainian except one word in English—the word “New!”, encased in a zigzag border reminiscent of both product advertising labels and the complex merging of English, Russian, and Ukrainian which Bilaniuk and Melnyk (2008) observed in Kyiv business signs. In this case, the word “New!” indexed an actual English-language activity, as it was placed next to a direct advertisement in Ukrainian for the university’s EMI program: *Z pershoho kursu student maie mozhlyvist’ vyvchaty vsi dysypliny anhliis’koiu movoiu* (From the first year a student has the possibility of studying all academic subjects in English). Figure 5.1 shows a portion of the brochure in Ukrainian with the English text.

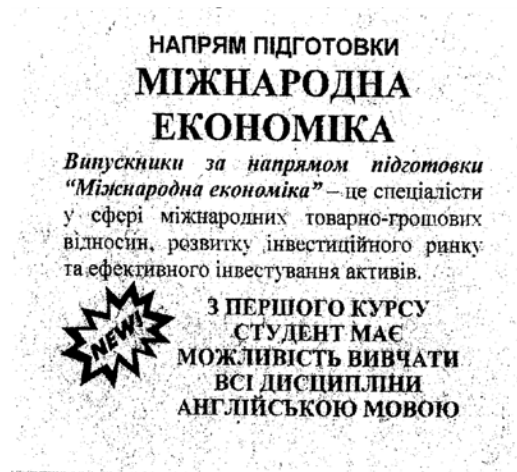


Figure 5.1. International Economics Informational Brochure Excerpt. 2010.

The remaining pages of the brochure address the academic subjects which students study, as well as future career options which include working for international businesses, serving in governmental economic organizations, and working as translators. Additional details are provided about languages of study in the program, including the following paragraph written at the bottom of the page of the inside fold:

Студенты на першому курсі мають можливість обрати мову навчання. За бажанням вони можуть вивчати дисципліни державною або англійською мовою. Обов'язковим елементом підготовки є вивчення двох іноземних мов та захист дипломної роботи іноземною мовою.

Students in the first year have the possibility to choose the language of study. Upon request they may study subjects in the state or English language. An obligatory element of the program is studying two foreign languages and the defense of a diploma paper in a foreign language. (My translation from Ukrainian)

Note that from a legal perspective, the only “state” language in the country is Ukrainian. It is not clear whether this document intends for students to formally request instruction in Ukrainian. More likely, it is a politically correct way of suggesting that students can ostensibly choose from either Ukrainian or English as a medium of instruction, although

in practice students are admitted to English-medium classes on the basis of exams.

Otherwise, classes are taught in Russian or Ukrainian depending on the choice of the teacher or the expressed wishes of the students.

In addition to the requirement to study (any) two foreign languages, another part of the brochure tells students they may choose to study three foreign languages if they wish. The brochure also promises all graduates of International Economics a university *certyfikat “Pro doskonale volodinnia inozemnoiu movoiu”* (Certificate of Mastery of a Foreign Language), and tells students that if they study Polish they have the possibility of traveling to Poland. Thus, English is situated within this university context as one of many foreign languages which students are encouraged to study, though only two of those foreign languages are mentioned by name in the brochure, and only English is written in the brochure or is offered as a medium of instruction.

Similar to Evgeny Viktorovich’s announcement in January, more recent material on the university Web site has focused on the uniqueness of Alfred Nobel University in offering the Wales program, and the prestige this program derives from external powers in Europe. As of June 2012, the main page of both the Ukrainian and English-language versions of the university Web site contained a hyperlink (from the “Admissions” section in English and Ukrainian) to information about the Wales program²⁰. The link took viewers to a letter directly addressed to applicants, which first invited applicants to “take into consideration the quality and uniqueness of the proposed program” that has no

²⁰ As of March 2013, the university Web site has been redesigned. Only the English language page for the department of International Economics mentions the possibility of studying in English or Ukrainian. There is no reference to Wales or Europe.

equivalent in Ukraine. The next paragraph explained that the program has been “validated by one of the most *prestigious* and *respected* universities in the UK...whose experts confirmed that our university offers a high quality of education” (original English from Web site, emphasis added). Note that the term “validated” does not just mean positive affirmation, but rather the culmination of a year-and-a-half long agreement process conducted by the University of Wales and Alfred Nobel University to certify that the Alfred Nobel University is authorized to offer courses leading to a University of Wales diploma.

The remainder of the Web page followed a similar pattern. On both the English- and Ukrainian-language sites, two pictures were seen which appeared to be from a glossy brochure in English. One half of the sheet was about the Wales program, and the other half announced the university’s status as Leader of the Branch. Below these photos another paragraph outlined the program structure, including the fact that lessons are taught “entirely in English.” The students were then told that they will earn two degrees—a “British BA (Hons) degree ‘International Management’ (University of Wales) which is recognized throughout the world, and the Ukrainian state diploma.” The asymmetric stance of a University of Wales diploma recognized on a worldwide scale and the adjective-free “Ukrainian state diploma” is palpable here. The page then described the general qualifications of the teaching staff, who “have been carefully selected and approved by the British side” and are experts in the subject area. The program is also continually monitored by the Wales team, which is said to ensure “strict compliance with the European standards of education maintained at the University of Wales.” The word “European” appeared two more times—once to point out that master

classes and seminars are offered “by European and American teachers”, and in the conclusion to say that “The program ‘International Management’ meets the highest standards of European training.” Thus, through the oral and written discourses about the Wales program, Alfred Nobel University is positioned outside of Europe and striving to offer students an education comparable to that found in Europe.

Effectiveness of the University’s Strategy: Student, Parent, and Teacher Perspectives

The university-level discourses about the uniqueness and quality of offering classes in English are only as successful as the uptake by students and teachers, as indicated by their awareness of the program and their choosing to enroll in the university based on that program offering. In the general meeting, the rector blamed the initial under-enrollment of students in the Wales program on the university marketing campaign, which should have convinced students they do not need to go abroad to get higher education (field notes, August 30, 2010). My conversations with students who did enroll in the university, however, suggest that the strategies of developing both EFL and EMI programs have been relatively successful in attracting students to enroll in the Wales program, in international economics, and in philology. Nearly one-third of the students I interviewed attributed the choice to attend Alfred Nobel University to the university’s English offerings. Both philologists and third-year students of the English-medium international economics course mentioned that they heard from various word-of-mouth sources that English teaching was “better” at Alfred Nobel University than a nearby state university, or that they felt assured they could study English “on a high level”.

As for the Wales program students, Ksenia learned about the Wales program on the Internet and decided to apply. Nina's mother saw an advertisement about the "new program with the Wales University" and decided they should investigate. Andrei's parents were also involved in his decision. They had already heard from a friend that it was a good university; then they found out there was this "program" to study in English and Andrei agreed it would be good to study in it. Contrary to the rector's goal of keeping students in Ukraine, when I asked Andrei what his goal was in studying in English in the Wales program, he focused on the potential it provided to study abroad:

My aim is to work somewhere so it's, and I thought that Ukrainian economy and the government and all, it's not pretty good, so the Wales program is the opportunity to go work abroad so it's more way to have your place in life. (Original English from audio file, February 28, 2011)

An interview with one of the Wales program students from Nigeria, Precious, indicated that studying in the Wales program was also important for international work abroad. For her, it is an opportunity to develop her Russian language skills (not English) so she can work outside of Nigeria:

Personally I would like to work in maybe, in an international organization. Not Nigeria. But if I'm opportunity to work in Ni- it's okay. But I desire to work outside Nigeria. Yeah. and, I want to work. And how I can apply my *ruskii* language, I think when you work in an international organization, you meet people from different countries. Not really English-speaking countries. At least if we can speak, if I have an opportunity to, meet a Russian guy, Russian lady there, at least we can interact easily and make things work out easily for us. I think in one way or the other the language will help. (Original language from audio file, March 3, 2011)

Two other Wales program students from Ukraine, Oksana and Valentina, indicated that the medium of instruction shaped their choice of their field of study.

Oksana told me, "at first I wanted to go to the translation. But when I was informed about

this program, I decided to go to the economic” (original English from audio file, March 10, 2011). Valentina made her declaration not to me but to her teacher, Viktor

Andreyevich (VA), during an EFL lesson about different occupations:

VA: And if you believe barrister is the most interesting job, why have you decided to become an economist and not a barrister? Or a lawyer?

Valentina: From all this pictures I-

VA: Ah, you were speaking only about these pictures. But you believe to be an economist is more interesting?

Valentina: Uh, well,

VA: No. Why have you done that? I mean, applied and came here?

Valentina: Because I'm interested in English. (Original English from audio file, October 6, 2010)

While the Wales program brochures suggest the students will not be limited to working as economists, the extent to which the choice of medium of instruction leads students away from programs they might otherwise study raises the possibility that for Oksana and Valentina, English plays a hegemonic role in their choice of a major. A more plausible interpretation of Valentina's comments is that her already-high interest in English led her to a program where she could maximize her study of English. Oksana, however, connected her desire to study economics in English with her future work opportunities, framed in both national and international terms:

Bridget: Um, do you ever worry that studying in English will limit your development in Ukrainian or Russian?

Oksana: No. I think that uh, studying in English in our country, it's uh, much better and then easier to find work, and because, mm, English nowadays is very important. Popular. Because Ukraine has relationships with other countries and they don't speak Ukrainian with them and Russian.

Bridget: What other countries?

Oksana: Uh, no, when it was um, another president we have relationship with America, um, and ((laugh)) now we um, have from other countries, um, goods, um, clothes, all mm, from other countries because it's...um, it's better for Ukrainians to buy abroad some products and to sell there

because they'll get, mm, (pause) big money. (Original English from audio file, March 10, 2011)

Wales program teachers took a more pejorative view of students' attitudes towards English. Tatiana Konstantinovna said, "Most students don't know why they came. Their parents put them up to it" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, April 29, 2011). Aleksandr Nikolayevich lamented that "students see the Wales program as a springboard. They think if they get low grades, they can't go. It's not about getting knowledge; it's about getting a pass" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, April 2011). These comments were made to me after a lesson I observed which ended with a heated debate between Aleksandr Nikolayevich and Nikolai about a preliminary course grade of 4 (the equivalent of a B).

My interviews with students from all three groups revealed that the teachers' assessment of students' goals is correct to some extent. Some students told me they were unsure what to do with their life, and they are studying at Alfred Nobel University because their parents advised them to do so. Other students, like Andrei, followed their parents' advice to study at the university but showed co-ownership of the decision to study in English. Many students looked to English with very wide eyes and broad hopes. As Sergei said when I asked him what his goal was in studying in English, he answered, "My aim is to take good start for the future. Like a spaceship. Without a good start it doesn't fly" (Original English from audio file, March 1, 2011). The implication of Sergei's metaphor is that knowledge of English is "fuel" for one's career, even if one does not have a clear direction or goal.

Teaching and Learning in English: Challenges, Adjustments, and Opportunities

As indicated previously, the year I conducted research was also the first year Alfred Nobel University offered the Wales program. In the general meeting that year, the rector said that if the Wales program is successful, the university will be able to expand it to other departments such as international management, finance, marketing, and psychology. He worried however about the quality of teaching in English, as not all professors speak English (field notes, August 30, 2010). Determining whether teachers (or students) have a sufficient level of English for teaching and learning in English was never a primary question of my research, as that seems better suited for a program evaluation or formal language assessment of students and teachers. However, questions about teachers' and students' level of English across the three focal groups—whether expressed as concerns about stakeholders' level of English, anxieties about one's own level of English, or fears mixed with hopes for future improvement—was a theme I encountered repeatedly over my year at Alfred Nobel University. The availability of print materials and textbooks was another issue observed to affect practice and views of the program. This and other challenges at times necessitated particular adjustments to teaching in English from teaching in Russian. At other times, taking courses in English can be framed as an opportunity for students to develop linguistically and academically.

Choosing Teachers with a Sufficient Level of English

Like the rector, some teachers and administrators at Alfred Nobel University also expressed concerns about colleagues' readiness to teach in English or their own ability—fears which were not always founded. Nadezhda Sergeyevna, who provided English

classes for teachers who were preparing to teach in English, told me, “[The teachers] are very nervous about delivering lectures in public. They are not sure they can speak in English for 80 minutes, and I am not assured that they have the stamina to present in English” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, August 31, 2010). I was similarly concerned in October when Olga Nikolayevna gave a mini-lesson as an assignment for a class I was teaching. By November, however, Olga Nikolayevna was teaching and Nadezhda Sergeyevna, who attended Olga Nikolayevna’s classes as a language assistant, assured me that Olga Nikolayevna indeed was managing to deliver lectures. I also heard from students that her class was fine. When I finally had a chance to observe Olga Nikolayevna’s class in February and March, I also thought she did admirably well lecturing in English. Nevertheless, my discussion with her after one lesson revealed her anxiety about her English:

Olga Nikolayevna asked me afterwards how it went. She asked me about her mistakes. I said the only thing I noticed was “summarize.” I switched to Russian and said that “summarize” is *prochitat’ tekst i raskazat’* [to read through a text and retell it]. “to add up” is the verb she needed [in the context of adding numbers]. She said, “what about my grammar tenses?” I said everything is fine, and said the main problem is the screen [the video monitor was too high and too small to see the functions she was demonstrating]. I also assured her that students don’t complain about her English. She still seemed insecure as she asked Precious, “can you understand?” (Field notes, March 9, 2011)

Aleksandr Nikolayevich holds a *kandidat nauk* degree and teaches in the humanities and social sciences department. He told me that he was identified as the only person in his department who teaches his subjects and has the language skills necessary to teach the subject in English. He has developed his English skills in three ways: 1) he wrote a dissertation on American politics and used documents from American sources; 2)

he frequently reads English-language magazines, poetry, and literature; and 3) he spent time in North Africa as an interpreter for a construction company. Despite these indicators of high proficiency in English, the first time I entered his class and asked for permission to observe, he replied, “yes, but I apologize for my terrible, terrible, English...speaking English is like a crucifixion for me” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 18, 2011). While students were engaged in a group work activity, he asked me to step out and reiterated his anxiety to me, as the following field notes excerpt indicates:

He calls speaking in English for lectures a “Golgotha”. I’ve never heard this term, so I ask what it means. He writes it down in my book for me, and says it’s the hill where Christ was crucified. It expresses the highest level of pain, shame, and barriers. He says, “Bridget-can I call you Bridget?” Me: Of course. Aleksandr Nikolayevich: “I don’t want to be judged based on my English. I’m not a professional English speaker. I didn’t get linguistic training...to run classes in English is the toughest. We try to do our best. No one wants to feel himself a fool, a clown. We want to respect ourselves as a professional. In this situation it’s difficult to respect yourself. (Paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 18, 2011)

By using a word in English that I (the native speaker) do not know, Aleksandr Nikolayevich further demonstrates to me his high proficiency in English. His stance, “I’m not a professional English speaker”, however, suggests that knowing English as an “amateur”, knowing the subject, and having experience teaching the subject are not necessarily sufficient preparation for teaching that subject in English.

In other cases, a teacher was chosen who had the requisite English language skills but not a primary academic background in the subject being taught. The privileging of English knowledge over content knowledge is not seen as problematic by university stakeholders according to Tatiana Konstantinovna. While I watched the Wales program

students work on a writing task for her class, Tatiana Konstantinovna engaged in a conversation with me as the following field notes excerpt shows:

Tatiana Konstantinovna now walks up to me and asks about my research. I explain I'm interested in how classes are taught in English in a university in Ukraine. She starts to elaborate: "it's not a natural situation. In the native language you can analyze with humor, use double meanings of words. In the foreign language it's not possible." She says this twice. That's why there are problems, misunderstandings. "A lot of teachers here, they know English at the level of normal language to communicate, but don't know the subject." She tells me the international office of the university prioritized teachers of English and concluded "It's not possible to make a life safety professional know English. That's why I'm economist (but) I'm teaching life safety - I can talk in English. It's a new subject for me. That's why we do group work, analytical work, and individual work at home with the Internet."

She adds, "I can give cases from practice from traveling." I follow up with: "you mean like someone collapsing in a club and dying?" She says yes, she had the experience of watching them die. I express my sympathy, then ask, "Do they (pointing at students) know that? It might be interesting for them, it might be motivating for them." She says this subject is not interesting for them, it's far from reality. "We can't prevent it." At first I am surprised a life safety teacher says we can't prevent death. In fact I say, "but this is a life safety class," and maybe something about preventing death with it. But then I understand that she means death itself is not preventable, it is inevitable. She goes on to say, "we can know parts of human body, how to do first aid." (Field notes, April 29, 2011)

The case of someone collapsing in a club and dying was one of three health emergency scenarios Tatiana Konstantinovna had presented to students the previous week; the other two were witnessing someone having a heart attack on the bus, and being injured by an electric current in a remote area. Students had been assigned to write an essay for one of the three scenarios about how they would handle the situation. Sergei had complained they cannot help someone in such a situation, and Grigore had argued they cannot get a grade for writing about something they had not studied. Such resistance from students,

however, can come up in any subject and any medium of instruction where the teacher is teaching new material or has not completely anticipated the pitfalls of a task.

The larger issues for Tatiana Konstantinovna, however, are twofold. One, though she can communicate in English, she cannot draw on the full range of language resources in English that she can in Russian. Students would probably not understand such humor in English even if she could develop double entendres in a foreign language, and it is difficult to translate wordplay from one language to another. In addition, Tatiana Konstantinovna described coping with teaching in a new subject by adding different types of tasks to the lessons. Her situation was not uncommon. Seminars in EMI classes often consisted of presentations, questions to “check student’s knowledge”, or videos—three activities seen in Russian-medium seminar classes as well. In addition, the following activities were observed in EMI classes: teacher-led discussions; group work tasks such as discussions or case studies; whole class debates and role plays; written tests; problem solving tasks (individually, in groups, or at the blackboard); and student-prepared questions for their classmates to answer. These activities were described by other teachers and students in mixed terms. On the one hand, they make the classes more interesting than a traditional lecture. Others said using creative teaching approaches was necessary to keep their students interested and ensure their comprehension of the lesson. For Tatiana Konstantinovna, these additional activities seem to be more of a compensating strategy than a means of enrichment of student learning.

Another adjustment that is a potential advantage in EMI classes is that they consisted of only one group of students, often with the same teacher for the lecture and seminar. Compared with Russian-medium lectures that consisted of 60-80 students (4

groups of students) and seminars consisting of one group of students, the EMI classes provided a more intimate learning environment. This did not necessarily lead to a closer teacher-student relationship, as I observed teachers who after nearly two months still did not know their students' names. Nevertheless, all of these changes are consistent with Duff's (1995) finding that lesson structures changed when the language of instruction changed from Hungarian to English.

Resources for Teaching and Learning in English

In a lecture on natural resources, Dmitri Bogdanovich told students that Ukraine is a country with "a low quantity of forests". There are 9 million hectares covered by forest, which constitutes 15.6% of the country's territory (field notes, November 30, 2010). At the university, most departments had a computer with a printer, but there was only one office with two photocopiers and a staff of two to serve all students, faculty, and staff of the university. Given these statistics about paper and printing resources, it is understandable that in EFL classes it was common to see Viktor Andreyevich hand out supplementary worksheets or listening test questions and tell students in English, "one for two". This meant that one paper was to be shared among two students. Viktor Andreyevich would ask students not to write on the handouts, but in their copybooks [notebooks] instead. At the end of the lesson, Viktor Andreyevich would ask students to return the copies to him. In a regional economics class, Dmitri Bogdanovich similarly told students "the test is one for two". This practice (and perhaps the language) confused Samuel and Precious, who did not realize they should read the same questions but write their answers individually on their essay sheets. Samuel asked "What does it mean?" and

Precious told Dmitri Bogdanovich to “give me a test”. Dmitri Bogdanovich replied, “no, one for two”, insisting that students share the test sheet (paraphrased quotes from original English, field notes, December 8, 2010).

I was greatly surprised, then, the first time I saw Viktor Andreyevich teach a psychology seminar and say, “What is Gestalt psychology? To make it clear for you, I will give you some printouts. These printouts you can take with you. I don’t want them back” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, November 1, 2010). Dmitri Bogdanovich gave students a 7-page “scheme of the lecture” with blanks for students to fill in as they listened to the lecture. This design is reminiscent of cloze [fill-in-the-blank] exercises in EFL listening tasks—a format consistent with Dmitri Bogdanovich’s background in teaching EFL. Olga Nikolayevna gave students a 20-page folded booklet of lecture notes in English; Figure 5.2 contains two sample pages from Olga Nikolayevna’s booklet. After obtaining a copy of this booklet, I asked Olga Nikolayevna if they use such brochures in Russian classes. She said no. I asked where she gets the money to print it; she said it’s the university’s money, not hers (field notes, February 23, 2011).

The next logical question is, where does the university obtain the money to provide these materials for the Wales program but not for other programs? The answer is from the students; the university is reportedly charging students more to attend Wales classes than regular classes—16,900 UAH per year [2100 USD] versus 10,000 UAH [1250 USD] for students in other programs (Wales program student interview, February 24, 2011). Such a price differential could cover both printing costs and the labor

resources for teaching, since teachers who pass (with a certain grade) an English exam administered by the school can teach in English at an increased salary.

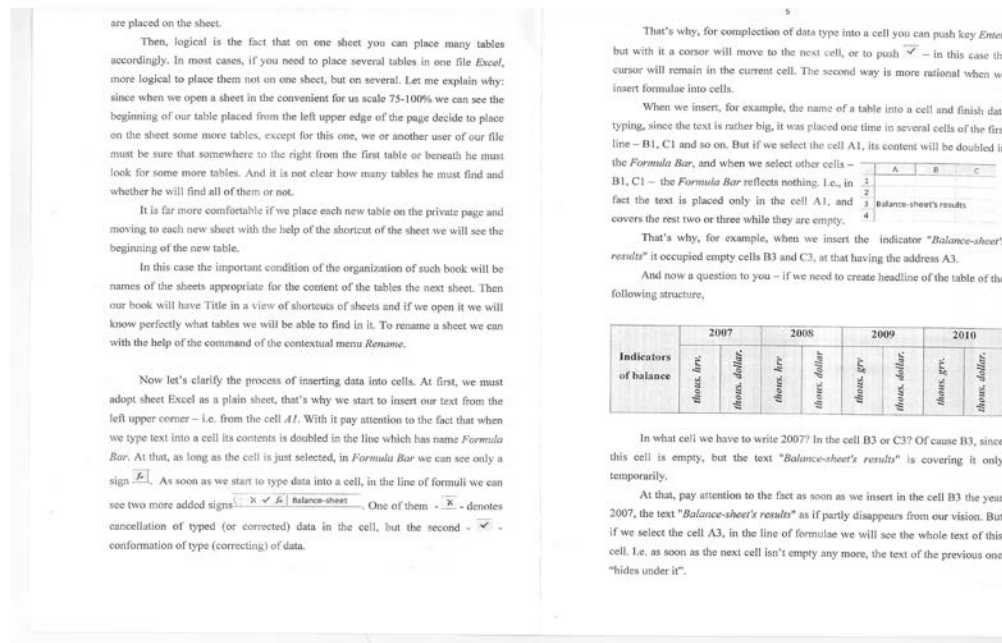


Figure 5.2. Informatics Lecture Notes Sample Page.

One can conclude then, that changing the language of instruction at Alfred Nobel University also leads to the introduction to new media, including media which draw on relatively scarce resources. One can further speculate that the higher tuition of an English-language program provides a financial incentive to the university and its teachers to offer courses in English and increases the prestige of studying in an English-medium program.

Textbooks and Internet Resources for EMI and EFL Classes

An additional challenge—and opportunity—for teachers and students was the need for textbooks and other informational materials in English. EFL classes were able to use both textbooks published in Ukraine and textbooks written and published in Britain

by major companies in the field of English language education such as Pearson Longman and Express Publishing. The Ukrainian textbook, *Writing Academically*, was prepared by Oleg Tarnopolsky and two colleagues and was available for checkout from the school library. The British publications were readily available at a bookstore specializing in foreign language textbooks and literature located in the city center. The only difficulty with the British textbooks, I was informed by Viktor Andreyevich, is their cost. The *First Certificate Expert* Coursebook and Resource Book used by the philology group and the Wales program group cost 240 UAH (\$30). When I told Viktor Andreyevich that \$30 seemed like a bargain compared to the \$144 I spent for a Russian textbook set in the U.S., he informed me that 240 UAH was very expensive for Ukraine, and he cannot force the students to buy it either. This accounts for why at one point I observed two students in the philology class sharing a textbook.

As for academic subjects, courses taught in Russian or Ukrainian used textbooks written either by individual teachers or by the department. EMI courses, however, fell on a continuum of access to textbooks or other educational materials. At one end were classes that had no textbook in English. This lack of textbooks in English may also explain the decision to provide handouts to students and the means of paying for those handouts. In other words, it is possible that the handouts and booklets given to students were intended as a substitute for textbooks currently available only in Russian. The resources that the university normally expends for printing and distributing the Russian-language textbooks may instead going to making copies of handouts while English-language resources are developed.

There is evidence this compensation strategy may not be sufficient for everyone. Viktor Andreyevich told his psychology students that “Russian-speaking students, students who know Russian” can use the textbook. It can be inferred from this comment that if a student is not a fluent Russian speaker, he or she will not have a textbook they can use. This inequality did not escape the attention of three Wales program students I interviewed. Precious and Samuel reacted to the issue as follows:

Bridget: Do you feel the resources here, the textbooks, the computers, are they enough for your studies?

Samuel: About the textbooks, they are not enough. Because some of them, most of their textbooks, they are not in English. Like the computer they are all okay.

Precious: Yeah, the computers are okay but for the textbooks I think we need more textbooks be-, you know, I don't really blame them because most of the textbooks are written in Russian. And, there you might find much information. But the English textbooks are not very much. Can get 1 or 2 and that's all. So that's an issue. (Original language from audio file, March 3, 2011)

Miroslav also said he feels there is not enough material in English, and compared the relative significance of this issue for Ukrainian students and Nigerian students by saying “for Ukrainian students, you know, it's easier because we can find some information in Russian just to understand it, maybe translate some terms, that's all” whereas “it's uh, bigger problem for our Nigerian students, because they just don't know Russian and they need information only in English” (Original language from audio file, February 28, 2011).

In practice, this inequality was not limited to textbook access or to what students can find on their own. For a practical task in a regional economics seminar, Dmitri Bogdanovich handed out atlases of Ukraine. He told students they have to determine the most important natural resources for one region [which he assigned to them], and give the

general characteristics of the region using the atlases. The atlases, however, were all in Russian. When Samuel approached Dmitri Bogdanovich's desk to ask a question about the atlas, I saw Dmitri Bogdanovich look at the atlas and say "ah, this is --", (field notes, December 7, 2010). I did not hear him finish the sentence (or did not note down the end of it), nor did he seem to have time to talk about it after class since students were turning in tests long after the bell rang. The implication of this reaction, however, is that he realized Samuel (and the other students from Nigeria) could not complete the assigned task with the materials they were given.

When I asked Viktor Andreyevich about the relative difficulties of getting materials in English he acknowledged that there were difficulties with getting English-language resources for EMI courses, but he had faith that with the Internet and assistance from the University of Wales, these difficulties can be resolved:

Bridget: Ok, um, I think you've touched on this a little bit before, um, but just to clarify, um, talking about materials and resources - textbooks, library books, uh, computers, technology. Um, do you feel they are sufficient here for teaching and learning English?

Viktor Andreyevich: For learning English, yes, we have quite a sufficient stock of materials, lots of them students buy themselves, you have watched that, for teaching classes in English, I mean, professional courses, like that, not sufficient as yet, but we are constantly replenishing that and we have just started, so, I believe, that actually we'll get through that. It's a problem, it's a problem, but it's a problem that can be solved.

Bridget: How does it compare with getting materials for teaching professional subjects in Russian and Ukrainian?

Viktor Andreyevich: It's much more difficult. It's much more difficult, that's why we are going to ask for help from the University of Wales and so on. It's much more difficult. Then the Internet is fabulous source. (Original language from audio file, February 21, 2011)

While I did not see how the Wales program (if at all) provided help with getting resources, I did see in practice how Viktor Andreyevich strove to provide resources in

English. In the same class where he mentioned the Russian-language textbook, he told students they can access his lecture notes in English on the psychology Web site and can “add information from the Internet” (paraphrased quotes from original English, field notes, November 1, 2010). In the middle of the continuum were classes that had textbooks which were translated from Russian into English. Svetlana Petrovna told me in early November that there was a PDF version of the English-language textbook which students received electronically and she announced in class on November 30 that the paper copy was available in the school library. In our interview, Svetlana Petrovna informed me that she translated all of the material herself from Russian into English “because we didn’t have appropriate economic textbook here” (original language from audio file, March 16, 2011).

Dmitri Bogdanovich reported that regional economics is not a specialty in other countries so there are no resources in English, including on the Internet (field notes, November 10, 2010). Dmitri Bogdanovich’s need to translate materials from Russian into English impacted his day-to-day teaching practice as seen in the following thumbnail sketch:

Dmitri Bogdanovich assigned students a task 15 minutes before the bell rang. The task design in the original Russian-language textbook was for each student to write an answer to a question from the textbook. In order to keep the task English-medium, Dmitri Bogdanovich walked around to the students and read out the English translation of a question for each student to answer. By the time he finished giving the last student the question, there were only 4 minutes left. One of the students (Abdul) commented on the time, but Dmitri Bogdanovich said they only have to write a couple of sentences. (Field notes, November 10, 2010)

Rather than giving students a printed text to read, the teacher had to translate questions and read the translations out to each student. This took time away for many students from completing the task.

Other courses that had textbooks in the original English language, usually downloaded from the Internet. In a mathematics class, Viktoria Sergeyevna told students who have the book to refer to the relevant chapter in *Mathematics for Economists* (field notes, November 15, 2010). I never saw students with textbooks, only paper copies; thus, it is not clear if students purchased the book or had copies made of it. Larisa Ivanovna said that there was no textbook for the 3rd year economics group because “they were changing the program [curriculum]” (field notes, September 30, 2010). This response indicates that the issue was not changing the textbook from Russian to English, but changing the curriculum at a general level and revising the textbook to fit the curriculum. Thus, the issue of textbook availability in English may be part of a larger trend of striving for improvements in ways that create temporary inconveniences that are accepted as a part of life. Yet, this “lack” of a textbook in Russian may have created a space for Larisa Ivanovna to find English-language materials which positively influenced her teaching in both English and Russian, as the following interview quote indicates:

Larisa Ivanovna: I try to use sources from original books, uh, uh, in English, I don't like this practice of translating international economics from Russian into English because it's very difficult, you have to get, um, huge experience on doing this, so I found books on Internet, very interesting for me, I even used them uh, for my Russian lectures, because they have very interesting information, and rather different point of view, maybe more detailed on some problems, if you're interested, I will show you this sites, so I tried to use this lectures, the language of this lectures, I try not to translate from Russian books.

Bridget: But in your Russian lectures, do you translate the English into Russian?

Larisa Ivanovna: It's easier to translate, I'm not translating, I just retell the information in my words in Russian. I only use graphs from these books, but I explain everything in my own words. (Original language from audio file, March 23, 2011)

Challenges and Adjustments in Classroom Management

Another effect of changing the medium of instruction from Russian or Ukrainian to English was the need to “adjust” classroom management practices. For example, I had the chance to observe Aleksandr Nikolayevich teaching the same subject in English and Russian. Because I wanted to confirm my understanding of what had taken place in the Russian-medium class, I gave him a copy of my field notes for the Russian-medium lesson. We met a little over a week later in his office to discuss what I had written, and I audiorecorded most of that conversation. He reacted to my comments on his corrective feedback to students as follows:

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: “Uh, and you got a sharp eye. (Reading my field notes) ‘I have a note to myself that that remark [“And don’t think it is a cruel way of humiliating, punishing by asking questions”, made in the English-medium class a few weeks earlier] may have been for the benefit of foreign students who don’t understand the teaching and learning culture. Uh, perhaps not coincidentally, the tone in the Russian-medium class is much harder...He seems much less generous and much less satisfied with the student’s performance—in part because of unsatisfactory content and in part because the content is in the native language with native students.’ Uh, the last part is completely right. You see, I have to keep it in mind, every time, every moment that, for all of us, this language is not native language. And, of course I have, um, (snaps fingers), it’s the Russian expression, *delat’ popravku*. Uh, *popravka* something like, some correction.

Me: Correction.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: Yes, as if we are aiming our gun on something, and we are changing

Me: Ah ha, adjustment.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: Adjustment, right. Something like that. I have to make an adjustment, taking into account their, let’s say, the, surreality of this situation (laughs). (Original English and Russian from audio file, March 18, 2011)

In other words, Aleksandr Nikolayevich confirmed that he feels he cannot critique his students as harshly in English as he would in Russian due to the “surreal” situation that neither the teacher nor the students are performing in their native language.

This statement overlooks the fact that there are native-speaking English students in the class, though he did address the issue of teaching foreigners in an earlier meeting with me:

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: Even if I was asked to teach in English my core citizens it would be (difficult). I have to deal with foreigners (too). I understand political correctness, I have no racist overtones, it’s just a cultural problem I must take into consideration... You can’t apply the same discipline. You are forced to be more soft, because you are not sure they understand the rules of the game here. They are from a distant country, Nigeria. I don’t want to say they are not so clever, but they are from a foreign country. For me, (it is) a whole new experience. (Paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 18, 2011)

Tatiana Konstantinovna also talked with me about the challenges of teaching students from two different cultural backgrounds who need different levels of discipline:

I ask Tatiana Konstantinovna what she was saying in Russian at the beginning of class. She says she doesn’t remember. Maybe she was just doing it to make the class fun. She then tells me she has an “internal conflict.” “These guys” (pointing to her right side of the room, where mostly only the Nigerian students sit), “get involved. Then these guys (pointing to her left, where all the Ukrainian students sit) cannot understand humor, jokes, or movies (in English). They prefer force and enforcement. The Nigerian students are older, 22-23 years old, and more objective. I said I understand, I once taught a class of mostly East Asian and Latin American students with very different participation styles. I said maybe the answer is to look for common ground. (Field notes, April 29, 2011)

Thus, for Aleksandr Nikolayevich and Tatiana Konstantinovna, the challenges of creating the desired classroom atmosphere in English are connected both with the language of instruction and cultural norms of teaching.

Teachers' Speaking Pace and Level of English

Another challenge that Aleksandr Nikolayevich brought up connected with his level of English was his pace of speaking. Multiple scholars and assessment rubrics in language education have noted that pace or rate of speech is only one component of one type of competence in a foreign language. The *Common European Framework Reference for Languages (CEFR)*, for example, defines *fluency* as “the ability to articulate, to keep going, and to cope when one lands in a dead end” (Council of Europe, 2001, p. 128). The CERF characterizes fluency as one of two “generic qualitative factors” which determine a one’s functional competence in speaking a foreign language. The second one is *propositional precision*, or the ability to formulate thoughts in a way to make one’s meaning clear. Functional competence, in turn, is one of 12 main subcomponents of communicative language competence according to the CERF framework. Researchers have also noted that both teachers and native speakers will adjust their rate of speech based on their perception of their interlocutor’s ability to comprehend the input, and that it is only one form of adjustment that a teacher can make to his or her speech when teaching students in a nonnative language (see Chaudron, 1988; Ellis, 1994). That said, the relationship between fluency, speaking pace and good teaching practice emerged as a recurring theme which can be connected to students’ and teachers’ challenges, adjustments, and opportunities for teaching and learning in English, as the following descriptions of my interaction with teachers and students illustrate.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: “Words Fall Out Just Like Drops”

In the same conversation in March in which Aleksandr Nikolayevich described his adjustments in classroom management he also discussed his concerns about his English language abilities and the “flawed” model he may potentially serve for students:

All of us are not English native speakers. And what, for instance, what I start to consider as right English, not always is so. And, uh, maybe I'm in danger, the great danger of getting used to uh, pronounce, mmm, fluently uh, mmm, to pronounce unfortunately wrong words in wrong sequences with wrong articles... (Original English from audio file, March 18, 2011)

Aleksandr Nikolayevich spoke not only of pronouncing words incorrectly with incorrect grammar, but of speaking such incorrect words *fluently*. In this context, he seems to suggest that if he speaks and “keeps going” he may make mistakes along the way which will become fossilized. This could in turn serve as a poor model for students or simply reflect his “lack of professionalism”. He used a similar word to analyze his speech a few weeks after I had given him review copies of audio and video recordings of one his Wales program lessons conducted in English, but with a different frame of reference:

He talks about watching himself in English and says there’s a “strange effect.” He says he knows his English is not so fluent as he wants, but “don’t you think there’s some slowing down effect in the recording? Words fall out just like drops...[I] feel pity for students, they have no chance, of listening like drops” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, May 6, 2011).

Here, Aleksandr Nikolayevich laments that he is not fluent enough. At first I pondered whether it was truly possible that the process of copying the files in a smaller size format had caused a “slowdown” in his speech. When transcribing the video and audio of the class later, I noted to myself that I could transcribe without having to stop and rewind or slow it down. I did not feel, however, that Aleksandr Nikolayevich’s speech was

problematically slow, perhaps because of soliloquies in which he showed great depth of vocabulary and grammar, hesitations which were filled with appropriate sounds such as “uh” and “mmm”, target-like intonation, and fully comprehensible segmental sounds. Aleksandr Nikolayevich’s self-assessment, then, needs to be understood as yet another instantiation of his anxiety about his level of English for the purposes of conducting courses in English²¹.

While one could further argue that Aleksandr Nikolayevich’s fear of making mistakes accounts for his hesitations in English, another factor more consistent with his speaking behavior is his self-described “physical, pressing effort of concentrating on the proper expressions, and translating my knowledge from Russian into English” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, April 8, 2011). The effort of translation would account for longer breakdowns in my presence where he tried to recall a word or uttered a word in Russian in the middle of an English conversation. It is also consistent with Aleksandr Nikolayevich’s metacommentary about translating from Russian to English accompanied by hesitation as seen in the following seminar excerpt in which he responded to a philosophical quote presented by a student:

Yes, yes, I understand, you know that in, in, uh Russian we have, uh, well, maybe it's the, the, the hundredth or even two-hundredth saying I mentioned. In Russian we have the saying that um, mmm, ((snaps fingers three times)) well, um, (.) someone who just filled his stomach, mmm, just can't understand uh, someone who's hungry. Uh, well, it sounds, uh, not as good as uh, in in, in, or as well as in uh, Russian original, uh version, but nevertheless.=

²¹In an online chat over a year after fieldwork, he told me that his speaking pace in English is rising (personal communication, October 20, 2012).

=So the experience is uh, the basis of understanding, of comparing, of uh, uh choosing maybe the new, hopefully the right way. But I think it's almost about everything. Of course, as uh, it's usually the case with uh, aphorisms or uh, (xx) phrases, they are so concise, they are so strong, that something of course is uh, missed. Something uh, lands beyond the frame of this uh, phrase. So maybe it's not always the right uh, thing, but it catches some serious problems of our experience. (Original English from audio file, April 8, 2011)

In the first half of the excerpt, the teacher repeats the words “in” and “the” multiple times and snaps his fingers, all in the process of trying to render in English a phrase that is original to Russian. Once he moves past this, however, Aleksandr Nikolayevich’s speech becomes faster with fewer pauses, and still demonstrates a remarkably “target-like” level of communication. At the same time, in this second half one can still hear and feel the effort he is exerting as he repeats concepts in different words, perhaps searching for the “appropriate expression”.

Remarks from two students about Aleksandr Nikolayevich’s speech, however, suggest that from their point of view they do not need any pity. The same day in February that Aleksandr Nikolayevich apologized to me for his English, Andrei overheard and quipped, “after Mikhail Grigoryevich, it’s good” (field notes, February 18, 2010). In an interview, another Wales program student, Miroslav, commented that Aleksandr Nikolayevich always talks about how bad his English is but that in so doing Aleksandr Nikolayevich “makes an elephant from the fly” (original English from audio file, February 28, 2011).

Svetlana Petrovna and Viktor Andreyevich: Slowing it Down for First Year Students

While Aleksandr Nikolayevich worries he speaks too slowly and inaccurately for his students, other teachers focus on not speaking too fast. On one occasion each, I

observed two Wales program teachers (Svetlana Petrovna and Viktor Andreyevich) speaking “in a choppy voice” (field notes, November 16, 2010) or speaking “slower” relative to other teachers while delivering a lecture to students (field notes, November 1, 2010). Both teachers also made unsolicited remarks to me about the choice to speak slowly for the benefit of their students. Svetlana Petrovna, whose training is in economics, framed it to me as a negotiation by the students: “The problem is the level of the English. The first lecture was too fast; they asked me to slow it down. They are first years. We have to follow their wishes” (paraphrased quote from original English, November 16, 2010).

Viktor Andreyevich told his class directly, “I’m going to speak slowly and if you don’t understand, whatever, raise your hand. I’ll explain even using Russian if need be” (field notes, November 1, 2010). He then came to my desk and said quietly, “It’s difficult. I have to repeat several times slowly. I hope they understand.” Viktor Andreyevich also demonstrated to me a sense of obligation to adjust the course content for the benefit of the students when we discussed a lecture he had recently given to the Wales program group about culture:

I get bolder and ask about his comparisons of cultures - are they oversimplified? He says scientific cultural research is about trying to develop their schemes which are all oversimplified. He adds “you should take into account if I was speaking to a more prepared audience, I would be more careful.” I press the point by asking, “You don’t think they can handle a discussion of the nuances of culture?” He answers: “They would be good at it in Russian. But at this point their English is not good enough. That English speaking program now is just at the beginnings. I cannot but take it into account. (Paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, December 8, 2010)

Svetlana Petrovna and Viktor Andreyevich were not the only teachers to comment on students' low level of English for studying in English. Dmitri Bogdanovich reflected on his experience teaching Wales students as follows: "Now for next year I know how to change it, what was less important, more important. These students don't have enough English, not at a high level" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, January 17, 2011). He further said he recommended to the rector that additional English language lessons be added for the next year. Even Olga Nikolayevna, who was concerned about her own level of English, agreed that students' level of English is low (field notes, January 20, 2011).

Larisa Ivanovna: No Adjustments Necessary

Like Viktor Andreyevich, Larisa Ivanovna has training in both the content area she is teaching (economics) and EFL teaching. Unlike Viktor Andreyevich, however, Larisa Ivanovna delivered her lectures to third year economics students "so fast, it is hard for me [Bridget] to get everything down" (field notes, October 14, 2010). Observations of Larisa Ivanovna speaking in Russian on the telephone during our interview, during an end-of-the-semester test, and at a conference conducted in Russian and Ukrainian suggest that Larisa Ivanovna's rate of speech in English during lectures and in Russian at other times are very similar. Larisa Ivanovna did slow down her speech when she was dictating definitions to students, an activity that was often cued by the phrase "write this down". In an informal conversation after class, Larisa Ivanovna told me this was a concession to students who "just want to write everything down and study it later"—an issue in Russian as well as English (paraphrased quote from field notes, December 9, 2010).

One group of students I interviewed from this class also commented on the teacher's pace of speaking, and how they were eventually able to adjust to it:

Katya: It's quite interesting to study in English. And it's not difficult as I thought about it.

Natalia: No, it's not difficult.

Katya: In the beginning

Natalia: On our first class it was, it was really scary.

Marina: Yeah.

Natalia: From the very first minute she started talking English. Only English.

Natalia: And so quick. So fast.

Marina: But eventually, it's okay now. (Original English from audio file, March 28, 2011)

The narrative stance taken by all three students is that the use of fast-paced English was only a challenge at the initial stages of the course. Nearly seven months later, learning in a foreign language is “okay” or “not difficult”. This change is particularly salient in Katya, who told me she had a “bad teacher” in school, did not start to study English seriously until she entered Alfred Nobel University, and chose to take the English-medium course in international economics because her friends were taking it too. These friends had also heard that the course is “better” when taught in English than in Russian. Whereas in a November seminar I noticed Katya “gave relatively less fluent information (and had one breakdown in Russian)” during a problem-solving exercise at the board, at the paper defense the following May she was able to handle a question from the teacher as follows:

Larisa Ivanovna: Okay, thank you, and one more question, you have predictions of financial crisis for future situations, yes? How do you think, what are predictions for Ukrainian economy?

Katya: I think it's not so easy to predict Ukrainian economy, but talking about our economic development I think we need a lot of years to become a strong economical country and uh, we need to, uh, grow up our, our, standard of living, and I think that we need even 50 years that our citizens

can say that we live in economical strong country and we are proud of it.
So I think that we have a lot of problems and we need to solve it.

Larisa Ivanovna: Mm hmm. Okay. Thank you. So you don't think that we may become an economic miracle sometime, yes?

Katya: I think (overlapping talk with Larisa Ivanovna) I think it will happen but not in near future.

Larisa Ivanovna: Okay, thank you very much. (Original English from video file, May 26, 2011)

While Larisa Ivanovna found it necessary to challenge the content of Katya's response about the future of the Ukrainian economy, she expressed her satisfaction with this student and other presenters' language as well as content: "Well, your presentations are very good, and I'm quite satisfied with your oral defense... And I think you will defend your diploma in English because you proved them quite successfully" (original English from video file, May 26, 2011). Defending one's diploma paper in English can be interpreted as a particular compliment because Viktor Andreyevich told me that while all philology students are required to defend their diploma papers in English, "many other departments in the area of economics, they also defend their diploma papers in English. Every year, about 100 students defend their diploma papers in English. It is quite welcome, it's considered as a kind of achievement" (original English from audio file, February 21, 2011). Thus, it could be said that for Katya (and her successful classmates), taking international economics in English and coping with the fast pace of the lessons became an opportunity for a better understanding of economics, improved English language abilities, and the chance of accomplishing the task of defending a diploma paper in English.

Teacher and Student Reflections on Teaching and Learning in English

In the process of observing Viktor Andreyevich's Russian-medium lecture on methods of foreign language teaching, I heard the words *navyki* and *umenie*. When I asked Oleg Borisovich what they meant, he informed me they both translate into English as “skills”. *Navyki* refers to automatic skills that are used subconsciously, while *umenie* are psychological mechanisms connected with conscious strategies (personal communication, September 10, 2010). In the course of fieldwork, teachers reflected with me on the skills they possess which support their teaching in English (and which could be considered *navyki*, though they used the English word with me). Students focused more on skills which they were lacking or developing (and which could be both *navyki* and *umenie*). Teachers also acknowledged that students were lacking certain skills or foundational knowledge, but emphasized they ultimately believe students' skills for learning in English can improve.

Teaching in English as a Positive Challenge

Regardless of whether or not a teacher found challenges or the need to make adjustments in teaching, teachers at times spoke of their strong personality traits which supported teaching in English and made the task enjoyable on a certain level. Tatiana Konstantinovna told me about her years of experience developing new classes in a short period of time (including the Wales program class) as follows: “Everyone knows it's possible to tell me, ‘you will have a new course in one month. Are you ready?’ There are two psychological types: inventors, or conservatives who don't like to invent anything new. I'm an inventor” (paraphrased quote from original English, April 29,

2011). When I asked Viktoria Sergeyevna, who has a primary background in pedagogy, why she was possibly chosen to teach psychology in English, she answered, “I like challenges, so it was in a new subject, I was always interested and I'm interested in psychology”. She also demonstrated some prior knowledge and skills to build on—she had talked before about psychological issues with international economics students in EFL classes, so the subject was not “totally new” for her (all quotes original English from audio file, March 9, 2011). Even Aleksandr Nikolayevich interspersed his comments about the difficulties of teaching in English with comments such as “at first it was so difficult...but it starts to get interesting”, “[it is a] unique possibility to well to some extent at least to improve my English speaking skills”, and “it’s a challenge. I want to respond”. This last point in particular was indexed to the notion that people born under his sign of the zodiac “like to answer, to respond to challenges” (all quotes in original English from audio file, March 18, 2011). While Aleksandr Nikolayevich emphasized that astrology is not to be taken seriously, the general idea that responding to the challenge of teaching in English may be inherent in his personality is worth taking into consideration.

Challenges for Students Studying in English

Students commented on their own difficulties studying in English which were connected with their level of English language knowledge. Elena said she has “maximum problems” and therefore either uses Russian or keeps silent in English-medium classes (original English from audio file, March 28, 2011). When I told another student, Alla, that I thought her English was fabulous and wanted to know how she had

learned it over the years, she rejected the compliment: “Unfortunately, as for me, I don't know English um, uh, in, (in-breath) not even on excellent level, just middle, uh, the point is, I uh, can speak but with uh, rules of times I, I don't know it. And it always was problem for me” (original English from audio file, April 4, 2011).

In Wales program classes, such difficulties with English occasionally emerged in teacher-student interaction. In a Wales economics class, for example, a student answered a question and the teacher prompted her to elaborate (“explain, please”). The student replied, “I don’t know how to explain. I understand that I don’t know how to explain” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, November 30, 2010). The implication is that the student understood the concept, but could not find the words in English to explain further. Later in the same class, the teacher told another student, Nastia, “Don’t speak in Russian.” Nastia answered, “I don’t know how to say it in English” (field notes, November 30, 2010).

An additional concern for students who were in English-medium classes was that they did not have a content foundation (or would have difficulties developing such a foundation) in any medium of instruction. This issue was often marked discursively by the phrase “even in Russian”. On my first visit to his class, Mikhail Grigoryevich said the students “are weak even in Russian. Now they are doing it in English” (paraphrased quote from original Russian, field notes, November 1, 2010). Students also showed awareness of these difficulties with math. Miroslav said, “highest mathematics is really difficult subject even in Russian” (original English from audio file, February 28, 2011). Andrei told me his friends in other groups are shocked that he is taking math in English, as they can’t understand it in Russian (field notes, March 21, 2011).

The general difficulties of learning academic content were not limited to mathematics. Aleksandr Nikolayevich said “philosophy and sociology are hard targets, even in the native language” (original English from audio file, March 18, 2011). Olga Nikolayevna, when explaining formatting of numbers in Excel, told students “Even in Russian [it is not] understandable” (field notes, February 23, 2011). At the same time, Olga Nikolayevna felt teaching computer skills in English was easier than teaching math; in computers, she can show them what to do if they do not understand (field notes, January 17, 2011).

Even when students demonstrated prior knowledge which could facilitate language learning, it was only partially framed by teachers as a resource. Mikhail Grigoryevich told me he had students who had graduated from schools specializing in both humanities and math. For the students who graduated from math schools, the material he is teaching is already “boring” (paraphrased quote from original Russian, field notes, March 21, 2011). The implication is that students who have a strong background in math are not better prepared to study math in English, they are slowed down in their learning by their weaker peers.

In a third-year economics lesson about foreign currency exchange, students told Larisa Ivanovna that they were studying these concepts in a Russian-medium class. Larisa Ivanovna indicated, however, that such knowledge was only partially beneficial at best:

Larisa Ivanovna: What else you have to know? Spot exchange rate, but when we had international trade we discussed all these terms. If you know, there's no need to write them down, if you don't know them-
Yaroslav: Uh, one and half uh, two hours ago, they discussed (xx).
Larisa Ivanovna: A discussion? On which course?

Bogdan: (name of course in Russian)
 Larisa Ivanovna: (hh) Ah. So you are studying this topic? You are also studying uh, foreign exchange market or what?
 Yaroslav: Operations, um,
 Larisa Ivanovna: Mm hmm. And you studied them with graphical description of-?
 2-3 Students at once: Nooo.
 Larisa Ivanovna: What are they studying?
 Marina: Only definitions.
 Larisa Ivanovna: Definitions and that's all?
 2-3 Students: Futures and
 Larisa Ivanovna: Okay so that's good, you will study, we will have more about, we already discussed futures (xx) and you studied mechanism of them, no?
 One student: No.
 Larisa Ivanovna: So just-
 Marina: Just the definition.
 Larisa Ivanovna: Definition (sigh) but it's not enough (5.0) (Sigh) But maybe then it will be easier for you. Here you will just study it in English. Here, these are just terms, but later we will use this in some models and examples...(original English and Russian from audio file, April 21, 2011)

When Larisa Ivanovna says “it’s not enough”, she is not complaining about their low level of knowledge. Rather, she is saying that to get to the level of knowledge she wants them to have, they will have to learn the material directly in English; their knowledge in Russian will not allow for a complete transfer of knowledge and skills. Furthermore, Larisa Ivanovna’s reaction to what is being taught in the Russian-medium class corroborates students’ observation that the course content is taught more effectively in English than in Russian.

Hopes for Improvement

Aleksandr Nikolayevich told me at one point about teaching in the Wales program, “all we do now is unimagined territory. Everything is created. Like Iraq, the mother of all battles, this is the mother of all experiments. It does not compromise the

idea of the whole thing. But it's an experiment" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, March 18, 2011). Aleksandr Nikolayevich's point was that while teaching in English is a new (and challenging) experience for him (and perhaps the Wales students), the task of teaching in English is still worth the undertaking. In a similar vein, it may be said that teachers mitigated their fears about students' abilities to study in English with a belief that there are still reasons to be hopeful for the future. Viktor Andreyevich, for example, told me that students' level is improving all through the year, and that it will go on improving. Their level of English is "not the (high) one as yet, but I'm sure they will be able to study at British or American universities with no problem because of the language" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 15, 2011). Svetlana Petrovna also expressed hope for the students for the future, albeit in a far more qualified way:

Because, they should think English. Think in English language. But, that's the problem. But maybe, later, they'll start to think English. Maybe. So maybe it's too hard for them to use English now, in all situations. But I think, we'll fix this problem later, maybe next year, because maybe, their English not so good, maybe they're not so self-confident about their English or their knowledges, at all, so, I see this problem, that students use Russian language during English classes. (Original English from audio file, March 16, 2011)

In the same interview, Svetlana Petrovna expressed concerns about the difficulties students will have meeting the high standards of the Wales program as the program gets more difficult. Thus, Svetlana Petrovna, Viktor Andreyevich, and Aleksandr Nikolayevich have reservations about the program and its students but are trying to portray the program in as positive a light as possible. This could be genuine optimism for the future, or it could be an effort to align themselves with current university policies and

beliefs about the value of English as a medium of instruction. For Svetlana Petrovna and Viktor Andreyevich, this stance could also reflect the effort both have put into bringing the Wales program to fruition, and the desire to see this project be successful.

Chapter Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that offering an EMI program at Alfred Nobel University is perceived by the university administration to have high financial value and prestige for the university, and high academic status for the students who study in English. The Wales program in particular affords students the opportunity (from the perspective of the university administration) to obtain a multilingual education on both a Ukrainian scale and a European scale. For Wales program students, studying in English holds the promise of employment in Ukraine or abroad, or is linked with an overall prosperous future. These ideologies have likely been passed on to them by their parents, who play a very strong role in decisions about education. For third year students of international economics, however, peer decision-making also plays a role.

On the practical side, while teachers who have been selected to teach in English have positive views towards the challenge of teaching in English, some teachers still expressed anxieties about their language for teaching and classroom management practices. There has been a struggle to find teachers who are both experts in their field and fluent in English; the university has found some teachers with a strong background in language and content, but has also had to select some people with more language knowledge than content knowledge in the early stages of the program. This focus is not seen as problematic. Perhaps it is not problematic at the early, preparatory stages of the

program, but it could become so as students progress in the program and need a high level of content knowledge.

Teaching in English at Alfred Nobel University creates challenges and necessitates adjustments. Textbooks and other educational materials for EMI classes need to be translated from Russian or searched for on the Internet. The teachers' rate of speech slows down either by student request or due to the fact one is speaking in a foreign language. Classroom management has to be handled in a way that takes into account the fact that students are studying in a foreign language, a foreign culture, or both. On the other hand, studying in English can increase teachers' and students' access to knowledge they would not have if the medium of instruction were Russian or Ukrainian.

Finally, there are concerns about students' low level of language knowledge for studying in English. Moreover, most Ukrainian students do not have a foundation of content knowledge in Russian (or Ukrainian) from which to transfer knowledge into English. As indicated by the example from the third year economics class, this suggests that students will obtain knowledge in English which will not be developed in Russian or Ukrainian, potentially expanding students' overall content knowledge but limiting students' development in Russian or Ukrainian.

CHAPTER 6

THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE IN THE UNIVERSITY CLASSROOMS

Whereas Chapter 5 focused exclusively on the value of EMI at Alfred Nobel University, the purpose of the current chapter is to expand the understanding of EMI at the university by highlighting the use and value of multiple languages at the classroom level—including not only EMI classes but also EFL classes and classes taught primarily in Russian or Ukrainian. EMI classes are taught at the university in ways that draw on both the target language and the native language(s) for educational purposes. However, the choice of a language or languages in moment-to-moment interaction across classes—whether the primary or designated medium of instruction is Ukrainian, Russian, or English—is connected to the domains of language use (see Baker, 2001) which are common for individual speakers, domains which at times are connected to patterns of language use in Ukrainian society. The key characteristics of the ecology of language at the classroom level are: a) the role of language background and language choice in the language or languages used; b) the relationship between the channel of communication and language use; and c) the fluidity of use of multiple languages.

The Choice of Medium of Instruction

It was noted previously that students in EMI classes either chose that medium of instruction by matriculating directly into the Wales program to study in English, or were chosen to study in English on the basis of an exam administered by the university. For the remaining majority of students in the university, one would predict the medium of instruction to be Russian given that the university is in a large city in eastern Ukraine. As

one philology student said to me in an interview, “you know, in our university lectures are taught in three languages: Ukrainian, Russian, and English. But mostly in Russian” (original English from audio file, interview, April 6, 2011). A second sense emerged in interviews that sometimes teachers prefer to use Ukrainian as a medium of instruction, as the following quotes from a 3rd year international economics student and a teacher indicate:

Me: All right. Speaking now then about language use, uh, in your classes, both the class I observe and the other classes that you take, how would you characterize the use of English, and Russian, and Ukrainian in those classes?

Aleksandr: Mm, in most cases we use Russian, but some maybe tutors or teachers use Ukrainian, for example like our politology tutor [political science lecturer], he speaks only Ukrainian. But he doesn't speak uh, clear Ukrainian because he mixed words with Russian, with some, I don't know, uh, we call this *surzhyk*. (Original language from audio file, March 29, 2011)

Larisa Ivanovna: I know that there are lecturers like Yaroslav Denisovich, you know him, he likes Ukrainian and he has lectures in Ukrainian. Of course students understand the information, but uh, if you ask them whether they want, or what language do they want, they will choose Russian. (Original language from audio file, March 23, 2011)

Note that in both cases the use of Ukrainian is still framed in terms of Russian use.

Aleksandr indicated that one of his teachers speaks Ukrainian but mixes Ukrainian with Russian words. Larisa Ivanovna reported that Yaroslav Denisovich chooses to conduct lectures in Ukrainian, but his students likely would take the class in Russian if they could. The predominance of Russian, even when Ukrainian is present, remains clear.

Teachers of academic subjects who said they regularly choose Russian rather than Ukrainian as a medium of instruction indicated the choice was connected with their perception of students' language background, not their own background or preferences.

Viktor Andreyevich is self-described as speaking both Russian and English as an L1, and more fluent in written Ukrainian than in spoken Ukrainian. When I asked about the general use of the three languages in classes, he told me “practically in my classes Ukrainian is very rarely used because most students have Russian as their language one [L1]” (original language from audio file, February 21, 2011). Viktoria Sergeyevna said she allows her students to choose: “I ask my students in which language they would like me to read, so to give lectures in, either in Russian or Ukrainian, but they mostly choose Russian” (original language from audio file, March 9, 2011). Viktoria Sergeyevna comes from a Russian-speaking family and did not start to study Ukrainian until she began to study at a university, where she memorized poems. She still struggles to speak and write Ukrainian. It is possible here that her students’ “choice” is based on their perception of Viktoria Sergeyevna’s Ukrainian language skills or even her decision to speak in Russian while making such an offer. Yet Viktoria Sergeyevna further indicated that her choice of the medium of instruction was influenced by the presence of foreign students:

We have a lot of students from Russia, from Russian speaking countries such as Belorussia or Kazakhstan, so post Soviet Union countries where Russian is an international language. And of course it is easier to, uh, to deliver knowledge in Russian, in the language they feel more comfortable to communicate in. And when it doesn’t concern foreign languages and English in particular, my role is to develop, to deliver knowledge...So if they don't speak, for example, I had a group of students, uh, Georgian students or Armenian. They can hardly speak uh, Russian, and I don't even mention Ukrainian, and what on earth should I force them to learn Ukrainian so that they could understand my lectures? (Original language from audio file, March 9, 2011)

While Viktoria Sergeyevna, Viktor Andreyevich, and Larisa Ivanovna choose not to teach students in Ukrainian because it is not their students’ preferred or strongest native language, they embrace the teaching of academic subjects in English to students

regardless of those students' native language backgrounds. Yaroslav Denisovich, who prefers to teach in Ukrainian, also began teaching courses in English in the 2012-2013 academic school year. In the medium-of-instruction ecological hierarchy, then, English is currently positioned below Russian but above Ukrainian at the university, and is poised to spread as a medium of instruction in the university over time. This position of English gives credence to the fears expressed by linguists cited in Chapter 2 that English is a “killer language” which threatens the development of Ukrainian. Yet the choice(s) of a medium of instruction at this university also reflect a student-centered, goal-oriented approach to teaching which is difficult to find fault with.

The remaining sections of this chapter underscore the fact that the term “medium of instruction” cannot be taken at face value as a static entity at Alfred Nobel University; a better designation would be *primary language of instruction*. For every class observed at Alfred Nobel University, one or more languages in addition to the primary language of instruction were used for a number of purposes. Thick descriptions of the use of languages as a primary language of instruction or as an additional language have been grouped into four main categories: 1) the use of Ukrainian; 2) the use of Russian in EMI and EFL classes; 3) the use of English in Russian-medium classes; and 4) additional foreign languages in English- and Russian-medium classes.

The Use of Ukrainian

In addition to being an occasional medium of instruction for academic subjects, Ukrainian appeared in the ecology of Alfred Nobel University in three ways: a) as a subject (i.e. in Ukrainian language classes); b) on certain written assignments and

academic texts; and c) in speech to refer to texts written in Ukrainian. These uses of Ukrainian index the Ukrainian language's simultaneous position as both nearly a foreign language for individuals, and an official or native language in Ukraine.

Ukrainian as a Foreign Language in Ukrainian-Medium Classes

In contrast with the reports of academic subjects being taught in Ukrainian, three students I interviewed (one in the Wales program, two in the course for 3rd year economics students) told me they took only one class taught in Ukrainian—a Ukrainian language class. Consistent with these latter reports, the only class I directly observed to be using Ukrainian as a medium of instruction was the Ukrainian language class for Wales program students. Even the Ukrainian history class I observed one time, as the teacher told me, was taught *na russkom* (Russian for “in Russian”).

The two Ukrainian language classes I observed were taught in Ukrainian except for the occasional translation of a word or sentence into Russian. The following field notes excerpt illustrates how the teacher (Ludmila Anatolievna) and I viewed students' relative knowledge of Russian and Ukrainian:

There is a stack of yellowish books. I assume they are old, but when Ludmila Anatolievna hands them out, it turns out they were published by the university in 2003; she herself wrote the exercises inside. She and Nina have another yellow book with the Ukrainian title *Ukraïns'ka mova* [Ukrainian language] in blue writing. As I understand the exercise from reading the Ukrainian instructions in the book (*Perepyshit' rechennia, stavliachy potribni rozdilovi znaky pry priamiy movi. Poiasnit' ikh.*), students should rewrite the passage with the correct punctuation and explain why they used those punctuation marks. Students take turns giving answers which Ludmila Anatolievna comments on.

Ludmila Anatolievna says in Ukrainian the second question/item is about dialogues (*druhe pytannia tse dyaloh*). Students are assigned by name into pairs or groups of 3, and each group gets one situation, e.g. Vy

zapiznylysia na zaniattia [You are late to class]. She asks each pair to write one dialog. She clarifies that they only have the general situation (*zahalnaia sytuatsiia*).

It is at this moment I realize that this class feels more like a “Ukrainian as a Foreign Language” class than a Ukrainian for native speakers class. Though punctuation can be hard for native speakers too, it’s not normally taught like this. After class, I asked Ludmila Anatolievna (in a mixture of Russian and Ukrainian), what do you think? Do you think they study Ukrainian as a native language (*ridna mova*), or a second language, or something in between? She said I was absolutely right. They think in Russian and translate into Ukrainian. (Field notes, May 16, 2011)

Ludmila Anatolievna’s belief that her students “think in Russian and translate into Ukrainian” suggests that Ukrainian is a foreign language for her students. This view is consistent with interview reports in Chapter 4 that many of her students studied in Russian-medium schools where Ukrainian was taught as a subject.

Students’ ideologies about Ukrainian (as expressed in interviews), however, were often more consistent with the notion that Ukrainian is their native language because they were born and raised in Ukraine. Three Wales program students told me they spoke Ukrainian (along with Russian but more so than Russian) with family members at home. One of them, Ksenia, identified Ukrainian as her “mother tongue language” and Russian as her “other mother tongue language” with air quotes around the phrase “other mother tongue language” (original language from audio file, February 24, 2011).

When I asked students, “which language is easier or more comfortable for you to speak, English or Ukrainian?”, only one Wales program student, Andrei, said that English was easier, and this he did with some hesitation: “It’s hard question, maybe even English because, er, it’s, I think I know English better than Ukrainian” (original language from audio file, February 28, 2011). Five other Wales program students responded to this

question that Ukrainian was easier because it was their native language, something they “knew from childhood”, or was closer to Russian. Two of these five students also hesitated in their answer. Nikolai, who grew up speaking Russian at home in a predominantly Russian-speaking city and identified Russian earlier in the interview as his native language, said he “can’t say” which is easier because Ukrainian is also his native language.

Oksana and Aleksandra saw how either English or Ukrainian could be named as the easier language, but asserted their feeling that Russian was the easiest or most comfortable language of all:

Bridget: Okay. Um, uh, this may be a sensitive question, but which language is easier for you or more comfortable for you, English or Ukrainian?

Oksana: (pause) Mm, (laugh) I- Russian.

Aleksandra: (Ru?) maybe.

Bridget: Of course Russian most of all.

Oksana: Yes.

Bridget: After Russian.

Oksana: Yes. After Russian, nu, I don't know. From other side it is the English, but uh Ukrainian it's

Aleksandra: Our native

Oksana: Easier because it's our native and it's maybe, similar in something with Russian.

Bridget: Okay. Uh, do you prefer to speak one language more than the other?

Oksana: Yes, we prefer to speak Russian. Because we speak in this language at home, with our relatives, friends. (Original language from audio file, March 10, 2011)

Finally, Oksana and two other students who identified Ukrainian as easier than English also told me that they studied Ukrainian with a tutor prior to taking their secondary school final exams (national Independent Testing Exams, *Zovnishnie Nezalezhne Otsiniuvannia* or ZNO in Ukrainian). All three students also studied English with a tutor

or at a commercial language school. In practice then, these students may be closer to the foreign language end than the native language end of the Ukrainian proficiency continuum.

When I posed the same questions to 3rd year international economics students, they seemed more willing than the Wales program students to talk about the nuances of the relationship between Ukrainian and English. Elena and Irina immediately agreed that Ukrainian was easier than English, but Irina added one caveat: “But for me, Business English right now, maybe sometimes is uh, easier than business Ukrainian. Maybe because of such a lot of classes in English and international economics in English” (original language from audio file, March 28, 2011). When I asked Irina if she ever worries that studying in English will limit her development of Russian and Ukrainian, she replied, “I thought only about that this is one extra opportunity to um, to develop my English and to try to communicate only in English” (original language from audio file, March 28, 2011). Irina’s statement echoes of *linguistic opportunism*, a weaker form of linguistic imperialism based on the economic opportunities associated with English (Ciscel, 2002).

Aleksandr said “maybe English” is easier “because I haven’t um, spoke Ukrainian for a long time, just I mean, fluent Ukrainian, but I can understand everything, and I can express my thoughts, but um, just, I don’t use it” (original language from audio file, March 29, 2011). When I asked him if he worried studying in English would limit his development in Russian or Ukrainian, he said no. However, he also acknowledged that a friend chose not to study international economics in English out of fear that he would know it in English but not Russian or Ukrainian. Aleksandr’s counterargument to his

friend was “you can always translate, so there was no question for me whether to go or not [to classes taught in English]” (original language from audio file, March 29, 2011).

On the one hand, these students acknowledge that English has gotten easier for them than Ukrainian in part because of studying in English, but they do not see studying in English as problematic for their overall language development.

Some teachers I spoke to readily identified Ukrainian as a foreign language in quite direct and literal terms. Viktor Andreyevich told me, “my Ukrainian is on the level of my French. It’s definitely L2. Because English, I believe in a way it’s L1 just as Russian” (original language from audio file, December 29, 2010). Viktoria Sergeyevna said, “When I have to speak Ukrainian, so, sometimes uh, find out that I feel more comfortable speaking English or even Chinese. I can remember Chinese expressions, Chinese vocabulary and much quicker than Ukrainian ones” (original language from audio file, March 9, 2011). Larisa Ivanovna said, “So for me, I can write and speak in Ukrainian, but I don’t like it, and it’s not like my native language. For me it’s even easier to communicate English. Because this is international language” (original language from audio file, March 23, 2011).

In short, teachers and students with more experience in a Russified Ukraine may be more willing to declare they have higher proficiency in Russian or even English than Ukrainian. Conversely, students who have grown up in post-Soviet times and attended schools that emphasize the importance of the Ukrainian language (see Friedman, 2006) may be aware that it is more politically correct to declare Ukrainian their native language and to not declare a foreign language such as English to be the language of greater proficiency. The comments from 3rd year economics students, however, suggest that

students may develop more sophisticated awareness of language use as they progress in their university studies. Their comments also suggest that opportunities to study in English may supersede and inhibit study of Ukrainian whether students make that connection or not.

The Use of Ukrainian (and English and Russian) in the Written Domain

It was reported at Alfred Nobel University that regardless of whether the medium of instruction is Ukrainian or Russian, Ukrainian is the only acceptable language for written assignments such as term papers (a paper written at the end of a professional class) and diploma papers (papers written at the end of one's university study). This requirement is not universal knowledge, as the following interview excerpt illustrates:

Marina: And also we use Ukrainian when we write term papers.

Bridget: Ah, okay.

Natalia: No, sometimes we have a choice to write (0.6)

Marina: Term papers?

Natalia: Sometimes in-

Marina: Only in Ukrainian.

Natalia: I forgot. Yeah. (Original language from audio file, March 28, 2011)

In a related example, I talked with Larisa Ivanovna after a lesson in which I heard a student asking a question in Russian, but could not make out all of the details:

Larisa Ivanovna asked me again the purpose of my study/recording. I said in general, I'm interested in the ecology of languages. It may seem like a strange question, but there's a question of whether English is a threat to Russian or Ukrainian. I talked about the history of Russian and Ukrainian, and how English is coming into the picture at the university as a medium of instruction, not as a subject. She said they don't tend to use Ukrainian here, they use Russian. Even today, she said, that girl asked how to write her report—in Russian or English? Larisa Ivanovna told her in Ukrainian, but the girl didn't want to. (Field notes, November 11, 2010)

In this case, the student was informed that she must write a report in Ukrainian and was uncomfortable with this requirement. Larisa Ivanovna did not state it directly, but the student's reluctance to use Ukrainian may also have been a function of her language background.

The use of Ukrainian or Russian in the written domain may vary by the type of assignment and the department. Students in the philology department, for example, reported greater flexibility in language use for written translation assignments which are not final papers:

Sveta: As far as I know in our business English, our teacher told, tells us in what language we should translate the text. It's not because she's, she's bad, because, it's because of, we should be equal in both languages. We should translate in both languages. Equal good and right. And um, in others' classes, we have in the task, it's written "translate in your native language." So we can choose. What native? For me, native is Russian because I speak Russian. I mean, in my family, and what else. But native for our country for people as far as I'm Ukrainian, it's native is Ukrainian. So we can choose on that. (Original language from audio file, April 8, 2011)

Sveta suggested by her comments that teachers feel students should have flexibility and balance in translating materials from English. She also indicated her own choice of which language to use for translation is influenced by how one defines "native language"—the language one speaks at home (i.e. Russian), or the language of one's nationality (i.e. Ukrainian). Her classmate, Diana, added that she feels it is useful to know Ukrainian. She based this both on the experiences of family members who have called on her to help with translation and her observations that in television, journalism and entertainment, translators use Ukrainian. She concludes, "It's vital importance you know, our Ukrainian, like, because we live here, so it's necessary for us to speak it as fluently as Russian. And

we trying to do that” (original language from audio file, April 7, 2011). The phrase “we live here” suggests Ukrainian is native to Diana’s ecology, but her closing line “we are trying to do that” again suggests it is a non-native like effort for her.

For students in EMI classes, the requirement to write in Ukrainian is non-existent. Essays, final exams, and term papers are written in English because eventually the evaluation team at the University of Wales needs to be able to read documents to confirm the students’ progress towards the joint degree (Oleg Tarnopolsky, personal communication, July 18, 2012). For this reason, diploma papers of Wales students are also expected to be written in English. The 3rd year economics class also required a term paper to be written in English—the only class in which I heard the language of the assignment explicitly referred to by Larisa Ivanovna: “This term paper should be written in English. It’s very difficult to find information on Internet on certain topics. You have to find in Russian, maybe translate. If you have problems I will try to help you” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 16, 2011).

As mentioned in Chapter 5, diploma papers that are written in Ukrainian may be defended in English (and may be required to be defended in a foreign language depending on the department). Students in the philology department are required to defend their diploma paper orally in English, and the departments of economics are increasingly requiring students to defend diplomas orally in English. Other students may choose to defend their diploma paper in English (Viktor Andreyevich, personal communication, February 21, 2011). Overall then, Ukrainian is reportedly preferred over Russian in the written domain at the classroom level. Yet English is permissible in domains where Russian is not, and Russian can be used for certain types of writing tasks

depending on the purpose or genre. Even in those written genres where Russian is used, English is present.

Textbooks and Academic Writing

Another indicator of the importance of Ukrainian in the written domain at the university and national levels is in textbooks and other academic writing. Viktor Andreyevich twice used Ukrainian to reference a textbook printed in Ukrainian. In one instance, he wrote on the board the name of a textbook, *Педагогіка* (*Pedagogika*, Pedagogy). In another lecture, he referenced the name of a recommended book in both English and Ukrainian: “in English it is called *Lifestyle Communicative Behavioral Patterns in the USA*, and the Ukrainian name is *Standarty Komunikatyvnoi Povedinky U Say-Shay-Ah*²²” (original language from video file, December 8, 2010).

Teachers’ reference to textbooks or other printed materials in Ukrainian (and perhaps the need for students to write final papers in Ukrainian) can be linked to a larger tendency to use Ukrainian for writing publications nationwide—or at least, to view Ukrainian as the most politically correct language to use in writing. Viktor Andreyevich told me he writes books in Russian and Ukrainian but, “you know, here, they prefer to publish books in Ukrainian” (original language from audio file, January 25, 2011). Neither “here” nor “they” have a definitive referent; it could be Ukrainian publishers or the company that prints textbooks written by university professors.

The likelihood that “they” represents a scale beyond the university increases when one considers my conversation with Viktoria Sergeyevna about Google Translate

²²To facilitate the reading of the quote, the word “USA” in Ukrainian is rendered as it was pronounced in class, not as a letter-by-letter transliteration.

(translate.google.com). After Viktor Andreyevich referred me to Viktoria Sergeyevna to obtain help translating my interview questions from Russian to Ukrainian, she revealed that she is expected to publish articles in Ukrainian and uses Google Translate to help translate her Russian academic writings. Since publications can be both internal to the university and nationwide, the push to write in Ukrainian, while perhaps not in official legislation, is a part of the linguistic culture (Schiffman, 2006) which has emerged in the post-Soviet era in Ukraine.

This pressure can be confirmed and further accounted for by three other writing events. I was invited by Oleg Tarnopolsky to submit a paper to two journals (*zbirnyk* in Ukrainian, more literally a collection of articles). One was Kharkiv National University's *Vykladannia Mov U Vyshchyykh Navchal'nykh Zakladakh Osvity Na Suchasnomu Etapi* [Ukrainian for "The Teaching of Languages in Higher Education Institutions in the Modern Era"]. According to the Web site of the National Library of Ukraine (<http://www.nbuv.gov.ua/portal/>) which maintains a record of journals published in Ukraine, the languages of this journal are Ukrainian, Russian, and English (in that order). Consistent with the stated policy, for this journal I was allowed to submit the paper in English with an abstract in English, Ukrainian, and Russian (in that order). Of the remaining 20 articles in the journal, 19 were in Ukrainian and one was in Russian. The Russian article was co-authored by an author from Turkmenistan.

The second journal was produced by Alfred Nobel University—*Visnyk Dnipropetrovs'koho Universytetu Ekonomiky ta Prava imeni Alfreda Nobela Seriiia Pedahohika i Psykholohia* [Ukrainian for "Dnipropetrovs'k University of Economics and Law Herald, Series on Pedagogy and Psychology"]. As in Kharkiv, I was allowed to

submit my paper in English with an abstract in English, Ukrainian, and Russian. The journal contained 26 articles written in Ukrainian with the exception of my paper in English and three articles in Russian—two by professors at Alfred Nobel University. One professor wrote for the psychology section, and two wrote for the methods of foreign language teaching section. The National Library of Ukraine site suggests this journal has a more open language policy: in addition to Ukrainian, Russian, and English, the journal accepts papers in German, French, Italian, Polish, and Spanish. The list concludes with the parenthetical phrase *zmishanymy movamy*—literally “mixed languages”.

The third and final example is a contested one. I saw a September 2012 blog entry by Aleksandr Nikolayevich declaring in Russian that he had submitted a paper to a journal in Kharkov (“not in L’vov”), but was told by the editor that he needed to translate it into Ukrainian (See Appendix E for the full blog entry). When I asked Aleksandr Nikolayevich (via online chat) for permission to reference this as an example of the preference for Ukrainian in the written domain (especially academic texts), he emphasized that “it is not a ‘political’ or ‘modern’ issue, they have been publishing scholarly papers exclusively in Ukrainian since 1970s, so, if I’m not mistaken, this story just has no relevance to your topic” (personal communication, October 20, 2012). He added that this is a very atypical case; he has been able to publish papers in Russian in L’viv²³ as well. In his blog entry, he also mentioned that he had submitted Russian-language articles to journals at that university before; the implication is that only this one

²³In the Russian language blog entry, he used the Russian names of the cities Kharkov and L’vov. In our English-language chat, he wrote the transliteration of the Ukrainian name, Lviv. Anecdotal reports suggest this is customary and expected; one should use Russian names of Ukrainian cities when speaking or writing Russian, and one should use the Ukrainian variant when translating from Ukrainian into English.

journal produced by the university demands use of Ukrainian language. In the blog he concluded that he would try to send it to another journal which will accept the paper in Russian. A commenter on the blog suggested it would be difficult to get it published anywhere in Russian, a sentiment Aleksandr Nikolayevich rejected in his response. Aleksandr Nikolayevich completed a dissertation in Ukrainian, so he has the ability to write in Ukrainian. Writing in Russian is a preference, not a necessity.

There are multiple implications for the ecology of language in the academic writing context from these examples. One, a state university may feel more obligated to use the “state” language for publishing as much as possible, while a private university such as Alfred Nobel University can be somewhat more flexible in its policies. As Aleksandr Nikolayevich told me, “We are a bilingual university with bilingual teachers. Since 1991 there has been Ukrainization,” but at this university “no official steps to ensure, discuss, restrict, or forbid [the use of languages] were taken” (paraphrased quote from original English, March 25, 2011). Two, it may be that the choice of language by both journals in Kharkiv is connected with the notion of one nationality, one language. That is to say, an American or a Turkmen may write for a Ukrainian journal in an international language, but a Ukrainian author must write in Ukrainian to show they are Ukrainian. If the three authors who wrote in Russian for Alfred Nobel University are ethnic Russians, that would further support this interpretation. Three, individual Ukrainian authors perhaps continue to write for an imagined community (Anderson, 1991; Kanno & Norton, 2003) of Russian-speaking academics who publish in Russian in Ukraine. Four, the teachers I spoke to who tend to write articles in Ukrainian all have degrees in foreign languages, while Aleksandr Nikolayevich is in the social sciences. It

may be that there tend to be different language norms (or even different sensitivities to language norms) for different disciplines and genres of writing. Finally, it could be said that the choice of language for an academic journal is made by each journal, and tendencies vary from journal to journal and from university to university.

The Use of Spoken Ukrainian in Russian- and English-Medium Classes

I have only two instances documented in my field notes when students were speaking Ukrainian in English- or Russian-medium classes²⁴: In one instance, a student in a Russian-medium seminar asked for permission to answer a question in Ukrainian, a request the teacher readily granted. In the second and only other documented instance, Sergei responded to a student's name during roll call in an EMI class with the Ukrainian word *nemae*, which in this context meant "not here". Later in an interview, Sergei told me that Ukrainian is easier for him than English, and explained the reason in English and Ukrainian: "because it is my native language and also I like it. It's like a song. *Iak to kazhut', solov'ina pisnia* [like they say, a nightingale's song]" (original language from audio file, March 1, 2011). The metaphor of a song in particular indexes the melodic, poetic qualities that are often ascribed to the Ukrainian language.

Teachers in English- and Russian-medium classes used Ukrainian slightly more than students, but overall were also seldom observed speaking Ukrainian. Aleksandr Nikolayevich introduced the term "paganism" first in Russian, then in English (for my benefit), then told students the Ukrainian equivalent (field notes, March 9, 2011). In an

²⁴Instances of the use of Ukrainian by students in other university settings and events will be discussed in Chapter 8.

EFL class, a substitute teacher for Viktoriya Sergeyevna explained the English word “dabble” by saying, “I like to dance, but I won’t appear on *Tantsi z Zirkami* [the Ukrainian name of the TV show “Dancing with the Stars”]” (paraphrased quote from original language, field notes, May 26, 2011). It is likely the teacher has become oriented to the fact that the majority of television shows and all movies tend to have Ukrainian names—and should be shown in Ukrainian, although in many TV shows Russian and Ukrainian are spoken (including *Tantsi z Zirkami*). An orientation to this law would also explain university TV station broadcasts in Ukrainian referenced in the Introduction.

It was already shown that Viktor Andreyevich spoke about textbooks printed in Ukrainian. Another utterance in Ukrainian which referenced a document and the practices behind it was heard in a regional economics seminar discussion about labor resources. Precious asked Dmitri Bogdanovich why she is not allowed to work in Ukraine. He responded, “Your visa says *O*. It means *Osvita*, education” (paraphrased quote in original language, field notes, December 7, 2010). While in theory the *O* in a student visa could also stand for the Russian *Obrazovannie*, Dmitri Bogdanovich is oriented to the fact that for a printed government document, it is the Ukrainian word that would be used in this context. For Precious, however, that *O* is a brand of political injustice that keeps her from working legally in Ukraine, a complaint she repeated in my interview with her.

The Use of Russian in in EMI and EFL Classes

Compared to the infrequent use of Ukrainian, hundreds of tokens of Russian language use by teachers and students were documented in English-medium classes over

the year. In the following subsections, it will be shown that the use of Russian is more constrained in English-medium classes than EFL classes. In both types of classes, however, teachers' use of Russian is oriented to vocabulary clarification, classroom management and classroom organization matters, and, in EFL classes, metalinguistic discussions. Students tended to use Russian during the heat of discussion in whole class or group work activities (see Chapter 7 for more on Russian language use during pair and group work).

EMI Teachers' Vocabulary Repetition in English and Russian

Teachers of EMI classes were often observed repeating a term or vocabulary word already expressed in English, with a range of metalinguistic cues to mark the repetition. In some cases, the teacher made a direct reference to the use of Russian (not Ukrainian). In an economics class, Dmitri Bogdanovich (DB) was describing the metallurgy industry in Ukraine and introduced terminology for two types of industries in English and Russian:

DB: There are two main, the metallurgical complex can be divided into many, into two main spheres. Uh, production complex of iron and steel industry, which is in Russian, *chërnaia metallurgia*, and production complex non-ferrous metallurgy. Non-ferrous metallurgy. Uh, this is in Russian, what is Russian non-ferrous metallurgy?

(Multiple students at once): *Svetnaia*.

DB: *Svetnaia metallurgia*. Okay.

(Original language from audio file, December 22, 2010)

In this example, Dmitri Bogdanovich gave students the term “iron and steel industry” in English. This was followed by the phrase “which is in Russian”, then the equivalent term in Russian (literally, “black metallurgy”). Dmitri Bogdanovich then invited students to say the Russian equivalent of the second term, “non-ferrous metallurgy”. The multiplicity

of students' voices, albeit slightly asynchronous, indicates these are two terms that Ukrainian students are readily familiar with in Russian, either because they learned them in school previously, because they have grown up in a region where metallurgy is prevalent, or both.

In a 3rd year economics class, Larisa Ivanovna had explained theories of international trade such as the Heckscher-Olin model and the Rybczynski theorem entirely in oral and written modes of English (i.e. by showing PowerPoint slides and explaining the information contained in them). When a student asked her about the utility of these theories, Larisa Ivanovna made a switch to Russian without any linguistic markers, referencing a phenomenon called Dutch disease in both English and Russian:

Katya: Larisa Ivanovna, Do we use these theories nowadays in practice?
Do we need these theories?

LI: These days, uh, they were used in the second half of 20th century and there were some problems concerning Rybczynski Theorem and I want to explain but this I'll explain later. Because it leads to some negative, uh serious moments called I think Dutch disease if you know *golandskaia bolezni* ((Katya nods)) you heard of this. I will explain you a little bit later and also the next theory also called Leontev paradox. ((Students giggle)) We will study all this, but now just listen theoretical description. (Original language from video file, November 11, 2010)

When I showed this video clip to Larisa Ivanovna, she first indicated she wasn't aware of the Russian repetition, then explained a theoretical rationale for the switch:

Bridget: Yes, yes, definitely. And your um, codeswitch there, when you explain Dutch disease in English and Russian, is that also typical for you?

Larisa Ivanovna: What do you mean?

Bridget: Codeswitch, you um, you said Dutch disease, and then immediately after you said

Larisa Ivanovna: In Russian?

Bridget: Yes. Um, *golandskyi bolezno*.

Larisa Ivanovna: I don't remember this. Maybe.

Bridget: Okay. It was hard to hear.

Larisa Ivanovna: Maybe I paid their attention because Dutch disease, it's difficult to understand for them during this lecture, that's why some terms, and that was the first term, so uh, they just started studying in English, so I, maybe I translated some terms to them because I don't want them to misunderstand me. And Dutch disease, even for me, it will be, what is this? (hh) what do you mean? Even in Russian, *golandskaia bolezнь*, students don't understand because this is the phenomenon that should be explained. (Original language from audio file, March 23, 2011)

As discussed in Chapter 5, Larisa Ivanovna once again indicates that “even in Russian” the phenomenon of Dutch disease is difficult to understand; mere translation of a word from English into Russian is not sufficient. The teacher is using Russian at this moment to help students get an immediate and initial understanding which will be expanded on in the future.

As for her use of English and Russian in the remainder of the class, one might think students could “misunderstand” advanced economic concepts such as the Heckscher-Olin model and the Rybczynski theorem, necessitating the use of Russian. However, Larisa Ivanovna explained to me that the first semester was a review of material the students had previously studied in Russian. Later in the year, as she began to introduce newer and more complex material, her use of Russian increased but was still targeted to short explanations. The following field notes excerpt serves as an example of her Russian use for explaining content:

Larisa Ivanovna shows a new slide about the foreign exchange market. The definition is given as the number of units of one currency that exchange for a unit of another. She says “In English it is marked with this letter” (as she points to the letter E). There is a formula $E \$/\pounds = 1.69$, which implies $V \pounds/\$ = 0.59$. Yen to dollars are given as a second example.

Yuri asks, “What's V?” Larisa Ivanovna answers: “The reciprocal. If you want to show the value of the dollar in terms of pounds, you use this explanation. Clear? This is called the reciprocal. *Obratnye. Kak dorogu perekhodit'.*” [Return. Like recrossing a road].

Yaroslav asks a question, and Larisa Ivanovna answers in Russian, *Ne sovsem. Net.* [Not entirely, no.] She shows a new slide about currency value, with definitions of appreciation, depreciation, and rate of appreciation. She says these are about the relationship of one currency with respect to another. She then seems to backpedal on her previous “no”, saying in Russian, *Nu da, v printsipe tak poluchaetsia....* [Well, yes, in principle that’s what it means...] (Field notes, April 21, 2011)

While Viktor Andreyevich used Russian far more frequently in psychology seminars than any other EMI teacher, his strategy is more similar to Dmitri Bogdanovich’s or Larisa Ivanovna’s than sheer quantity alone might suggest. Like Larisa Ivanovna, Viktor Andreyevich often gave extensive and repetitive explanations or practical examples in English for concepts he was teaching. He used Russian as a way to either reinforce an English language explanation, to save time by giving the translation, to translate words he suspected students did not know in Russian, or a combination. The following excerpt illustrates how he used mostly English with switches to Russian (without metalinguistic cues) to explain two types of social relationships (Russian words in italics):

Um, I don’t think I need to explain that, but the relationships within a small group can be classified. They can be classified into official and unofficial, for instance, I as a teacher also belong to your small group, an academic group, but the relationships between you and me are official. The relationships between you and your groupmates are only, mostly unofficial. The other types of relationships are the relationships of control, *upravlenie*, and relationships of subordination, *podchinenie*. Well, I believe it’s clear. The other, the next type of classification is businesslike and personal relationships. Businesslike and personal relationships. We are in a small group only to do our joint business, that’s businesslike relationships. Personal relationships, we are in a small group just to contact each other, to talk to each other, to help each other, these are personal relationships. (Original language from video file, December 8, 2010)

Note that Viktor Andreyevich started by saying “I don’t think I need to explain that” before launching into an explanation of official and unofficial relationships. For relationships of control and subordination, he gave the Russian equivalents and closed that classification by saying “I believe it is clear”. Businesslike and personal relationships, like official and unofficial relationships, were discussed first with a direct example and then with supporting reasons in English. Thus, Viktor Andreyevich’s switch to Russian here, like Dmitri Bogdanovich’s switch, could be said to indicate both that the words “control” and “subordination” would not typically be understood by students at this level, and that once the students heard the translation they would have a clear schema in their heads of what these relationships look like. Viktor Andreyevich defined this approach to the use of Russian as “pragmatic”:

Well, my approach to that is absolutely pragmatic. I don't believe that you should totally avoid using uh, students' L1, just because it's an English-speaking program, something like that. I believe it should be more rational about that. If using, for instance, for students of economics, I have sometimes to explain some grammar rules, or give some words which it would be difficult to explain in English or it would take too much time, but I don't want them to learn the English grammar terminology or waste ten or fifteen minutes to explain a word in English which I can explain in uh, students' L1 in uh, two seconds. That's why I'm really not against using uh, L1 during the classes, where it can really help, it can save time, where it can make things easier for students, and in those parts of the classes which are not communication. Which are some, organizational, you know, things, or, uh, some uh, explanations, especially theoretical ones, why not? Actually, if we take all the professional literature about teaching English whether written here or written in the United States or written in any other country, it's, all people say that you can use the L1 and it can facilitate things, so why don't you use it? Use it. That's my approach. It's totally pragmatic. (Original language from audio file, February 21, 2011)

Students interviewed also indicated that teachers’ switching to Russian to provide a vocabulary word was “normal” and necessary. Nina was emphatic in her support for

the use of Russian for a single vocabulary word after watching a video clip in which Viktor Andreyevich repeated the word “reinforce” in Russian: “Oh, thanks God he has it. Because you know we sometimes need it to understand some information and really can't get it without one word, and when he says this in Russian, everything becomes so usual you know, so understandable” (original language from audio file, March 10, 2011). Moreover, teachers’ targeted use of single words in Russian suggests an implicit orientation to the policy of teaching in English, while longer utterances in Russian provide the practical moment-to-moment support that makes implementing such an English-medium policy feasible. Most importantly, using Russian does not feel like an act of resistance to the language policy or program; it feels natural.

EMI Teachers’ Use of Russian for Non-Content Matters

Teachers who were rarely observed using Russian during an EMI lecture or seminar were often observed switching to Russian for aspects of teaching not directly related to the content of the lesson. For example, teachers switched during class or after the bell rang to discuss task or homework instructions, grades, schedule changes, and other organizational matters. Some teachers were also observed speaking to students in Russian at the beginning of the class until switching to English with words such as “okay, let’s start.” In the following example, Larisa Ivanovna spoke in English only to explain a graph, but switched to Russian as soon as the bell rang to discuss their assignment:

LI: And you see here that there are some possible positive results if this area, +G, environment income, is higher than these, you remember -B, minus D, debt-rate process for economy, so here, everything depends on the tariff rate itself. And, uh, there’s some optimal tariff rate when government make, when uh there’s possible national economy to maximize national welfare. We will study this next time, and for exporting

country, the results will be negative, and the whole results will (Music plays to signal the end of class). That's all. *Tak, v sleduiushchii raz potomu shto u nas idut zadachi, ya vam formuly dam v sleduiushchii raz. Vam prosto nado umet' razbirat'sya na grafikakh i chitat' po grafikam. I v sleduiushchii raz testy na komp'iutere. Popraktikuemnya, eto eshche poka* (xx). [So, next time, because we have to have tasks to solve, I will give you the formulas next time. You just have to review the charts and read the charts. And next time there will be a test on the computer. We will do it for practice, it's not yet (xx)] (Original language from video file, December 9, 2010)

While the words were cut off on the video here, given the context it is likely she was telling the students that this is not the end-of-the semester exam. They took the exam for a grade on the computer on December 29. In the exam, the teacher's use of Russian for non-content matters and English for content was even more pronounced. She gave nearly all of the instructions for choosing a seat, opening the computer, and taking the exam (partly on the computer and partly an oral exam with the teacher) in Russian. When she told students the "themes" they would have to explain in the oral part of the exam she used the English names of those themes (e.g. comparative advantage, Heckscher-Olin model). After students presented their theme to her, she told them their grade. If they tried to negotiate for a higher grade, the negotiation took place in Russian.

EMI teachers were also occasionally observed walking into the lessons of their peers to make announcements or pose questions connected with organizational matters. These announcements were usually in Russian. For example, Viktor Andreyevich was twice observed coming into Viktoria Sergeyevna's class to ask students about a textbook which was missing from the library. Olga Nikolayevna entered Mikhail Grigoryevich's class to explain a schedule change as the following field notes excerpt illustrates:

Before Mikhail Grigoryevich could start the class, Olga Nikolayevna walked in. She spoke 100 mph in Russian as she explained that there were

changes to the schedule. She saw me and reacted with surprise. She then said that the 3rd group [the Wales program group was divided into 3 subgroups for seminars for this subject], which is all of the foreign students (*inostrannie studenty*), would study on Monday at the 5th period. The 2nd group (with a different teacher) will meet on Wednesdays at the 5th period, and the first group will meet with Olga Nikolayevna on Wednesdays at the 1st period. It will be like this until the end of April. Lectures will be the 2nd period on the “denominator” (*znamenatel’*) week. Olga Nikolayevna asked 1-2 questions for which students repeated the answer; these questions seem to be designed to make sure students understand. Precious added in Russian that she understands. (Field notes, February 7, 2011)

It is worth noting here that when Viktor Andreyevich spoke in Russian to Viktoria Sergeyevna’s class, the audience was only Ukrainian students. When Yaroslav Denisovich was observed entering Mikhail Grigoryevich’s class to announce the creation of the 3rd subgroup for foreign students in Olga Nikolayevna’s class three months earlier, he spoke in English. Yet when Olga Nikolayevna spoke, she spoke in Russian although she was aware her audience included both Ukrainian and Nigerian students. As was shown in Chapter 5, Olga Nikolayevna may not have had the language at hand to communicate about organizational matters in English. Once again, the use of Russian or English is connected with the communicative purpose of the language, the audience, and the level of foreign language knowledge of teachers and their interlocutors.

Consistent with multiple research studies on code-switching in foreign language classrooms for the purpose of classroom management (see Kang, 2008; Ferguson, 2009; Raschka, Sercombe, & Huang, 2009), another reason EMI teachers occasionally switched to Russian was to question or correct students’ behavior. For example, it was common for students to enter class late, to which teachers reacted in Russian with sarcastic statements such as *Nu chto, do kontsa zaniatie sobiraetes’ sobirat’sia?* [What, are you

going to drag in until the end of class?] or *Ty byl v Novomoskovske segodna?* [Were you in Novomoskovsk today?] The latter refers to a town 25 km away from the university. During class, Russian was also used at times to attract or demand student attention. Svetlana Petrovna usually used some variant of checking students' listening (e.g. *Mne ne slyshali?* Didn't you hear me?) In one longer exchange, Svetlana Petrovna threatened to take a students' notebook and inspect it.

To sum up, switches to Russian for non-content matters serve multiple purposes. At the end of a class, the switch to Russian can signal that the class is over. Switches to Russian for "organizational matters" can allow the teacher to get the information out more quickly, saving room for content or for moving on to another task (including going to another class at the end of the day). In the case of classroom management, Russian may be more effective due the linguistic creativity and the emotional impact of hearing commands or corrections in the native language.

Teachers' Longer Explanations in Russian in EFL Classes

EFL classes were distinguished from EMI classes by longer discourses in Russian for metalinguistic instruction. Viktoria Sergeyevna said she tried to "block students from using their first language" so that they would "learn thinking and getting across their ideas in English" (original language from audio file, March 9, 2011). I observed her switching to Russian in her EMI psychology seminar only after the bell had rung to talk about the topic for the next class or grades with individual students. When her students in psychology seminars switched to Russian, she still replied in English. In Wales program EFL classes, however, she switched at times to Russian to explain grammar that students

were clearly having difficulty with. For example, Viktoria Sergeyevna was leading students through a workbook exercise in using the gerund or infinitive forms of English verbs. For the sentence, “I saw a bat ____ out of a tree”, she explained the difference between seeing part of an action (I saw a bat flying) and seeing a completed action (I saw a bat fly out of a tree). After telling students the correct word to complete the sentence is “fly”, a student, Nastia, asked in Russian about an alternate answer, to which Viktoria Sergeyevna (VS) responded in Russian:

Line	Speaker and Original Utterance	English Translation
1	Nastia: Why fly? <i>Pochemu ne</i> flew?	Nastia: Why fly? Why not flew?
2	VS: <i>Glagol infinitiv. Bez chastitsy</i>	VS: Infinitive form of the verb.
3	to.	Without the particle to.
4	Nastia: <i>Da net, my poniali eto.</i>	Nastia: Of course, we understood that
5	<i>Pochemu ne</i> flew?	(it's without to). Why not flew?
6	VS: <i>Glagol infinitiv. Flew eto</i>	VS: Infinitive form of the verb. Flew
7	<i>proshedshoe</i> ((backwards hand	is past ((backwards hand motion))
8	motion)) <i>vrema.</i>	tense.
9	Nastia: <i>Pochemu (xx) iz infinitiva?</i>	Nastia: Why (xx) from the infinitive?
10	VS: <i>Tak, esli, smotrete</i> ((goes to	VS: So, if, look, ((goes to board)) if
11	board)) <i>esli u vas, esli posle glagola</i>	you have, if after the verbs see, watch,
12	see, watch, ((points at board during	((points at board during these words))
13	these words)) hear, notice, <i>esli idët</i>	hear, notice, if you have after them a
14	<i>vas priamoe dopolnenie, kogo-to,</i>	direct object, to someone, to
15	<i>chto-to vidit'. I dalshe idët glagol</i>	something, to see. After that comes
16	<i>infinitiv bez chastitsy to. Takaia</i>	the verb in infinitive form without the
17	<i>konstruktsia.</i> ((Points at board)). I	particle to. It is such a construction.
18	saw her leave the room, not left, but	((Points at board)). I saw her leave the
19	leave the room. I saw her leave the	room, not left, but leave the room. I
20	room. I heard something ((moves	saw her leave the room. I heard
21	hand from high to low)) fall down.	something ((moves hand from high to
22	Upstairs. Mm.	low)) fall down. Upstairs. Mm.
23	And uh, I heard them argue. And uh,	And uh, I heard them argue. And uh, if
24	if you experience the whole action.	you experience the whole action.
25	((Looks back in book again)) So,	((Looks back in book again)) So, and
26	and uh I saw a bird suddenly fly out	uh I saw a bird suddenly fly out of a
27	of a tree. <i>Poniatno?</i>	tree. Understood?
29	Nastia: <i>Da, da.</i>	Nastia: Yes, yes.

(Original language from video file, December 14, 2010)

In this case, the students' question was metalinguistic, not telling stories about animals or answering comprehension questions from a listening task—two activities observed in class prior to this grammar exercise. This metalinguistic explanation may have led the teacher to feel more comfortable using Russian. When I showed the teacher the video clip, however, her response was “it is not very easy sometimes, to explain, to explain grammar structures, especially some nuances, for students, in English, avoiding using Russian” (original language from audio file, March 9, 2011). The teacher's phrasing with negative constructions such as “not very easy” or “avoid using Russian” suggest that even here she would prefer to use English.²⁵

The inevitability of using Russian in EFL or EMI classes was often connected by teachers and students with students' level of English. Andrei, after viewing a similar video of Viktor Andreyevich explaining grammar in his EFL class, commented as follows:

So, it's typical for our lessons, too, when Viktor Andreyevich uh, explain some topic on some theme or topic, I don't know, say in Russian because we have in our group on English, we have the different, different level of English speaking, so, maybe, uh maybe [says 3 students names] their speaking. I don't know about how they write, so I didn't uh, mmm, write about this. But their speaking is worse than maybe mine, [another student's name] so it's different and I think it's different, but it's my point of view, I think I can't say exactly but I think the, they can understand, so, in different levels, too, so, Viktor Andreyevich I think, because of this he explain it, so, in Russian. (Original language from audio file, February 28, 2011)

²⁵ An alternative explanation is that this sentence construction is typical of negative construction in Russian syntax. That is, according to my Russian professor at Penn, it is preferred by Russian speakers to say a word with a negative modifier rather than a word with the same meaning but a positive construction (e.g. “not very much” rather than “a little”).

Andrei's interpretation is slightly different from but nevertheless consistent with the interest Viktor Andreyevich expressed in making things "easier" for students.

Viktor Andreyevich at times used Russian in EFL and EMI classes for intercultural comparisons or teaching of set skills. In the following example, he used Russian in a Wales program EFL class to explain the strategy for using "silence fillers" on the oral portion of the Cambridge First Certificate Expert (FCE) exam:

Line	Speaker and Original Utterance	English Translation
1	VA: <i>Kogda nam nuzhno podumat' i ne</i>	When we need to think and we don't
2	<i>znaem chto skazat', chto my delaem?</i>	know what to say, what do we do?
3	Sergei: <i>Mmmm.</i>	Mmmm.
4	VA: <i>My mychim. Soversheno uverno.</i>	We moo [like a cow] ²⁶ . Absolutely
5	<i>My mychim. Eto ochen' kulturnaia (xx).</i>	true. We moo. It is a very cultural
6	<i>My mychim kogda nam nuzhno</i>	(xx). We moo when we need to
7	<i>podumat'. Iapontsi kogda im nuzhno</i>	think. Japanese when they need to
8	<i>dumat', oni prosto molchat'. Esli</i>	think simply stay silent. If someone
9	<i>iaponskii (xx) sprosit' dorog na ulitse, on</i>	asks a Japanese (xx) for directions,
10	<i>dumaet i molchit. Smotrete, tebe molchit</i>	he thinks and stays silent. Look, for
11	<i>chustvuite sebe uzhasno, ((Students</i>	you the silence feels terrible,
12	<i>giggle)), ne znaete, chto on dumaet. On</i>	((Students giggle)), you don't know
13	<i>prosto dumaet. Na seti angliiskogo</i>	what he's thinking. He is just
14	<i>iazika v etom sluche ispol'zuiut</i>	thinking. In the English-speaking
15	<i>nazivaemye "silence fillers". Zapolnitii</i>	world in this situation they use what
16	<i>molchania. Eta kakie slova vyrazhenia</i>	are called silence fillers. Silence
17	<i>kotorie samo po-sebe nechego ne znachit,</i>	fillers. These are expressions that in
18	<i>no oni prosto daiut vozmozhnost'</i>	and of themselves do not mean
19	<i>podumat', na premer, "Well, I really</i>	anything, they just offer the
20	<i>don't know", ((Students giggle)), "As to</i>	possibility to think, for example,
21	<i>me I believe it's hard to say", vot chto-</i>	"Well, I really don't know",
22	<i>nibud' takoe. Ne molchite, i ne mychite.</i>	((Students giggle)), "As to me, I
23	<i>I obrashchaiu vashe vinimanie, chto to</i>	believe it's hard to say", anything
24	<i>Vy budete govorit' na ekzamene, ikh po-</i>	like that. Don't be silent, and don't
25	<i>nastoiashchee ne interesuet chto Vy</i>	moo. I want you to be aware that
26	<i>govorite. Ikh interesuet kak Vy govorite.</i>	when you speak at the exam, they
27	<i>Ikh kriterii, pervaiia eta fluency, beglost'</i>	really are not interested in what you

²⁶ This is the translation of *mychim* I was given by Viktor Andreyevich when he reviewed the tape in May. Google Translate also lists the translation of *mychim* as "we moo" or "we bleat".

28	<i>rechi, i vot odin iz ikh pokazatelei</i>	say, they are interested in how you
29	<i>fluency iavlaetsia ispolzovanie zapolnitii</i>	say it. Their criteria, the first one is
30	<i>molchaniia, a ne mychanie ili molchanie.</i>	fluency, fluency, and one of the
31	<i>Potom idēt tam gramatika, leksika,</i>	indicators of fluency is the use of
32	<i>proiznoshenie, i tak dalee.</i>	silence fillers, not mooing or silence.
33		Then goes grammar, vocabulary,
34		pronunciation, etc.

(Original language from video file, November 30, 2010)

While Viktor Andreyevich would never say that his English words “fall out like drops” as Aleksandr Nikolayevich lamented, there is a noticeable difference in both the pace of speaking and level of vocabulary Viktor Andreyevich uses when giving instruction in Russian. This may further account for his feeling that giving such information to first year students of economics in Russian is more efficient.

Students’ Switches to Russian in EMI and EFL Classes

As mentioned previously in this chapter, students in EMI and EFL classes were most likely to use Russian in the course of class discussion. Often during both lectures and seminars teachers asked questions which individual students would answer. In the process of answering a question in English, a student would realize he or she did not know a word, or had forgotten it. Typically, there would be a pause and there might be a metalinguistic cue such as *kak budet* (how would you say) to indicate the student was searching for a word. In the following example from a psychology seminar, Nastia had just given a presentation about amnesia. Viktoria Sergeyevna wanted to make sure students were listening, and began asking questions to “summarize” or review what was covered in the presentation:

Line	Speaker and Original Utterance	English Translation
1	VS: So, and now, let us summarize.	So, and now, let us summarize. So,
2	So, and what is amnesia? What is	and what is amnesia? What is

3	amnesia?	amnesia?
4	Sergei: Mmm, if I understand, I	Mmm, if I understand, I think that
5	think that it's uh, it is when you lose	it's uh, it is when you lose access
6	access to your memories.	to your memories.
7	VS: Mm hmm. so, and what kind of	Mm hmm. so, and what kind of
8	uh, so and uh-	uh, so and uh-
9	Sergei: Long term memory.	Long term memory.
10	VS: So, long term memory. So and	So, long term memory. So and uh,
11	uh, amnesia is a kind of	amnesia is a kind of psychological
12	psychological disorder. It is a kind	disorder. It is a kind of disorder
13	of disorder and when you lose uh,	and when you lose uh, access to
14	access to the information stored in	the information stored in our long
15	our long term memory	term memory
16	Andrei: So it can be uh, (pause)	So it can be uh, (pause)
17	Sergei: We may find this access	We may find this access (xx)
18	(xx)	
19	Andrei: Some physical or (quiet)	Some physical or (quiet) how
20	<i>kak budet</i>	would you say
21	VS: Mmm?	Mmm?
22	Andrei: <i>prichiny</i> (xx)	reasons (xx)
23	VS: Reasons	Reasons
24	Andrei: Reasons can lead to, or	Reasons can lead to, or some
25	some psychological...	psychological...
26	VS: Psychological, and so, and	Psychological, and so, and some
27	some psychological reasons can lead	psychological reasons can lead to
28	to amnesia. And what are they?	amnesia. And what are they?
29	Some negative experiences. And-	Some negative experiences. And-
30	Sergei: Also, maybe, something like,	Also, maybe, something like, for
31	for example, when someone hit you,	example, when someone hit you,
32	VS: Mm hmm.	Mm hmm.
33	Sergei: You can lose your memory.	You can lose your memory. Also I
34	Also I have heard-	have heard-
35	VS: Or some physical so, injuries	Or some physical so, injuries can
36	can lead to amnesia because some,	lead to amnesia because some, and
37	and part of your brain is damaged.	part of your brain is damaged. So
38	So that's, amnesia.	that's, amnesia.
39	Sergei: I heard a story when, when	I heard a story when, when a man,
40	a man, he was ill on, cancer...	he was ill on, cancer...
41	VS: Cancer	Cancer
42	Sergei: Cancer, yes, they cut out	Cancer, yes, they cut out part out
43	part out of his brain, a small part, uh,	of his brain, a small part, uh, I
44	I don't remember where, but after it	don't remember where, but after it
45	he cannot (quiet)	he cannot (quiet)
46	Andrei: <i>zapomnit'</i>	Remember
47	VS: Remember	Remember

48 Sergei: He cannot remember He cannot remember anything.
 49 anything.

(Original language from audio file, December 6, 2010)

Two students strived to answer Viktoria Sergeyevna's question in English until line 19, when Andrei paused and asked in Russian, "how would you say?", then said the Russian equivalent of the word "reasons". The teacher provided the equivalent in English, and then helped the student reformulate the whole sentence in more target-like English. Shortly thereafter, Sergei continued the conversation and also paused. It is not audible on the tape, but it is possible at this moment that Sergei turned to Andrei and said the Russian word, hoping Andrei knew it. Instead, Andrei repeated it out loud for the teacher, who again provided the English equivalent.

Another common pattern was for a student to initiate a question in Russian, and for the teacher to reply in either Russian or a combination of Russian and English. Viktor Andreyevich chose to explain the parameters of signing up for presentations (an organizational matter) in English. When Andrei shouted to Viktor Andreyevich across the room for clarification of the task in Russian, Viktor Andreyevich gave his answer in Russian:

Line	Speaker and Original Utterance	English Translation
1	VA: Now, ladies and gentlemen,	VA: Now, ladies and gentlemen, who
2	who wants to give a presentation	wants to give a presentation about uh,
3	about uh, relationships in a small	relationships in a small group? ((3
4	group? ((3 hands go up, VA hands	hands go up, VA hands register to first
5	register ²⁷ to first student))Yes,	student))Yes, please and pass on, it is

²⁷ The "register" is a single A3-sized piece of paper with the list of students' names for a course, and a grid to mark attendance and assignment grades. It is similar to an American teacher's grade book. In this class, students signed up to give presentations for a grade in the psychology seminar by marking a letter signifying the presentation topic in the register next to their name.

6	please and pass on, it is also a big	also a big topic, you will do a lot of
7	topic, you will do a lot of internet	internet search, so please, 8 people
8	search, so please, 8 people will be	will be okay.
9	okay.	
10	Andrei: <i>Skol'ko chelovek nado po</i>	Andrei: How many people are needed
11	<i>etomu temu?</i>	for this theme?
12	VA: <i>Vosem' polnyi vozmozno.</i>	VA: It is entirely possible to have 8.

(Original language from video file, December 8, 2010)

In another class, Andrei asked a question in Russian that was connected with the content of the lesson. Viktor Andreyevich replied in a combination of English and Russian, using Russian for set phrases and vocabulary words as he usually does in lectures, as the following field notes excerpt indicates:

Viktor Andreyevich asks, “What do we need motives for?” He answers his own question: establishing a relationship between stronger or weaker motives and making choices in life. Andrei says, “another theory is we have no choice.” Viktor Andreyevich asks, “What do you mean? We always have choices.” Andrei replies, “We will never know what would-“ Sergei finishes the sentence: “Happen”. Viktor Andreyevich gives an extensive example as an argument: “In principle, you all have to come to this lecture. It seems you have no choice. But we do have a choice. I have a student, I have seen him one time during the semester. He has made his choice.”

Andrei now switches to Russian: *kak eto bylo* (How would it be?) In other words, he is repeating or at least finishing his point in Russian. The teacher, possibly following the students’ lead, answers in English and then in Russian: We live in a world of uncertainty. *My zhvëm v mire neopredelënnosti*. Andrei counters that there is a theory, *opredelënni...* (certain, i.e. life is certain/predetermined.) Viktor Andreyevich responds in English and Russian: there are religious theories that are the basis of that theory. He mentions free will in English and in Russian (*svobodnaia vola*) and says it’s a 3000-year debate. He says, “Let’s try to believe we are intelligent; we always have theology.” He cues a code switch with a comprehension check: “You know what’s theology? *Teologia*. It makes us *ili* [or] helps us.” (Field notes, November 24, 2010)

There are multiple factors which may account for Andrei’s switch to Russian. One, the conversation between Viktor Andreyevich and Andrei had the feeling of a friendly

debate, or at least of Andrei challenging Viktor Andreyevich's assumptions. Andrei may have become so enthusiastic about his idea he could not take the time to formulate them in English. It is also possible that when Andrei asked his question in English, he did not get an answer that was satisfactory or complete for him; therefore, he switched to Russian to repeat his point and get more clarification. Finally, it is possible that *kak eto bylo* is another form of "how would you say it"—a request for assistance in formulating thoughts in English.

In another case in a Wales program EFL class, Viktoria Sergeyevna was leading an activity to help students formulate opinions on different topics for essays. One of them was about recycling and protecting the environment. Viktoria Sergeyevna first had students work in pairs, then share their ideas with the whole class. When Nastia spoke up in Russian, she made it clear that her use of Russian was connected with her language ability in that moment:

Line	Speaker and Original Utterance	English Translation
1	Nastia: <i>Kak skazat', nu, tem ne menee</i>	Nastia: How do you say, well, never-
2	<i>gde iavliaetsia bolshe zagriaznenie</i>	theless where more pollution exists
3	VS: Even so	VS: Even so
4	Nastia: <i>Ochered' te, tam, nashe,</i>	Nastia: It follows that our, our-
5	<i>nashu-</i>	
6	VS: So, even so.	VS: So, even so.
7	Nastia: <i>Ia ne znaiu poluchennie</i>	Nastia: I don't know how to say the
8	<i>predlozhenie kak skazat'!</i>	given sentence!

(Original language from audio file, November 4, 2010)

Nastia is trying to say a sentence, but Viktoria Sergeyevna interjects twice to give the English translation of the Russian phrase *tem ne menee*. Nastia protests in lines 7-8 that she needs help formulating the sentence, not just the phrase. Even after this (in exchanges not shown here), Viktoria Sergeyevna continues to encourage Nastia to speak

in English. The conversation concludes with Nastia expressing her idea in a mixture of English and Russian phrases that are translated into (or reformulated) into English by Viktoria Sergeyevna. Viktoria Sergeyevna may be trying to encourage Nastia to express her ideas or even “think” in English, as that was the purpose of this task. Nastia seems to show she feels unable to do so; she has a lot to say but it comes out faster in Russian than in English.

Code-Channel Mixing

Hornberger (2003) has argued that classes that draw on multiple modes of communication, e.g., oral and written or L1 and L2, offer the best hope for positive teaching and learning outcomes in two languages. Viktor Andreyevich and Viktoria Sergeyevna were observed applying this principle in a most literal way by writing a word on the board in English and uttering the Russian equivalent. A psychology lecture on cultural factors of interpersonal relationships in which Viktor Andreyevich talks about the continua of cultural behavior serves as one example:

VA: The next um continuum, the next continuum is ((starts writing on the board in English “attitude to uncertainty”. Underneath these words is a horizontal line with two vertical endpoints, i.e. |-----|)) the attitude to certainty. The attitude to uncertainty. *Otnoshenie k neopredelënnosti*. At the one end ((points to the endpoint on the right side)), you accept uncertainty as normal. It’s acceptance of uncertainty. *Priniatie neopredelënnosti*. (Original language from video file, December 8, 2010)

In an EFL class, Viktoria Sergeyevna initiated a pre-reading discussion about quitting one’s job. After asking the same question multiple times (and probably concluding that students did not understand the question), she wrote a key word in the

question in English on the board, gave multiple synonymous explanations of the word in English, and then repeated the word in Russian:

VS: Well, and uh, could you open your books on page 24. And, we're going to read an article called "These Men are Innocent." And before reading an article, do you know anyone who has quit a job to start their own business, (2.0), Mm? Do you know anyone who has, uh, mmm, who has given up, stopped their, who quitted their job. So, ((writing on the board)) to quit. Means to give up. To stop doing something. *Brosit'*. And do you know anyone? Who quitted their job to start their own business? (Original language from audio file, October 18, 2010)

Summary

Based on personal experience and the data collected for this study respectively, Tarnopolsky and Goodman (2012) have constructed frameworks for the type and reasons for teachers' and students' switches from English to Russian (Ukrainian students' L1) in EFL and EMI classes. The purposes of teachers using the L1 in EFL classes were categorized as follows:

1. Explaining to students the meanings and usage of some vocabulary or repeating the vocabulary in English and the L1; this can occur when using the target language to explain can take too long or may lead students to incorrectly grasp some specificities of such meanings and usage;
2. Explaining to students some grammatical phenomena which may be difficult for them to clearly understand if the explanations are done in English or that may require the introduction of quite a number of otherwise unnecessary English grammar terms;
3. Doing inter-language and inter-cultural comparisons, especially when such comparisons involve more than two languages and cultures – like comparing the British and American varieties of the English language on the one hand and Ukrainian/Russian on the other hand, or comparing the American, British, Russian, and Ukrainian cultural phenomena;
4. Checking students' comprehension in doubtful cases;
5. Translating course materials when without recourse to L1 it may be too difficult for students to understand (e.g., some passage in the text that they are reading);
6. Providing the Russian equivalent of a word in response to a students' request (in English or English mixed with Russian) for clarification or repetition of a word;
7. Switching to the L1 (most often without a specific pedagogical goal) in cases when students ask them questions in L1;

8. Explaining organizational matters (e.g. class time and room changes, instructions for homework assignments, grades);
9. Talking with students before or after the bell; and
10. Disciplining students for tardiness or other inappropriate behavior in class.

The purposes of teachers using students' L1 during classes in EMI courses are quite similar. Two purposes that were not noticeable in EMI courses are grammatical explanations and translation of course materials. The former is connected with the fact that explicit language instruction is not offered in EMI courses at the university, even when the teacher has a background in EFL pedagogy. The latter is connected with the fact that unlike EFL courses, EMI courses do not always have a textbook in English; if they do, they are not used directly in class. Two additional purposes of teachers using students' L1 in EMI courses only were:

1. Explaining in the L1 or repeating in English and the L1 subject-specific English terminology encountered by students during lectures, practical classes/seminars, and in their course readings; and
2. Occasional (mostly infrequent) situations when the teacher does not know or forgets some required word or word combination in English and has no choice but to slip back to his/her own mother tongue to help himself/herself out.

Students were observed using their L1 in EFL and EMI classes when:

1. They did not know or understand some vocabulary, grammar, or specific cultural phenomenon and asked their teacher for explanations;
2. It was too difficult for them to understand some meaningful material (e.g., some passage in the text that they were reading) and they explicitly requested explanations in their L1;
3. They asked for explanations when and how to do some particular in-class or out-of-class assignments or other organizational problems;
4. They inadvertently slipped to their L1 in pair or small group activities;
5. They asked a teacher or peer (or answered) some language, organizational, or other lesson-related or lesson-unrelated questions in a soft voice;
6. They found themselves switching to the L1 during a class discussion or when responding to a teacher's question because they had forgotten the word in the target language, didn't know the word, or were caught up in the heat of debate; and
7. They were talking with teachers or peers before or after the bell.

Among these reasons, teachers were observed most frequently using Russian to explain vocabulary, to respond to questions from students for clarification or explanation, to talk before or after the bell rang, and to discuss course organizational matters such as schedule changes, assignments, or task instructions. Interlanguage comparisons were the rarest in EMI classes, while fairly common in EFL classes. Conversely, the use of the L1 for classroom management was rarer in EFL classes than in EMI courses. Students were most likely to switch to Russian when they were speaking in front of the whole class as part of a discussion or in response to a teacher's question and either had forgotten the word in the target language or didn't know the word.

English in Russian-Medium Classes

It can be said that when Russian is used in an EMI class at Alfred Nobel University, it is a native language that supports the learning of the content in the target language. Conversely, when English is used in a Russian-medium class, it is a foreign language. What purposes could English serve in the latter case (excluding the few times when words were translated into English in a lecture because I was present)? In Galina Mikhailovna's class, Wales program students were required to give an English-Russian glossary at the end of presentations. This exercise could theoretically help students to access similar content in English in the future. English also emerged in observed Russian-medium classes in the form of calques or quoted phrases. In a single Russian-medium class for 3rd year economics students, several English words appeared in two different linguistic forms. The English word "merchandizing" appeared as a Cyrillic calque, *мерчандайзинг* [*merchandaizing*], while the words "above the line", "below the

line”, and “PR” were written directly in English. Like the word *kommiunikativnaia kompetentsia* [communicative competence] uttered in a foreign language teaching methods course, these terms reflect concepts that have been appropriated from English-speaking contexts or researchers.

Video clips shown by Galina Mikhailovna and Natalia Petrovna in their classes featured English writing imported from abroad. Natalia Petrovna showed a commercial for Pepsi. Galina Mikhailovna showed multiple episodes of the Discovery Channel TV program “How It’s Made”. The narrator of “How It’s Made” spoke Russian, but the screen showed English titles and product labels, indicating the show was dubbed.

In interviews, teachers and students concurred that English operates as a foreign language in this context. Moreover, because English is a foreign language, they believe studying in English is not a threat to Russian or Ukrainian. In the same conversation in which he called Alfred Nobel University a bilingual university, Aleksandr Nikolayevich noted the following about English: “As for English, the strategy is to give students an opportunity to improve their foreign language skills as much as they can” (paraphrased quote in original English, field notes, March 25, 2011). Sveta, a 2nd year philology student, said it’s “impossible” for English to limit the native language because “we’re living in our country” but “maybe if we moved to some native speaking country there would be some difficulties with our language” (original language from audio file, April 7, 2011). Viktor Andreyevich spoke of this in both ecological and policy terms. Students who are not in English-medium classes are outside the native speaking environment, and only get EFL classes 4 hours a week (field notes, September 22). As to the Wales program, he said it is “not against the legislation at all, I remember that's one of [your]

questions. Because in the law of education of Ukraine, universities are allowed to use foreign languages for teaching process, there is nothing illegitimate or irregular in that” (original language from audio file, February 21, 2011).

As for the Wales program students, when I asked if they worry that studying in English will limit their development of Russian or Ukrainian, four students and one teacher said they speak Russian at home or elsewhere. Ksenia framed studying in English as a chance to become trilingual:

Ksenia: Um, for example, uh, my friends and I when we go something, somewhere to relax, to the cafe or the cinema, we sometimes just speaking and uh, forget the Russian word, forget the Ukrainian word, we start to think about English words. (hh). And it's always we just speaking and using Ukrainian, Russian, English, three languages at all. We just forget a word in English, use Russian, use Ukrainian, forget the word in Ukrainian, use Russian, use English, forget the word in Russian, use Ukrainian, English all the time.

Bridget: Wow. So what does that mean for you in terms of your development in those languages?

Ksenia: It means that (hh) I need to learn more. To learn how to just, (pause) turn off English and start to speak Russian. Turn off Russian, and start speaking English. Not mix them at all. (hh).

Bridget: Okay. And how does taking classes in English affect that problem?

Ksenia: Mm, taking classes. (pause) Uh,

Bridget: Does it make it harder to uh, develop your Russian and Ukrainian? Do you worry that it's hurting your Russian or Ukrainian?

Ksenia: No, it's not hurting our language, it just uh makes us think on three languages. On the one time. We just uh think one idea on Russian, then we just automatically translate it on English, (hh), automatically translate it in Ukrainian. (Original language from audio file, February 24, 2011)

In this passage, Ksenia acknowledges that she occasionally forgets words in any of the three languages she knows; when that happens, she simply substitutes a word from another language. When I asked her if she saw any connection between taking classes and her development of Russian and Ukrainian, she immediately replied that studying in

English gives her an opportunity to be trilingual. In other words, in Ksenia's view English as a medium of instruction is additive, not subtractive. Her worries are not about the development of one language or another, but rather learning more vocabulary and developing her ability to keep the languages separate.

Additional Foreign Languages in University Classes

At the university, students of international economics (including students in the Wales program) are required to take a second foreign language starting in the third year of study. Students of the translation/philology department, according to a Ukrainian-language brochure I obtained at the open house in October 2010, are required to study English as the “foundational language” (*osnovna mova*) and a “second foreign language—French, German, [or] Spanish” (*druhi inozemni movy—frantsuz’ka, nimets’ka, ispans’ka*). Several students I met with or spoke with at Alfred Nobel University had studied or planned to study a foreign language in addition to English—Chinese, French, German, Japanese, Polish, and Spanish to be exact. Perhaps not surprisingly, these languages rarely found their way beyond the classes in which those languages were taught, yet there was trace evidence in EFL, EMI and Russian-medium classes that these languages are present in students' linguistic repertoire. Before an EFL class for philology students one mid-winter's day, I heard two students speaking to each other in Spanish.

In one unique group work session of a 3rd year English-medium economics class, students were asked by the teacher to prepare ten questions in English for a multiple choice quiz based on the material they had studied so far. They were told to have a statement or question with four possible answers—one correct or appropriate, and three

incorrect. The teacher then planned to choose the best questions to make the quiz for the students. During the task, I observed and recorded one group of 6 students. They were speaking in a mixture of English and Russian until one student inadvertently spoke in Spanish. This triggered a playful switch to multiple languages and a discussion in Russian about which languages students were studying before returning to the task in English and Russian:

Line	Speaker and Utterance	Language	English translation
1	Lyuba: I think it will be a very	English	Lyuba: I think it will be a very
2	easy question.		easy question.
3	Tamara: No, it's okay, no	English	Tamara: No, it's okay, no
4	problem. From, more questions		problem. From, more questions
5	more better for us so.		more better for us so.
6	Anya: But about this area.	English	Anya: But about this area.
7	Lyuba: We will give the one	English	Lyuba: We will give the one
8	peculiarity and the question,		peculiarity and the question,
9	"What period of time this		"What period of time this
10	peculiarity uh, is"		peculiarity uh, is"
11	Tamara: <i>Kak eto? Prinadlezhit?</i>	Russian,	Tamara: What is it? Belongs?
12	Depends?	English	Depends?
13	Anya: Depends to.	English	Anya: Depends to.
14	Tamara: <i>Da</i> . Depends to.	Russian,	Tamara: Yes. Depends to.
		English	
15	Nadezhda: <i>Si</i> . Yes.	Spanish,	Nadezhda: Yes. Yes.
		English	
16	Yuri: Yes?	English	Yuri: Yes?
17	Tamara: Yes.	English	Tamara: Yes.
18	Nadezhda: <i>Si</i> . Yes.	Spanish,	Nadezhda: Yes. Yes.
		English	
19	Yaroslav: <i>Ja</i> .	German	Yaroslav: Yes.
20	Tamara: <i>Si</i> . Yes.	Spanish,	Tamara: Yes. Yes.
		English	
21	Lyuba: And one more question.	English,	Lyuba: And one more question.
22	<i>Oui. Oui.</i> (laughter)	French	Yes. Yes.
23	Nadezhda: Shut up, please.	English	Nadezhda: Shut up, please.
24	Tamara: <i>Ty germanka, kak</i>	Russian	Tamara: You are a German girl,
25	<i>budet po-nemetski?</i>		how would you say it in German?
26	Nadezhda: <i>Kto germanka?</i>	Russian	Nadezhda: Who is a German girl?
27	<i>Anya—germanka?</i>		Is Anya German?
28	Tamara: <i>Nemetskyi uchish?</i>	Russian	Tamara: Do you study German?

29	Lyuba: <i>Frantsuzskiy.</i>	Russian	Lyuba: French.
30	Anya: <i>My nemetskiy uchiu.</i>	Russian	Anya: We study German.
31	Tamara: <i>Ja, Si, Oui,</i> uh	German, Spanish, French	Tamara: Yes, yes, yes, uh
32	Nadezhda: <i>Ja!</i> (hh)	German	Nadezhda: Yes! (hh)
33	Tamara: <i>Ja!</i>	German	Tamara: Yes!
34	Yaroslav: <i>Ja!</i>	German	Yaroslav: Yes!
35	Tamara: <i>Tu aleman?</i>	Spanish	Tamara: You German?
36	Nadezhda: <i>Es que tu aleman</i>	Spanish	Nadezhda: Is it that you German
37	Tamara: <i>Yo</i>	Swedish	Tamara: Yes
38	Nadezhda: (xx) <i>spielt</i>	German	Nadezhda: (xx) plays
39	Tamara: (xx) Sweden <i>Yo. Yo.</i>	Swedish	Tamara: (xx) Sweden Yes. Yes.
40	Lyuba: So, the next question.	English	Lyuba: So, the next question.

The use of Spanish, German, French and Swedish all seem to be one-note citations marked most often by the word “yes” in multiple languages rather than extensive communication. These languages are not native languages which support the use of another foreign language, nor are these classes contexts where the languages would naturally occur and be used. Yet these one-word switches triggered Tamara’s sincere curiosity (expressed in Russian) about which languages students are studying; her questions were designed to account for her peers’ linguistic behavior at that moment. Moreover, that questioning process alternated between asking what students study and who students are. The focus on who students are could be either a means of jokingly suggesting that what you study is part of who you are, or a linguistic convention for asking in Russian what someone studies.

On the other hand, the question “are you German?” could also index the realization that some students have lived in other countries, an experience which influences their linguistic repertoires. In interviews with students from other groups, for example, it was reported that a Wales student lived in Germany in her early childhood

and “is speaking German much better than English” (original language from audio file, February 24, 2011). Another interviewee reported that a philology student attended school in Italy for a period of time and “has a lot of difficulties connected with Ukrainian” (original language from audio file, April 8, 2011). Students’ (and more likely, their parents’) mobility thus increases their linguistic repertoire, though at times it is seen as limiting their development in other languages. Tamara, for example, has indicated in social media posts that her mother is in Sweden, and that she has travelled to Sweden to visit. This would account for her use of Swedish in this moment.

Additional Foreign Languages in Russian-Medium Presentations

In presentations in Galina Mikhailovna’s class, Wales program students at times also touched on multilingual resources. Nikolai gave a PowerPoint presentation about Nestlè which referenced the fact that in 1994 the French company “Societe pour l’Exportation des Produits Nestlè S.A *otkrylo svoyo predstavitel’s tvo v Kieve*” [The Society for the Exportation of Nestle Products SA opened an office in Kiev]. The underlined portion is French, and the remainder is Russian. Nikolai tried to read the name of the company, but struggled to pronounce the French (field notes, May 5, 2011), suggesting the French language is in his environment but not in his repertoire. Another student in the same class gave the explanation of the Latin origin of the word Nivea in her PowerPoint slide as follows: “NIVEA (лат. слова «nivius» - «белоснежный»)”. In addition to the Latin word *nivius*, the phrase in parentheses contains the Russian words *lat. slova –belosnezhnyi*, which translate into English as “Latin word—snow white”.

I confirmed by looking up the Nivea entry at wikipedia.ru (<http://ru.wikipedia.org/wiki/Nivea>) that most of the student's presentation was copied word for word from that site. When I asked the teacher later about the sources of information she told me they get information from the Internet, video, and photos. She emphasized, however that they have to *prokomentirovat'* (comment on it). In other words, they do not just copy; they have to explain (field notes, May 5, 2011). These cultural differences in the importance of intellectual property aside, the fact that words appear in presentations and on the Russian-language Internet in the original (foreign) language—at times with metalinguistic commentary—rather than being omitted or transliterated into Russian, suggests a circulating practice of acceptance or tolerance for the mixing of multiple languages.

Aleksandr Nikolayevich's Linguistic Repertoire

While several of the EMI teachers had studied a second foreign language as part of their undergraduate training in foreign languages, these languages were not heard in their EMI academic subject classrooms. Only Aleksandr Nikolayevich seemed to extensively reference languages other than Russian, Ukrainian, and English in both Russian- and English-medium classes. In a Russian-medium philosophy class he used the term *domini canes* (dogs of God) to explain the Dominican school of thought, and in a Russian-medium sociology lecture he explained the root of the Russian word *anomiia* (anomie, i.e. anarchy) as *nomos*, the Greek word for “law”.

In EMI classes, Aleksandr Nikolayevich often used definitions, etymologies, or set phrases in German, French, Latin, or Greek which, depending on the moment, could be translated from English or into English, as these examples illustrate:

Aleksandr Nikolayevich starts telling Kant's life history. He was born in Koningsberg, in Prussia. Aleksandr Nikolayevich looks at me and says, "Yes, Bridget?" I then realize he is checking that "Prussia" is the correct word. I say yes, relieved he's not asking me where Kant was born! He writes the name of the city on the board, with the German umlaut: Königsberg. The teacher then translates Königsberg into English: "King's Mountain". (Field notes, March 30, 2011)

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: Well, the most important uh, treatise of Rousseau is the, uh, philosophical research, let's say on the problem of social relations. And the nature of uh, of the society. It's called *On the Social Contract*. Or in French **Contrat Social.** (Original language from audio file, April 1, 2011)

In the first excerpt, Aleksandr Nikolayevich translates from German into English; in the second excerpt, he translates from English into French.

In the April 1 lesson, Aleksandr Nikolayevich expressed his language difficulties and anxieties as he corrected a different translation from German into English:

Aleksandr Nikolayevich: Today I mmm, I already admitted to, make a mistake last time, but without uh, a piece of chalk, I, uh, had to rely on my voice and your ability to uh, understand my, words, without, uh, writing them down. It's about a shameful mistake, about writing critic ((writes on the board "critic")) instead of critique ((writes on the board "critique")). Sometimes it happens. It's uh, well, it's a little bit German-like, because in German ((writes on the board the word *kritik*)), in German we have a word *kritik*. But, in English, is, French-looking word. Critique of pure reason, of practical reason. And so on. You know, in ancient Rome or even earlier, someone coined uh, (sigh), a saying, *errare humanum est*. To err is human. So, I'm human, so to err is in my nature. Nevertheless excuse me, because teacher maybe is, even the last figure to be uh, excused for mistakes, maybe the last figure is the surgeon, or a pilot, or a member of bomb disposal crew, but at least teachers are in the last rows of those who are to be excused for their mistakes. (Original language from audio file, April 1, 2011)

In this excerpt, the teacher uses not one word of Russian, and uses four different languages to make his point—English, German, French, and Latin. Yet all these linguistic resources are used to explain his language errors and his feeling that he is unprofessional when he makes such errors.

Chapter Conclusion

It has been shown that Russian continues to be the dominant language in the ecology of Alfred Nobel University at the classroom level due to students' language background. The fact that classes are taught in English despite the fact that it is not a native language for students suggests it may indeed be a threat to the use or development of Ukrainian—a language that is nominally identified as a native language but tends to be a less developed part of Alfred Nobel University students' linguistic repertoire.

However, the data also demonstrate that languages are not pushed out of the ecology completely at the classroom level. The range and fluidity of languages is demonstrated by the appearance of: Ukrainian in English- and Russian-medium classes; Russian in Ukrainian as foreign language classes; English in Russian-medium classes; and Spanish, French, German and Latin in English- and Russian-medium classes. In classes designated as English-medium, Russian is used by teachers and students for multiple purposes connected with content, metalinguistic knowledge, and classroom management. While Ukrainian is much more limited in this context, it emerges as more prevalent than both English and Russian in the domain of written texts. This is true both for written assignments by students, and textbooks or other printed sources cited by teachers in

Ukrainian. Additional foreign languages play a smaller role than English, Russian, or Ukrainian, but are still observable in the ecology.

CHAPTER 7

ETHNIC DIVERSITY IN AND OUT OF WALES PROGRAM CLASSES

Ibrahim (2011) contends that race itself is a language, a *langue* with its own semiotic system; not only speech or the color of the body but also clothing and mannerisms send messages about an individual's identity. Those messages—as perceived by the beholder—are dependent on cultural norms about what race is and what race signifies. Ibrahim (1999) offers the example of his research with teenage immigrants who moved from predominantly Francophone countries on the African continent to Ontario, Canada; only in Canada were they labeled “black”.

During my fieldwork in Ukraine, it became clear to me that at times race itself speaks differently to people I met in Ukraine (relative to North America), and is thus spoken about differently. This chapter will focus first on what is known about race relations during the Soviet Union, and then offer sample evidence of how race is viewed in Ukraine today. It will be argued that historical and current perspectives on race have laid a foundation for but are not determiners of classroom behaviors or discourses about educational behaviors of students of different nationalities at Alfred Nobel University. These behaviors and discourses include positive or even ideal orientations to people from other ethnic or racial backgrounds, but also instantiations of racism that however guileless need to be challenged. It will be further shown how important a role native language plays in attitudes among students and teachers of different racial backgrounds as well as interethnic relations at the university.

The Language of Race in Soviet Times

The literature in this area points unequivocally to the notion that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union sought to create not only a classless society, but a raceless society. Carew (2008) writes of African Americans including celebrity Paul Robeson and industrial workers who moved to Soviet Russia in the 1930s and in many cases stayed for generations for the promise of fairer treatment compared to their colleagues in America. While Carew acknowledges that such treatment was better in the media and other public discourses than in reality, even superficially positive treatment was a welcome change for those African Americans who chose to immigrate to the USSR from the USA at that time. Roman (2007) writes of the case in Stalingrad [present day St. Petersburg] in 1930 when two white American factory workers were arrested, tried, and sentenced to deportation for attacking an African American co-worker. The trial, Roman argues convincingly, would have been unthinkable in America or Western Europe during that time, and gave Soviet officials the opportunity to demonstrate moral superiority and “forge the USSR’s identity in direct opposition to the exclusionary racial politics of the putatively more civilized, capitalist West epitomized by the United States” (p. 186).

The reality of treatment of other ethnicities, however, was much harsher. Weitz (2002) and Hirsch (2002) disagree on whether to call the Soviet case “race without racial politics” or “racial politics without race”, but both agree on two points. One, the Soviet Union engaged in large-scale deportations and imprisonments of millions of people belonging to “stigmatized” ethnic groups including Chechens, Cossacks, Crimean Tatars,

Germans, Koreans, Jews, Lithuanians, and Poles. Second, individuals and groups were not targeted for discrimination on explicit biological bases as in the Nazi regime.²⁸

Perhaps because there was no explicit discourse or policy of discrimination in Soviet politics (or because of the political culture that violently discouraged ethnic-nationalist consciousness and political resistance in Ukraine and other Soviet countries during that period), dialogues of overcoming ethnic discrimination or changing the discourses about race and ethnicity for the better do not seem to be part of the Soviet historical narrative as seen in the U.S. civil rights movement or the South Africa anti-apartheid movement.

Present-Day Racial and Ethnic Situation in Ukraine

In 2012, the European Commission against Racism and Intolerance (ECRI) issued their fourth monitoring report on the Ukrainian government and society with regards to racial and ethnic relations. The report acknowledges that the Ukrainian government has made some progress by adopting legislation which increases penalties for hate crimes and increases protections for refugees, migrants, and Roma. The report also identified two measurable outcomes of anti-racism efforts: a reduced number of anti-Semitic publications, and a reduced number of physical attacks on foreign students. Nevertheless, the report identified a number of areas where further progress is needed. The Ukrainian State Committee for Nationalities and Religion was making strides in addressing the issue of racism, but the organization was disbanded in 2010 and has left a “vacuum” of responsibility at the national level in these matters (ECRI, 2012, p. 8). The

²⁸ See Martin (1998) for a more detailed explanation of Soviet political rationales for targeting different ethnic groups.

ECRI report states there are “also consistent reports that the Ukrainian authorities tend to prosecute racist offences as ordinary offences or reclassify them as ‘hooliganism’” (ECRI, 2012, p. 8). They further find that “while the authorities emphasize that Ukrainian society, in all its diversity, is tolerant and harmonious, persons belonging to groups that fall within ECRI’s mandate report that prejudice is nonetheless present” (ECRI, 2012, p. 22). Like Weitz (2002) and Hirsch (2002), the ECRI’s findings indicate that ethnic Ukrainians don’t consider themselves as part of a racist society, and when crimes against racial and ethnic groups occur they are referred to without labels of race or racism.

Additional personal observations and collections of anecdotal evidence over the past 10 years are consistent with the ECRI report, and suggest that a Ukrainian society which does not discriminate on the basis of race is another Soviet promise that was never quite fulfilled. For example, while Ukrainian police officially have the right to stop anyone on the street without probable cause for a check of identification documents, I have been stopped 3 times in 10 years but an African American Fulbright Scholar reported being stopped 29 times in 1.5 years (Starr, 2012). The threat of physical attack solely on the basis of the color of one’s skin is also very real. Beatings of Peace Corps volunteers in the south of Ukraine were reported after September 11, and one English professor in eastern Ukraine (BD) whose university hosted an African American scholar told me he escorted her around the city to ensure her safety. In 2011, a medical student from Nigeria was attacked and stabbed by skinheads outside the medical university in Dnipropetrovs’k (field notes, April 1, 2011).

Overt discourses of race are also prevalent, but are rarely defined as racist from an emic perspective. I recall a university student in one of my English classes in Khmel'nyts'kyi in 2003 who said “nigger”. In the ensuing discussion, students maintained that the Russian equivalent *negr* is not problematic. Yet in October 2010 in a second-class compartment²⁹ on an overnight train from Khmel'nyts'kyi to Dnipropetrovs'k, a middle-aged woman complained to me about the old and worn furnishings, saying it was *kak negry* (like ____). Here it is harder to frame the term *negr* as neutral, as it is being used specifically as a metaphor for inferior or low-quality conditions³⁰. In the most brutal use of the word, Rachkevych (2010) and Starr (2012) each report an African or African-American being called “nigger” while being accused of being drug dealers. In the latter story, showing an American passport entitled Mr. Starr to be released by the police unharmed, while Ugandan national Steven Okurut suffered physical abuse at the hands of the police.

The Case of Gaitana

There is yet another recent case which shows how discourse in Ukraine framed by other means is still racist—and was challenged by Ukrainians to a point. Gaitana is a singer born and raised in Ukraine whose mother is Ukrainian and father is Congolese. She sings in Ukrainian and English. In February 2012 she won the right to represent Ukraine in the Eurovision Song Contest by both professional judges and popular vote for

²⁹ Overnight trains in Ukraine have 3 classes, ranging from least to most expensive: *platskart* (3rd class), *kupe* (2nd class), and *SV* (1st class).

³⁰ An alternate explanation from the perspective of nationalities discourse could be that the woman on the train meant the conditions were comparable to those of Nigerians living in poverty in Africa.

her original English-language song “Be My Guest” (and according to www.eurovision.tv, went on to place 15th out of 25 in the final round of competition). The English-language newspaper *Kyiv Post* reported that a representative from the conservative political party Svoboda, Iurii Syrotyuk, made racist comments about the choice (Zhuk, 2012). Below are his comments in Russian as reported on the Web site focus.ua:

Gaitana khorosho poet, no ona ne predstavliaiet nashu kulturu...i luche bylo, esli na etot konkurs poekhal chelovek, kotoryi predstavliaiet imenno Ukrainu. A poluchaetsia tak, shto my ne khotim pokazat' svoe litso. I Ukrainu budet assotsirovat' s drugim kontinentom, gde-to v Afrike.

Gaitana sings well, but she doesn't represent our culture...it would be better if someone went to this contest who represents Ukraine. It seems Ukraine doesn't want to show its own people, and we will be associated with another continent, somewhere in Africa. (“Svoboda”, 2012, translation mine)

While there were only 8 comments from readers on the focus.ua article, they all indicated support for Gaitana as a singer, and called Syrotyuk's comments “racist” or “fascist”. None of them, however, commented on the article author's identification of the singer as *temnokozhaia* (literally, “dark-skinned”). A Ukrainian newspaper which publishes in Russian, Ukrainian, and English, *The Day*, recontextualized Internet discourse about a “dark-skinned” performer in such a way to show that comments on the color of the singer's skin were closer to the racism of Syrotyuk:

The commentaries on Internet forums indicate that many people think Gaitana's victory was quite convincing. Of course, there are remarks that the song's content is poor, or why a dark-skinned performer will represent Ukraine. However, though expert musicologists recommend Gaitana to improve the number, they say she will look decently in Eurovision's format. (Original English from Skuba, 2012)

While the term “of course” here suggests a disturbing matter-of-fact attitude towards racism, the sentence is sandwiched in between quotes that emphasize support for Gaitana and expectations of her success in Eurovision.

Discourses about Muslims and Arabs in Ukraine

The ECRI reports that (according to Ukrainian authorities) as of 2012, there were 48,000 foreign students in Ukraine from China, Tajikistan, “and all 54 countries of Africa” (p. 34). Alfred Nobel University students from Algeria could thus be identified as foreign students from a country on the African continent (i.e. by their nationality), but also theoretically by their assumed religious affiliation, Muslim, another group identified in the report as a vulnerable population:

Most, but not all, Muslims in Ukraine are Crimean Tatars living in Crimea. In the religious sphere, Muslims in Ukraine indicate that there is generally a very low level of knowledge about or understanding of Muslims amongst the general population and that there is some tendency amongst the latter to conflate Muslims with terrorists, especially when terrorist attacks in other countries are reported. School textbooks are reported to portray Muslims in a negative light, which perpetuates misconceptions and prejudice (ECRI, 2012, pp. 28-29).

Yet another identification of them may be “Arab”, a term found in relation to the population in Ukraine in only one article in the *Kyiv Post*. The article describes the closing of a flea market in Kyiv to the chagrin of “local entrepreneurs, many of them citizens of African and Arab countries” (Tuchynska, 2012). A Ukrainian and a Nigerian entrepreneur were quoted, but not an Arabic entrepreneur. Whether this was a function of language (i.e. the reporter being able to communicate with Ukrainians and Nigerians but not Arabs), reluctance to speak with Arab entrepreneurs, or something else is unclear.

A search of academic writings on Muslims, Arabs, or Algerians in Ukraine yielded surprisingly unfavorable portrayals of foreign Muslims and their impact on Ukraine³¹. Rudling (2006) writes that a university which promotes anti-Semitic discourses in Ukraine has support from not only Ukrainian conservatives and American KKK member David Duke but also the governments of Iran, Libya, Palestine, Syria, and Saudi Arabia. Two other authors highlight as part of their research the undue influence foreign Islamic investors exert over the affairs of Muslim communities in Crimea (Muratova, 2009; Yakubovych, 2010). While treatment of foreign students from any country in Africa seems harsh in general in Ukrainian society according to these reports, the discrimination seems more pronounced and the voices of foreign Muslims more muted in Ukraine.

Signs of Positive Discourses and Actions Towards Persons of Color in Ukraine

There have been multiple steps taken to either promote or demonstrate an anti-racist, pluralistic society. The aforementioned Ukrainian State Committee for Nationalities and Religion ran a “Ukraine without Racism” advertising campaign which I saw in Kyiv in 2009 (see figure 7.1). The campaign (as I saw it) featured various Ukrainian personalities of color with messages and symbols in English and Ukrainian against racism.

In conjunction with the 20th anniversary of Ukrainian independence in 2011, the Ukrainian television station Inter ran a series of videos of people acting out vignettes and

³¹ Numerous articles have been written about Crimean Tatars and/or the Muslim population in Crimea and their activism. Since these articles focus on Muslims who are indigenous to the country, they are considered outside the scope of the present study and are not referenced here.

singing the Ukrainian national anthem in the language of an ethnic group living in Ukraine. Videos were made representing Russian, Georgian, Jewish, Hungarian, Roma,



Figure 7.1. Ukraine without Racism Campaign Poster. Photo by author, May 2009.

Polish, Greek, and Crimean Tatar communities, to name a few. A video was also made in Ukrainian which includes people of Slavic, African and Central Asian appearance speaking in Ukrainian and wearing traditional Ukrainian clothing. Each video ends with the following message in Ukrainian: *“Ukraïna—bat’kivshchyna dlia 46 mln. ukraïnskykh hromadian riznykh natsii ta virospovidan’. Z dnem narodzhennia, Ukraïno! My rizni, ale my edyni!”* [“Ukraine is the fatherland for 46 million Ukrainian citizens of different nationalities and faiths. Happy Birthday, Ukraine! We are diverse, but we are united!”]

The 2012 European Football Championship (aka “Euro 2012”), co-hosted in June 2012 by Poland and Ukraine, put Ukraine’s treatment of race and racism (and the racism of soccer fans Europewide) in the international spotlight. About one week before the start of the tournament, the British Broadcasting Company (BBC) aired a documentary called “Stadiums of Hate”, in which spectators at Polish and Ukrainian local soccer

games were shown using Hitleresque “Sieg Heil” gestures and chanting words connected with Jews and Blacks. Locals interviewed in both countries, however, insisted that such gestures and language did not carry racist overtones, but rather were a means for fans to support their team. Of the “Sieg Heil” move, for example, it was said that the fans were “pointing in the direction of opponents (“Sol Campbell”, 2012).

The most controversial comment in the documentary, though, came from the former captain of the English national team, Sol Campbell, who told fans to “stay at home...because you could end up coming back in a coffin” (“Sol Campbell”, 2012).

The backlash against such statements came not only from Polish and Ukrainian politicians, but from English fans in Ukraine. In the host city of Donetsk, Ukraine, fans marched wearing the English national team shirts and carrying wooden coffins as a statement **against** Sol Campbell. One British cameraman was quoted in the video:

It’s a really nice place to be. The people have been so welcoming, it’s been frightening, really. I was told before I came out I would have problems because of the color of my skin. Nothing could be further from the truth. They’ve been absolutely super. (“Euro 2012: Fans hold Sol Campbell protest”, 2012)

In fact, the only racist behavior reported was committed by fans of Croatia and Russia in Poland. To sum up, it may be fair to say that in Ukraine—as in many countries with racial and ethnic diversity—there is a continuum of practices, discourses, and attitudes from racist to affirming.

Ethnic Relations and Racial Discourses at Alfred Nobel University

Professors at Alfred Nobel University at times conveyed a deep sensitivity to students from other countries. For example, Dmitri Bogdanovich reported to me that a

Nigerian student from the medical university had been beaten added that, as a result, the university's students from Nigeria are now instructed to stay away from the medical university and to have meetings at Alfred Nobel University "where there's security and safety" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, April 1, 2011). He explained efforts to resolve the attendance issues with the students in the Wales program from Algeria as follows: "[The students from Algeria] didn't expect that we treat them as our children. We will help them" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, January 17, 2011). In both quotes, this teacher demonstrates a strong protective orientation towards foreign students regardless of their nationality. Moreover, the identification of visitors as children is not only anecdotally reported by Ukrainians to be a cultural norm in dealing with guests from any background, it has been characterized in other contexts as a "humane representation" of foreign populations (Santa Ana, 1999, p. 215). In an English class I conducted with university professors, I found more divergence in discourses about foreign students, as evidenced by the following vignette:

Yaroslav Denisovich walked in and explained he was late because the new students from Nigeria could not find their exercise class. As he talked in English, I gave him the word "gym" and the set phrase "doesn't speak a word of English". Because the physical education coach doesn't speak a word of English, Yaroslav Denisovich had to take some time to serve as an interpreter. I suddenly recall the student at orientation who asked if even physical education will be in English. I couldn't understand the answer then, but I know the answer now is a resounding no.

Yulia Vasilyevna says that every day there are problems. She says the Nigerian (pronounced /ni 'gEr i ən/) students are more like 10 children. This starts a debate about whether it's more polite to pronounce the word "Nigerian" with the letter g pronounced as /g/ or /dj/. I say that the correct pronunciation is /dj/, but that I understood that she was saying it as would be done in Russian. I then write the N-word on the board and explained that this word is inappropriate. It may get used sometimes by African

Americans with other African Americans or in songs, but as we are all white we should not use it.

Yaroslav Denisovich then tells me that it's hard to find a polite term in Russian for students from both Nigeria and Congo. I suggest *afrikanets* [African man] or *afrikani* [Africans]. I'm stunned when he says those terms are less polite than *negr*. Olga Nikolayevna adds that such terms related to Africa suggest something violent (and savage?). Yaroslav Denisovich then mentioned that [the great Russian poet] Pushkin's great-grandfather was Ethiopian. (Field notes, November 18, 2010)

While Yulia Vasilyevna also uses the word “children” here to refer to students from Nigeria, it was framed not by the word “help” but by the word “problem”. Her statement represents an *immigrant*³² *as burden* stance (Santa Ana, 1999). Olga Nikolayevna acknowledged how animal-like features (Santa Ana, 1999) are attributed to the word “Africa” but shared that information as contextual information, not as a critique. Only Yaroslav Denisovich seemed to be proactively searching for the most positive way to identify his students. By showing the connection between Aleksandr Pushkin (the great Russian poet and hero in both Russia and Ukraine) and the African continent, he even demonstrated efforts to identify with students from Africa. While one could criticize such an effort, these quotes show that a positive orientation to students from diverse backgrounds does exist at this university, especially among professors such as Dmitri Bogdanovich and Yaroslav Denisovich who both have a background and experience in international economics and international relations. Moreover, the reaction to the terms *negr* and *afrikani* suggest that a Western liberal solution to the question of how to

³² By referencing literature and terms related to immigrants, I do not mean to imply that the foreign students at Alfred Nobel University are immigrants or are perceived as immigrants in any way. They are in the country on student visas, and have never expressed any specific desire to stay in Ukraine for the long term.

positively identify students from different backgrounds can backfire when transported to another linguistic and cultural context.

Non-Wales Program Student Attitudes Towards Ethnic Diversity

Alfred Nobel University students outside of the Wales program classes tended to demonstrate awareness of and positive sensitivity to diversity. At an “All Ukrainian [sic] student scientific-practical conference” hosted by the philology department in March 2011, a student from Congo was invited to give one of the plenary presentations. The MCs of the conference introduced him by saying, “You know students came from many different countries. Now we’re giving the floor to one of them. His report will be in Russian, as for him it is a foreign language. Please support him” (paraphrased quote from field notes, March 24, 2011). The response of the audience was enthusiastic applause and attentive silence as he began to speak in Russian. Eventually students’ side conversations typical at such events grew more frequent and louder, but the initial active and positive response also seems to be a typical Ukrainian reaction to a foreigner—of any background—who speaks the local language in a public setting.

In another situation, a student demonstrated a blindness to diversity and sensitive language that sometimes was disturbingly inappropriate and other times emerged as something potentially positive. In an October 2010 philology EFL class I observed, a student (Sveta) chose a book for her “home reading” task and brought the book with her for discussion. I examined it more closely as soon as I saw the title, *10 Little Niggers*. I found that it was a novel by the famed British mystery author Agatha Christie that had been reprinted by a company in St. Petersburg, Russia in English. According to the audio

transcript of the class, the student used the title to refer to the plot with no commentary from the teacher or students about the appropriateness of the word *nigger*. At the end of class, I commented to the student and the Viktor Andreyevich that “I know it doesn’t mean anything here, but in America you cannot have a book with that title” (field notes, October 22, 2010). Viktor Andreyevich not only defended the title of the book, but in a 20-minute debate in the office with me after class argued that political correctness is used by people who deep down have more incorrect attitudes, and even when it is explained to students that some racially charged words cannot be used in English they don’t understand what the issue is.

Viktor Andreyevich’s and Sveta’s view that the word was not problematic was reinforced in a follow-up class in December:

Sveta talks again about the book *10 Little Niggers*. Viktor Andreyevich says: “Yes, the book whose title shocked Bridget.” Sveta starts by saying some information that should help me “calm down”. The original title of the book was *And Then There Were None*, and Agatha Christie is the most widely read author after the bible and Shakespeare. (Field notes, December 17, 2010)

By explaining the history of the book’s title and the popularity of its author, Sveta seems to be showing that the more offensive title is not relevant to the understanding or enjoyment of the story. Moreover, both Viktor Andreyevich’s comment “whose title shocked Bridget” and Sveta’s comment about helping me to “calm down” index our relative positions on a continuum of sensitivity to racial language, where the teacher and student are neutral and I am overly sensitive.

It was not until I observed the EFL class again in February that I truly “calmed down”, because I saw discourse which indexed a worldview that goes beyond race and

ethnicity. The teacher was using a task from the textbook in which students have names and photos of celebrities, and a list of hobbies. The task for students was to guess which hobby each celebrity engages in. Sveta suggested that George Foreman likes to play jazz. Viktor Andreyevich asked: “because he’s a black man?” Sveta replied: “No, because it should be unpredictable...a boxer playing jazz piano” (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 8, 2011). Here, the teacher seemed to be slightly more sensitive to the possibility that the student is invoking a racial stereotype of African Americans’ involvement in jazz (or at least aware that I might view the comment in such a light). Instead, Sveta indicated that she was focused first on the professional identity of George Foreman, and that being a tough boxer is being contrasted with the sensitive and delicate nature of jazz. Moreover, Sveta’s reply to the teacher was said without noticeable hesitation. It was in a tone of speech which exuded not naiveté or color blindness, but sincerity and innocence—a typical stance of this student. In this situation, Sveta may be an exemplar of a healthy focus on factors other than race that people in America and other Western countries are striving for.

On my 2012 follow-up visit, the reactions to Nigerian students seemed less positive from my point of view, but could also be reframed as relatively harmless events. I happened to be at the university at the same time as the annual philology conference, and I watched as the MCs gave the same introduction verbatim in English: “You know students came from many different countries. Now we’re giving the floor to one of them”. This time there was no applause or special attention paid to the student from Nigeria who spoke in English, or the student from Congo who spoke in Russian. The Nigerian presenter, who was wearing a pin featuring the Ukrainian and Nigerian flags

indicated he did not feel slighted when he closed by thanking Ukraine “for warm support of all Nigerian students” (field notes, April 5, 2012).

The next day I sat with Precious at a school snack bar. As we talked, I could hear a student at the next table saying sentences in English as one might find in a school primer (e.g. “The house is big”) and laughing. It seemed to me the students (who are not groupmates of Precious, nor students of any other classes I observed) were invoking the use of English as a way to mock our speaking in English, or possibly mocking our native English-speaking identity. Precious also heard it, but dismissed it by saying “they are practicing English”. I replied in a terse tone, “Let them keep practicing.” We laughed and no more words were said on the subject. While my initial reaction was that the students were focused on making fun of Precious for being a native English speaker, the reality is either one of us may have been a target for the mockery. More importantly, we were both able to dismiss the mockery, perhaps in part because the students’ use of rote phrases could not convey a sense of symbolic power in English.

After lunch, I attended another class and sat at the back of the room at a desk on which was written in pen *negry ubogie* next to a swastika. I assumed that this was a racial slur, but the phrase may be more ambiguous than it seems. It has already been pointed out that *negry* is often translated as “nigger” (or Negro) but is not as racially charged a word in the Ukrainian context. When I asked BD about the word *ubogie* alone and he said it could mean poor, miserable (like poor dear or miserable wretch), or stupid. Thus, it could be a slur or it could be a neutral expression of pity. When I emailed BD again to confirm the translation of *ubogie* and explained the full phrase and context, the reply was as follows:

You have touched one of the most interesting moments in the Russian idiomatic language. Strangely enough, but I daresay that *negry ubogie* may not have an insulting meaning or a racist meaning. Thanks to the great American literature and some great books, such as "Uncle Tom's Cabin" or movies about life in the South before the Civil War there was a general image of a cruel planter with a whip and a poor black slave gathering cotton under the sultry sun. Thus, there are common colloquial expressions in Russian *rabotat' kak negr (na plantatsii)* "to work as a Negro (on a plantation)", *vkalyvat' kak negr* "to toil as a Negro", *pakhat' kak negr* "to plough ("plough" here means "toil") as a Negro". All these expressions are applied to white people and have no racist meaning, though are a bit rough and are used when one wants to express a hard, exhausting work. It usually means physical work, but sometimes an intellectual one...So the expression you saw on the desk may not be insulting. That student might have meant his fellow students or some other students who had to work hard in order to meet the requirements of their professors during the coming exams. I also guess that because of *negry ubogie*, not *ubogie negry*. An adjective in post position here may mean irony or humorous attitude. I am not absolutely sure but that is how I understand it. (Personal communication, May 4, 2012)

BD's characterization of great literature from previous centuries as the source of present-day Russian resonates with my observations over the years and at Alfred Nobel University that such literature is very popular in Ukraine (especially in comparison to America), and that it can be the source of English language used by Russian speakers that would no longer be considered acceptable or appropriate in present-day American English. BD further adds that one would not use such language in the presence of African people, underscoring the paradoxical notions that there is a sensitivity to how one uses such language, and that such language on some level is racist. As for the presence of the swastika, BD agreed that it could represent something closer to a slur, but also pointed out that students do not always realize the swastika is associated with Nazism. Thus, a person who invokes language or symbols that are perceived to be racist by someone who grew up in a country with such a racialized history as America is possibly

but not necessarily “racist” in the sense of actions, prejudices or pejorative thoughts towards people of different racial, ethnic or national backgrounds.

Language, Education, and Culture in Wales Program Classes

The questions that need to be addressed in the remainder of chapter, then, are a) where do teachers and students in observed Wales program classes fall on the continuum of positive or exclusionary practices and attitudes, b) what factors are observed to contribute to these practices and attitudes, and c) what is the impact if any on the educational performance for students from other countries? Note that performance is the primary focus of analysis rather than grades because student performances in class are observable and comparable, generated numerous discourses in the course of fieldwork, and were usually graded. Moreover, reporting on classroom performativity by ethnic background fits within the framework of ethnography of communication. In addition, on question (b) it should be emphasized that at this university, race is not the sole factor and not even the most important factor. The examples and discussions which follow will show that for students from Nigeria, language knowledge and prior educational experiences are better predictors of successful classroom interactions. These positive interactions and successful performances are constrained at times by perceptions of students’ accent as well as extrinsic factors such as educational design and language ecology. In the case of the Algerian students, individual behavior is the best predictor of performance according to their teachers, although the Algerian students’ status as nonnative English speakers and their Muslim background also may be inhibiting teachers and students in their interactions.

The Native Speaker Position

The students from Nigeria generally hold a rather unique position at Alfred Nobel University vis-à-vis the Wales program. Although they are foreigners and constituted an ethnic minority in the classroom (6 students out of 25), they are native speakers of the target language of the classroom, English. A one-time indicator of Nigerian students' privileged position in the Wales program was seen in early December, as the following thumbnail sketch³³ describes:

Because they are native speakers of English, the Nigerian students are not required to attend EFL classes at the university. On this day, however, a classmate invited three students to attend an EFL lesson. Viktoria Sergeyevna welcomed the three guests into the classroom, and invited them to “add to the presentations with your stories about your places, your towns, or some cultural aspects of your countries.”

The Nigerian students sat and listened for about 30 minutes as Ukrainian students gave presentations about different cities in Ukraine (an assignment that had been given in the previous lesson). After asking follow-up questions to two presentations, Precious asked, “can we say something about Nigeria? Because we don’t have anything about Ukraine”. The remainder of the 80-minute lesson was spent with two of the three Nigerian students standing, then sitting at the front of the room explaining Nigerian history, languages, major cities, points of interest, and holidays in the form of both presentations and responses to questions from students. The third Nigerian student remained at her desk but added commentary as well. (Quotes in original language from video file, December 2, 2010)

This lesson evoked memories of an event many American or British visitors have experienced in Ukraine: being asked to sit at the front of the classroom and answer questions from students, many of whom have never met a native speaker. The value for

³³ I use the term “thumbnail sketch” here in the same sense as in Hult (2007), who broadened the definition from the work of Joshua Fishman to cover summaries of classroom activities. I use “thumbnail sketch” to refer to summaries made after the fact from field notes and audio or video transcripts, in contrast with vignettes which are taken directly from my field notes.

Ukrainian students and the teacher of talking with students from Nigeria was reiterated during and after class in ways that were oriented to both language and ethnicity. Immediately after the bell rang Viktoria Sergeyevna gave the following positive comments to the Nigerian students: “Thank you very much for your contribution. It was really interesting to learn about Nigeria. And I was surprised to find so much things in common with Ukraine. So the problems are very common” (original language from video file, December 2, 2010). The teacher’s interest in the students shifted from a cultural basis to a linguistic basis when she said “So English is your first language, your native language. So you’re welcome to my classes” (original language from video file, December 2, 2010). In fact, the three students from Nigeria were observed in two additional EFL classes afterwards. In the spring semester, though, they were no longer attending. In her interview with me, Precious explained that “we don’t study English any longer. We study in *rusски* instead of that. Because (of that?) I stopped attending the English class. I should practice on my *rusски* and maybe improve my *rusски*” (original language from audio file, March 10, 2011).

Two Ukrainian students who were shown a video clip (Oksana and Aleksandra) from the above lesson in which they asked the Nigerian students about their New Year’s traditions or holidays commented to me “it was very interesting to know about their traditions, their holidays” (original language from audio file, March 10, 2011). The terms “their traditions” and “their holidays” index a focus on national customs and culture. When these same students were asked about their use of language at the lessons, they answered as follows:

Me: All right. Um, speaking now about languages. Um, how do you characterize the use of English, or Russian, or Ukrainian in your lessons?
 Oksana: Mmm. Hmm. the students, um, *mezhdub soboi*³⁴, with each other, speak in Russian, yeah, of course, but with um, no, I think um the main English it's understandable. It's English in our lessons. Yeah. And with foreign students, we speak also
 Aleksandra: In English.
 Oksana: Only in English.
 Aleksandra: And I think that it's very good that there are foreign language students and we can
 Oksana Yes
 Aleksandra: Speak with them in English. It's really interesting for me.
 Oksana: To practice. (Original language from audio file, March 10, 2011)

Here, Oksana and Aleksandra differentiate students both by nationality and language.

There are “ourselves” and “foreign students”. Their choice of language, they state, is generally Russian among “ourselves”, and is only English with the foreign students.

Moreover, for Oksana and Aleksandra, speaking English with foreign students is a rare opportunity for language practice. Other Wales program students from Ukraine who were interviewed also framed their interaction with students from other countries in terms of the opportunity to practice English with native speakers; Sergei even spoke concretely about learning correct spelling from foreign students.

Nigerian Students as High/Overachievers

Samuel spoke directly in an interview with me about the “advantage” of being able to learn “on my language” (original language from audio file, March 3, 2011). The relationship between the medium of instruction of the classroom, the native language of the students, and advantaged classroom performance becomes more apparent when

³⁴ *Mezhdub soboi* means “with each other”. The student says it in Russian and then immediately in English, most likely as a self-correction or a self-realization of how to say this expression in English.

contrasting Nigerian students' and Ukrainian students' behavior in classes taught in Russian and English. In mid-September, I observed a Ukrainian History course taught in Russian and found that both students from Nigeria who were enrolled in classes at the time were completely disengaged from the course. While their Ukrainian colleagues were listening and taking notes, the Nigerian students (Precious and Joseph) sat up straight and stared blankly with no notebooks open. Precious approached me afterwards and explained they were waiting for the English teachers starting from November 1. Thus, the classroom behavior of the Nigerian students was linked explicitly to the medium of instruction.

When the Wales program English-medium classes began in November, the shift in Nigerian students' participation from silent to active was palpable in the psychology and economics seminars. It is necessary to exercise caution in presenting and interpreting such a statement, as there was a range of behavior in English-medium Wales program classes among both Ukrainian and Nigerian students from highly active to highly disengaged. In fact, one Nigerian student who frequently came late to class and seemed to put in minimal effort into homework was expelled in Fall 2011. Nevertheless, the majority of Nigerian students frequently exhibited academic behaviors that indicated success beyond teacher and student expectations.

Class Presentations

As indicated in Chapter 5, a common activity in seminars is giving presentations. In psychology seminars with presentations that I observed in late November and December, nearly all of the Ukrainian students seemed to be reading information they had printed from the Internet, with very little or no eye contact with the audience. Only

two students seemed to add their own language or transition words. Their presentations ran a maximum of 3 minutes. The teacher asked the students to make presentations without reading (field notes, November 8, 2010), but the practice of reading presentations continued to be observed. In Russian-medium presentations of economics which I observed, the Ukrainian students in the Wales program had longer PowerPoint presentations containing material copied from the Internet which they read quickly. Yet I also observed two students (Sergei and Evgeny) interject their own interpretation or summarization, as indicated by the Russian transition marker *to est'* (“that is to say”) (field notes, April 5, 2011 and May 5, 2011). The teacher, Galina Mikhailovna, told me in Russian that commenting on information being presented is a necessary part of giving presentations.

In contrast to both Russian-medium and English-medium presentations by Ukrainian students, the Nigerian presenters in English in psychology classes spoke without notes, with expressive body language, and at a length of 5 to 10 minutes per presentation. Figures 7.2 and 7.3 illustrate psychology presentation stances of some Ukrainian and Nigerian students respectively.



Figure 7.2. A Ukrainian Student Reading her Presentation. Video frame grab, December 2010.



Figure 7.3. A Nigerian Student Delivering her Presentation. Video frame grab, December 2010.

After presentations, Viktoria Sergeyevna either asked presenters follow-up questions, or asked the class, “Do you have any questions?” One Ukrainian student repeatedly said “no” in response to this question. Another Ukrainian student once asked a question to a Nigerian presenter to clarify the meaning of one part of the presentation. Nigerian students, however, volunteered questions directed to multiple presenters that considered additional situations or scenarios not directly discussed in the presentations. After one presentation, the questions and debate among the Nigerian students lasted about 15 minutes—nearly the end of class. This resulted in one already impatient student’s presentation being deferred to the next week.

Not wanting to assume that my view of the contrast in performance was normative, I discussed a lesson briefly with the teacher:

After class, I ask the teacher what her impressions were of today’s lesson. She said “the students from Nigeria were very active. They added to the class with personal examples.” I asked if it’s possible to get Ukrainians students to be so active, or if that’s even a goal. She said she may depend on the rivalry between students, or “I’ll give lower marks” for nonparticipation. (Field notes, November 29, 2010)

Two Ukrainian students, when I asked them about the same lesson after class, however, replied with one word: “Boring.”

It should be said that when I observed the first day of final presentations in an economics class, the Ukrainian students’ presentations included PowerPoint and were much longer, either because they were based on final papers or the students had been instructed by the teacher, or both. I saw Dmitri Bogdanovich again in January and he reported to me overall strong presentation performances by Nigerian students:

The teacher said to me, “You didn’t see the presentations on the 2nd day. The Nigerian students presented and they were perfect. They were convincing-most of them. I didn’t expect it myself. They spoke about the economics of Nigeria (different sectors).” I told him there was a similar contrast in the psychology class, and the teacher made similar comments about the difference. I said maybe it’s their fluency, or they are taught to perform that way. The teacher responded: “Our schools are not taught this way.” (Field notes, January 17, 2011)

In this case, when I presented the teacher with the option of accounting for the Nigerian students’ performance on the basis of language proficiency or classroom acculturation, he oriented to classroom acculturation. This is especially interesting in light of his observations in this same conversation that students in this course did not have a high level of English, and that he had encouraged the rector to increase the number of hours of English study per week. Since Nigerian students are not required to take English classes, he must have been talking about the Ukrainian students in the Wales program. Likewise, Ukrainian Wales program students in interviews oriented less to language and more to cultural differences to account for variations in presentation styles:

Oksana: What is your impressions of our group, *nu*, when you sitting, and watching our lessons? What can you say about us?
Me:...you know, I didn't come here to judge students' level.
Oksana: Yes, we- I know.

Me: Um, you know, I came here just to see, what's happening. I mean, and, um, I mean, I think everybody certainly copes, as is said here, with the material that's given to you. Very difficult material. I mean, um, even studying philosophy, even in the native language is extremely difficult. But to do it in English, um, so, yeah, I give you a lot of credit. And I'm quite certain that as time goes by um, your language skills are going to get even stronger. Um. It is curious to me, though, the presentation styles. Um, you read a presentation, you sit down, you ask no questions, um, what, what can you say about that?

Aleksandra: Because maybe³⁵ we afraid about what we, that we can say something

Oksana: Wrong.

Aleksandra: Not right. Wrong, yes. (Original language from audio file, March 10, 2011)

The fear of “saying something wrong” could be interpreted solely as a fear of saying something incorrect in the target language. Yaroslav Denisovich suggests this fear is both related to the medium of instruction and culturally endemic:

Yaroslav Denisovich asked me how I find the classes here. I said they are interesting. He said, “I heard when an American says interesting, it means they don’t like it.” I laughed, embarrassed. I had to tell him he’s right—there’s something negative. I tried to qualify it by saying that it was still early, maybe I’d only seen certain types of classes, but so far it seemed like everything is directed by the teacher. That is, students don’t volunteer to ask questions.

This is when he started to explain to me the causes for this. First, he said “our students are not so good in English.” They’re afraid of making mistakes—not making mistakes in the discipline, but mistakes and speaking in English. Especially not only the teacher but there’s a native American in the classroom. “They are shy—it’s part of our culture. We are more eastern.” As part of that, keeping a good impression is important. I asked if that means people want to project a good image, or if they are afraid of negative feedback. He said it is exactly the same. (Field notes, October 7, 2010)

³⁵ “Maybe” is a translation I commonly heard of the Russian hedge or politeness marker *navernoe*. The sense and usage of “maybe” here is closer to the American expression “I think”.

Classroom Discourse about Student Performances

During seminars, Wales program teachers were occasionally observed implicitly or explicitly comparing Nigerian and Ukrainian students' performance in class, further underscoring the belief that Nigerian students represented high models of performance to which Ukrainian students should aspire. The following thumbnail sketch from a psychology seminar illustrates the teacher's use of implicit comparisons of students:

Andrei, Evgeny, and Nikolai gave a presentation about attention. All three students read. Evgeny read first, then handed the paper to Nikolai to continue. Andrei read last. Ironically, most students were engaged in side conversations during the presentations. When Viktoria Sergeyevna invited questions from the students, Precious said to Nikolai "I have a question" and added "I did not get what you said because you did not read good." Viktoria Sergeyevna clarified for Nikolai that he read too fast. He offered (perhaps jokingly) to reread, an offer the teacher rejected. After conferring with Evgeny, Nikolai gave a one-sentence explanation in English with one Russian codeswitch to search for a word. Viktoria Sergeyevna summarized his idea, then asked the class what can be done to attract an audience's attention. Students volunteered answers such as making a joke or changing the pitch in one's voice. Viktoria Sergeyevna added that wearing bright clothing can also attract attention.

After two presentations on the topic of human learning, Precious and Samuel started speaking about human learning. It was hard to hear Precious at the back of the room, especially with the noise of the students. I managed to hear her describing how we learn from people around us, and telling her own experience about coming to Ukraine and learning. Samuel talked about collaborative learning and gave the example of football [soccer] rules that people learn. At the end of his presentation, Viktoria Sergeyevna said to the class, "Well, the presentations by Samuel and Precious feel impactive because they're full of examples, bright examples." (Quotes in original language from audio file, December 20, 2010)

By saying the presentations by two students from Nigeria were "impactive because they're full of bright examples", Viktoria Sergeyevna (intentionally or unintentionally) connected the notion of gaining the audience's attention through bright clothing with a

personal example of how students can attract their audience's attention. Moreover, the praise of Samuel and Precious may be an attempt to socialize other students in the class to give presentations in a proper style—not by reading too fast, but by telling “bright” stories that will engage the audience.

In an economics seminar, Svetlana Petrovna (SP) makes both her dissatisfaction with Ukrainian students and her praise of Nigerian students more explicit. The teacher first reminded students that they should have finished reading the “lecture” [i.e. chapter in the coursebook connected with the lecture] prior to coming to class. The teacher then began asking comprehension questions which were also on a handout of printed PowerPoint slides that had been given to students in the previous class. Below is a transcript of how different students in class answered a main question and the follow-up questions, and the teachers' response to these answers:

SP: So, the next. Under conditions of economic crisis, the scope of economic activity naturalization (.6) is

Precious (hand up): Increases. Increases. Increases

SP: Why?

Precious: Because of constant economic activities

SP: And. (1.0) What are results of, economic crisis?

Precious: Uh

SP: It's-

Precious: It's really affects the business. Maybe.

SP: (quiet?) How do you say?

Precious: It affects the people. Because when, I mean, because it's unable to meet his own needs. It's really, (xx)

SP: That's autonomous. What does the term naturalization mean?

Sergei: Naturalization, it mean like, we, maybe, something like agriculture. No. (Looking at notes). (6.4 seconds)

SP: Miroslav, help him.

Miroslav: (quiet) (Naturalization means?) transfer to natural production.

SP: Mm hmm. And, how do you think? Can activity, naturalization of human activity, will it decrease or increase under the conditions of economic crisis?

Samuel: Increase.

Sergei: (quiet) Increase.

Samuel: (loud) It's increase.

Miroslav: (quiet) It will (xx), people (xx) buy goods that they wish, they don't need uh, produce their own goods.

SP: Evgeny.

Evgeny: According to the model of naturalization, it was generated to unstable economic, economic relations.

SP: Do you have any examples of naturalization of economy within different countries under the economic crisis conditions?

Precious: In Ukraine in 1990s. Right? In 1990s there was this crisis that affected Ukrainians, that made them to (0.8) made them like this (7.2) It's made them to get privatization.

SP: Privatization. And?

(Precious giggles)

SP: Any other examples?

Samuel: Yes, many countries, when their economy has fallen to um, it's mainly the private industries that are now boosting up, they have the control of the economy. No more the public. Because the public won't have revenues and pays lots to, the (governments) to the manager.

SP: Uh, uh, that's right. Guys, I want you to be active as our student from Nigeria was. (Original language from audio file, December 3, 2010)

Later in the lesson, Svetlana Petrovna tells students "I am not satisfied with you", and tells them she is angry with them before moving on from the lecture questions to a short test. When I ask her after the lesson why she was unsatisfied, she again used the word "active", saying the students should be more active, and that the Nigerian students were very active. What characteristics of the "active" performance of the "student from Nigeria" is Svetlana Petrovna praising and admonishing students to live up to? First of all, both during and after the lesson, Svetlana Petrovna (and the students) are oriented to the fact that the students have not read as they should have. Some students during the lesson offered excuses such as not being able to get a copy of the book at the library, or not having access to a computer to read the PDF version of the book. Discursively, Samuel's (and to a lesser extent Precious') successful performance may be indexed by a number of communicative behaviors. They respond to questions almost immediately

without being called on by Svetlana Petrovna. Their tone of voice is loud and clear, perhaps demonstrating confidence in their answer. While this cannot be confirmed without having a copy of the coursebook, it is also possible that Samuel's and Precious' answers were closer in content and meaning to the answers provided in the coursebook.

Do Ukrainian students show uptake of the teachers' attempts to socialize them to behave more like their Nigerian counterparts? Not necessarily. One Ukrainian student, Ksenia, framed the differences in achievement both as a problem and as a matter-of-fact difference in worldview (or as Ksenia calls it, "mentality") rather than language ability:

Bridget: Uh, let's talk about um, your classmates who don't speak Russian or Ukrainian. How do you feel about studying with students from different ethnic backgrounds?

Ksenia: I feel okay. I um, feel that, it's very interesting for me but, I, just feel this pressing, (hh) problem of different nations, of different cultures, of uh, different, mmm, mentalities. Uh, because, they, for example, they see the world just like, serious people (hh), just serious. Uh, and uh, we, Ukrainian, Slavonic, Russian, we had, we have, such imagination, such happy faces, such funny stories, we always want to do something funny, something, uh, crazy, and they just don't understand us. (hh) They say that we are a little bit stupid or something like that. Because we are always crazy.

Bridget: The students here have told you that? (high voice)

Ksenia: Yeah. (hh).

Bridget: Really? And what do you say to them?

Ksenia: We said that we just we different people, different cultures. They don't understand us, we can, can't understand them. It's just uh, question of culture. That's all. (hh). They think that we are just too young, small, and uh, we think that they are too old. In their emotions. (hh). (Original language from audio file, February 24, 2011)

Connecting these stances to education, I showed Ksenia a clip of Joseph and Eko engaged in active conversation with the teacher in response to a question while Ksenia conversed with a classmate, Grigore. Before the playback had even finished, she laughed nervously and said: "Grigore and I were not so interested in this problem. Nigerian

people were interested in this problem.” When I asked further about this, she again compared herself to Eko:

Bridget: Is it psychology in general that wasn't interesting or that particular problem?

Ksenia: Mm, I don't know. I just don't like psychology as maybe Eko likes. (Original language from audio file, February 24, 2011)

Ksenia's positioning of herself as a not-so-interested student here surprised me, as I learned during the seminar that she studied at a high school which specializes in the humanities. In addition to her self-identification as a native speaker of Russian and Ukrainian, she struck me as one of the most fluent speakers of English in the group, and won at least two contests in EFL writing in her group. Nevertheless, her identity construction here reflects relational stereotyping (Reyes, 2012) of Nigerian students as serious, and herself and fellow Slavonic people as not so serious. This student has travelled abroad and had opportunities to interact with students from other countries (e.g. Poland and Germany). This particular identity construction may have been formed through repeated interaction with students of multiple nationalities.

Constraints on the Native Speaker Advantage

It was shown in the previous section that Nigerian students often have positively valued performances in many subjects taught in English because of their status as native speakers of the medium of instruction and their prior educational background. In other moments of interaction however, both their native variety of English and their prior education background become inhibitors of successful performance depending on the language in use and the necessary background. In addition, students' use of Russian in

certain types of tasks does not afford students from Nigeria any advantage. These issues are elaborated on in the next three subsections.

Accent and Comprehension

The Nigerian students in the Wales program classes speak a variety of English which has been “nativized or acculturated on the Nigerian soil” (Josiah & Babatunde, 2011). Josiah and Babatunde further argue that the phonology of English spoken in Nigeria continues to reflect regional influences and wide variability in the availability of language models across Nigeria. Class observations at Alfred Nobel University are consistent with this finding. Only on rare occasions was there an observed lexical or grammatical variation that may index a Nigerian variety of English. For example, in the December 2 EFL lesson, Precious talked about “knockouts” while making gestures and giving instructions which indicated to me that “knockouts” is a term that means “fireworks”. In a philosophy presentation that was required to be based on a quote, Precious wrote on the board a quote by Milton Friedman, “Government don’t learn, only people learn”. (I later saw this same quote hanging on the wall of another classroom written as “Governments never learn, only people learn.”) Neither of these instances of language use were observed to be problematic for students and teachers. In fact, I saw Aleksandr Nikolayevich (AN) repeat the phrase “government don’t learn” verbatim and correct not the grammar but the lack of author attribution. Moreover, the use of “don’t” can be seen across language varieties and is not necessarily representative of Nigerian English alone.

The main difficulty in communicating with Nigerian students was based on accent. In this same philosophy seminar, for example, the teacher had just given the

students instructions to contemplate the quote “beneath the pavement, there is beach” and be ready to discuss it later. Eko was trying to clarify the parameters of the task:

Eko: It can be personal

AN: Sorry?

Eko: Personal. Personal experience.

AN: Sorry, I missed you (I did not)

Eko: (Personal.)

AN: I did not get the, sorry, Eko, uh

Precious: Personal.

Eko: Personal.

AN: Ah, yes, yes. So, what kind of personal experience? You mean your personal experience with the pavement and the beach or, or, or what?

(Original language from audio file, April 1, 2011)

In this case, Eko pronounces the letters “er” in the word “personal” as /a/. This does not map to either the teacher’s pronunciation of /ər/ (which is aligned with standard American English) or to the Standard British pronunciation /ə/—another pronunciation of “er” that the teacher is likely to have been exposed to as a student. Aleksandr Nikolayevich has spent time in North Africa before, but never mentioned to me any issues in understanding accents there or in the classroom. In the flow of this lesson, the teacher had to ask Eko three times to repeat the word, but eventually is able to comprehend the word. To be honest, I too misheard the word the first time, and had difficulty at times catching similar words but eventually I understood. Yet another Wales program teacher was more explicit with me about both the difficulties understanding Nigerian students, and the relative ease of understanding my (American) accent:

It was with some difficulty that I understood Olga Nikolayevna say the sentence “I don’t understand the students from Nigeria.” She said she wasn’t sure if it was her knowledge of English or their accent. “You [Bridget] are fine,” she said. I said their accent is a little bit different, and that she just wasn’t used to hearing it. It just takes time. (Paraphrased quote from field notes, February 23, 2011)

The role of the teacher's level of English and experience in dealing with diverse accents in comprehending international varieties of English cannot be underestimated here. Both teachers who are identified in this chapter as having difficulties comprehending Nigerian accents are trained in their respective fields of study, not in teaching EFL. Like Olga Nikolayevna, Aleksandr Nikolayevich has also expressed his concerns about his English level to me (see Chapter 5 for a further discussion of these issues). Moreover, Olga Nikolayevna, based on my observations and interactions with her, is not as fluent in conversational English and might not have the pragmatic skills to negotiate meaning as Aleksandr Nikolayevich did. In contrast, Viktor Andreyevich, who is well-versed in both American and British varieties of English was initially concerned about whether students were really native speakers or spoke "Nigerian English". After working with the students for a term, his conclusion was that their accent was still less than ideal, but it did not impede their performance in class or his interaction with them:

Well, actually I don't have any problems with them, because most of them, uh I cannot say that even their English is absolutely perfect, but they understand everything and sometimes, maybe you have noticed it during my lectures that I had more problems with explaining things to Russian-speaking students than with explaining them to the Nigerian students.
(Original language from audio file, February 21, 2011)

Prior Educational Experience?

It has been mentioned in this chapter that Nigerian students in the observed Wales program classes have relatively strong performances in presentations and whole class discussions in psychology and economics classes. In mathematics classes, however, their performance was much more constrained. Some of the Nigerian students who had their hands raised at the front of the room in humanities and social science classes reverted to

talking, sleeping or checking their phones for messages at the back of the room. One day they came for one lesson but left at the break and didn't return for the second lesson.

Viktoriya Sergeyevna explained their behavior as follows: "In commerce in Nigeria, they don't study (this math). They don't see the purpose of it. For students from Ukraine it's okay because they've had this in school" (paraphrased quote from field notes, December 6, 2010). The notion that students' performance is connected with prior educational experience is reinforced in the following vignette:

Mikhail Grigoryevich now sets up a problem with calculating the vector $|x|$ based on the angles α and β . "Who want to solve this example in the desk? Precious please. Precious. Take your book and (come to the board)." Precious' mouth is wide open at me. I give her the thumbs up. She mouths, "I can't do it." She stays at her desk.

Mikhail Grigoryevich looks in his record book and reads Alla's last name. He says in English and then in Russian, "Today is your day." As Alla is at the board, Precious asks twice (the second time more loudly), "can you say (some) words (so I know what you are doing)?" Alla says something in Russian to the professor. The professor then says, "we rewrite the formula connected with calculating a , b , j . It is today, from the previous lecture." I think Alla finds it easier to express herself in Russian.

Alla writes multiple cosine equations on the board without explanation from her or the teacher. The music plays, signaling the end of the lesson, but she finishes the equation. Then Mikhail Grigoryevich says: "We must to find this value." (He circles A^2x). Alla says something in Russian and Mikhail Grigoryevich responds quietly. Alla writes some more. Then Mikhail Grigoryevich says: "Our practical lecture is finished. Tomorrow we continue to solve. And now, goodbye."

I tell Precious, "That sucks". I'm referring to her inability to solve the problem. Precious tells me: "I can't understand him. I don't know why." In fact, she told me previously he's the only teacher she doesn't understand. She says they (the Ukrainian students) had vectors in school, but in Nigeria we didn't.

Mikhail Grigoryevich tells me after class (in Russian) that he knows the students from Nigeria didn't understand the problem. Precious told him they didn't study this in school. So he called Alla to the board to solve the

problem instead. I don't remember if it's from words, tone, or from context that I understand that's okay for him. He tells me that immediately after the lecture a student is already doing some part of the practical problem. Again, there seems to be some pride on his part in that. He concludes, *rabota idët* (the work is going, the work is moving along.). I reply: *eto vazhno* (that's important). (Field notes, November 22, 2010)

Like Viktoria Sergeyevna, Precious accounts for her difficulties performing in class because she hadn't studied this material before (as the Ukrainian students allegedly have). In contrast, Alla came to Alfred Nobel University from a high school which specialized in math and physics.

That said, the vignette also raises the issue of the role of language in the performance differential. Alla spoke almost no English in other classes but was able to discuss questions with the math teacher in their mutual native language, Russian. Precious also raised the issue of not being able to understand this teacher. This incomprehensibility, from my vantage point, appears to be an amalgamation of the very abstract content, the teacher's thin explanations in English ("we rewrite the formula connected with calculating a, b, j") and awkward expressions such as "Who want to solve this example at the desk?", in which the word "desk", a false cognate of the Russian word *doska*, is substituted for "blackboard." While this mistake was observed to be corrected over time (and reported by Viktoria Sergeyevna not to be problematic because students can understand it), other key words were sometimes difficult for students to comprehend.

To be fair to the university and the teacher, some measures were taken to alleviate both the content and language comprehensibility problems. Two of the Nigerian students studied math for one year as part of the university's preparatory program for foreign students. However, the teacher was reportedly incomprehensible in those classes as well,

and the four Nigerian students who started in the Wales program in November never received such training for reasons that were never explained to me. As mentioned in Chapter 4, Mikhail Grigoryevich's class was assigned an English language assistant, Viktoria Sergeyevna, who was trained in EFL methods and could "help him with language beyond math" (paraphrased quote, field notes, November 8, 2010). Viktoria Sergeyevna also encouraged Mikhail Grigoryevich to adjust his approach to teaching, but he declined for content reasons, as she explained to me: "I'd told the professor he should explain in more detail. He told me if I explained it will waste time. They are supposed to know this from school. It's like ABC" (paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, December 6, 2010). Whether "they" in this context means Ukrainians, Nigerians, or both is unclear; my immediate reaction, based on the teacher's previous statement about Nigerian students not having such math in school, was that it referred to Ukrainian students. Reflecting on the comment a year and a half later, however, it seems to embody a general sense of exasperation with the current state of students' knowledge.

Task Design and Language Use

Additional evidence shows that implementing tasks other than presentations or questions in class either levels the playing field for both nationalities, or facilitates achievement for Ukrainian students and disadvantages Nigerian students due to Russian language use. Svetlana Petrovna, for example, decided the week after the seminar with a poor showing by Ukrainian students to implement more debates. She pitted mixed-nationality groups of students against each other on issues including state or private control of water, means of controlling music and movie piracy, and price or non-price factors in shifting the demand for cigarettes. In each case, both high achieving Ukrainian

and Nigerian students had a voice on the floor. In two of these debates, students of both nationalities continued the discussion eagerly even after the bell rang. At least one Ukrainian student, Andrei, attributed the intensity of the debates to the energy level of the Nigerian students: “typically we have very hot discussions, um, especially in the moments when the Nigerians have their, with issue some, arguing with each other, so, it’s very hot! I think they will fight each other some way” (original language from audio file, February 28, 2011).

In group work, the energy level of all students was also high, but Ukrainian students’ frequent switches to their L1, Russian, at times made it difficult for Nigerian students to participate in a discussion, as the following thumbnail sketch from an economics seminar debate preparation indicates:

Ten students (1 Nigerian student and 9 Ukrainian students) and I huddle around two tables that normally seat four students each. Their task is, based on a one-page case study given them by the teacher, to develop a list of arguments showing why price factors are more effective for changing the demand for smoking. (The other group which I did not sit in on was developing arguments in support of non-price factors).

After three Ukrainian students start speaking in Russian, Svetlana Petrovna reprimanded them: “I want to stress one more time that your discussions should be in ENGLISH LANGUAGE PLEASE because in your group you have your classmates which don’t understand Russian”. The students agree, but then two students switch quietly to Russian.

After thirty seconds, Precious says in English, “I want to ask a question on this topic.” She and Grigore talk for several turns in English, but Grigore switches to Russian to address Andrei and Sergei. For the next eighteen minutes, the conversation continues in multiple dyads and triads conducted in English and Russian, punctuated by two English-language speeches by Andrei and Evgeny and another task-related question by Precious, “How many points do we have to present?”

At minute eighteen of the group work activity, while Oksana, Sergei, Andrei, and Grigore are talking in Russian about the addictiveness of

cigarettes and the relative cost of cigarettes in Europe, Precious looks at me and giggles. She then addresses the group directly: “I would like to have a discussion. I don’t understand.” In response, Sergei appoints himself enforcer of the teacher’s instructions. In English he calls on Oksana by an Anglicized version of her name and says, “please, in English.” Oksana replies “okay” in a creaky voice and starts to explain in English about the differences in laws between Europe and Ukraine. But then Oksana switches to Russian, which leads Sergei to accommodate and to switch to Russian. Evgeny and Grigore, meanwhile, have a side conversation going in Russian. Sergei again cries out: “People! In English.” Sergei and Evgeny try to switch, and Precious is able to join in the conversation, but then there’s a switch to Russian again. (Quotes in original language from audio file, February 11, 2011)

It is worth noting here that Oksana, though she expressed an interest in speaking in English with foreigners in her interview with me, seemed unable to sustain the communication in English even when directed to do so. It is possible that Nikolai switched to Russian to address Ukrainian students in her subgroup. Another Wales student from Ukraine, Pyotr (not in this group activity), after hearing a recording in another group activity in which he mixed English and Russian, dismissed this theory:

Pyotr: Yes, I remember. To tell the truth, my thoughts at the moment I don’t remember, but the situation itself I remember. (*Laughs*) I don’t know what to say.

Bridget: Mmm hmm. Um, to my mind, you use both Russian and English. Do you remember who you speak Russian with and who you speak English with?

Pyotr: Well, I don’t know. I try to speak English more with everyone, but this is how it comes out. (My translation from Russian audio file, March 10, 2011. See Appendix F for original language.)

Thus, it may be said that Ukrainian students in the Wales program are trying to speak in English, and are not intentionally excluding Nigerian students; rather, it is a function of their ability to speak English in that moment. This notion is consistent with my own instinct to refer to Oksana’s and other students’ switches as breakdowns (see Chapter 6 for a further discussion about metalinguistic markers of switches to Russian). Another

student, Miroslav, gave me an equally if not more plausible reason why students switch to Russian: “not because somebody doesn't know how to say it in English. I think more often, it happens because uh, we just, almost don't know what to say, even in Russian. Yes, and we just start to think how to say something” (original language from audio file, February 28, 2011). In any case, the group work activity illustrates the rapid moment-to-moment shifts in English and Russian use in group settings.

The Wales Program Students from Algeria

It is with some reluctance that I write about the two students in the Wales program who were from Algeria because of the relative dearth of data and the risk of laminating individual students with negative national stereotypes. The only classes I (or in some cases, the teachers) ever saw them in were the economics classes taught by Dmitri Bogdanovich and Svetlana Petrovna, and the EFL class taught by Viktoria Sergeyevna. I managed to schedule an interview with one of the students, Abdul, but when the time came for the interview I found out he was out of town. I never saw him in school again, and by April I learned he and his classmate were being expelled. I saw him once more after that, a chance encounter on the waterfront while I was walking with friends; it did not seem like an appropriate place or time to discuss his status or the possibility of an interview. I have no record of direct references to students from Algeria made by Ukrainian or Nigerian students, and there were no presenters from North Africa or the Middle East at any of the conferences or special events I attended. While the “lack” of data is noteworthy in its own right, the fact remains that the following findings

are based solely on my observations in 8 classes and remarks made by three teachers. Therefore, the findings need to be interpreted with caution.

The Algerian Students' English

It can be said with certainty that the two students from Algeria were not native speakers of English, but rather French and Arabic. They reportedly asked to be in the Wales program because they were interested in studying in English. When I gave them consent forms in English while offering to obtain a translation into French, they assured me that they understood the English. Beyond that, however, their responses to questions in class frequently indexed to me and their teachers a state of emerging comprehension. Svetlana Petrovna, for example, invited Algerian students twice to share related examples from their country connected with economic principles she was teaching; in one instance a student reported “I don’t understand the difference between commercial and natural production” (field notes, November 23, 2010); in the other instance, the students whispered quietly to each other and the teacher angrily declared, “I can’t hear you. I want to hear you now.” She then went to their desks to ensure they understood what part of the task they were supposed to be addressing in their answer (field notes, November 30, 2010). To be fair, these questions may require a specialized knowledge about the economic conditions of one’s country that a university student from any country does not have access to; I saw Nigerian students also answer “I don’t know” to similar types of questions. Yet another interpretation is that if the students were missing classes, they may be lost in unfamiliar material. It may also be that the two students were conferring about the meaning of the question and/or how to answer.

In another economics class, Abdul demonstrated he was able to answer a simpler question about his country, but was rewarded with teasing by the teacher. Surprisingly, Abdul laughed along with the stereotyping, while at the same time offered a more realistic account of the population demographics:

Dmitri Bogdanovich (DB) asks “Who have more population in Ukraine—men or women?” The students answer “women”. DB: “And in Nigeria?” Students: “Women.” DB: “And in Algeria?” Abdul: “Women.” DB: “Because you have four wives, God gives you four wives.” The students laugh, including Abdul. But Abdul then gives another explanation: “Men die before women. You work hard.” (Field notes, December 1, 2010)

In the two EFL classes I observed in which Abdul was present, he made multiple reading mistakes and mistakes in answering questions in the grammar exercises. The teacher seemed to be patient, attempting to correct Abdul, explain the answer, or clue the student into the correct answer, the same as with Ukrainian students who made similar mistakes. Sometimes, though, there was nonverbal communication which suggested a less than friendly attitude towards Abdul. When Viktoria Sergeyevna (VS) invited the students to tell stories about animals as part of a textbook unit on animals, the response to Abdul seemed rather terse:

VS: Mm hmm. And girls, have you heard any stories, funny stories about animals. (2.0)

VS: Hmm. And what about you, I’m sorry,

Abdul: Abdul.

VS: Abdul, and have you ever heard any interesting stories or jokes about animals?

Abdul: (Rubs hand back and forth on forehead) yes, one time in big forest it was monkeys. Because there too much people they give food for them and one time it was a man and his wife, and monkey jumped and suddenly taked bag of his wife.

(VS laughs, Abdul does hh)

VS: Uh huh. (tilts head to side.)’kay. (Original language from video file, December 14, 2010)

Viktoria Sergeyevna's tilting of her head followed by "okay" seemed to indicate disinterest. The reaction seems more surprising given that he spoke with little hesitation once he started, and certainly uttered far more than the four Ukrainian girls she called on to speak. I showed Viktoria Sergeyevna a video clip of this story along with those of Miroslav and Samuel (the two stories immediately preceding Abdul's), with pauses between each story. After viewing the first story, she responded as follows:

And, as usual, so I ask my students to do such tasks in small groups, but as to this group, I noticed uh, that those, they feel reluctant to work in groups especially, when they're not supervised direct by me. A few of them such as Evgeny, Miroslav, are quite self-motivated. And they can work on their own. Which they should do. But as to the girls, so when they are not supervised direct, so they can discuss their own topics and their own problems in Russian. I don't mind if they do this in English, (pause), but uh, they (are?) passive so if they know if they can get away (from the) task (hh). (Original language from audio file, March 9, 2011)

Viktoria Sergeyevna here thus framed her reaction first primarily in terms of the task design—the challenges of encouraging small group discussion or whole class participation. She gave individual praise to Miroslav and Evgeny, and continued the discussion by describing a group of female students in the class as both performatively passive and linguistically tending to speak only in Russian. After watching Samuel, Viktoria Sergeyevna changed her focus to relative national behavior:

Viktoria Sergeyevna: And uh, as to the students from Nigeria, so they're more responsive. And ready to work in small groups and pairs. More open. And um, mm, willing to participate in classes. As compared to, to our Ukrainian students. (Original language from audio file, March 9, 2011)

After viewing Abdul's story, however, she did not address his performance on any scale (individual or national), but returned to her original focus on overall task design:

VS: So it is good idea to look through the elements of classes, because they give new ideas how to arrange classes in a better way. So ideas to discuss, to arrange them in a different way.

Bridget: I don't follow you.

VS: So you can't catch the idea?

Bridget: No. What new ideas do you have now? What, what would you do differently?

VS: And uh, I think it would be a good idea, to, to discuss or to summarize all the stories. Not just to listen to the students' experiences or the stories they've heard about something, not only animals, but to summarize them and to use them in practice. Not just to, to practice vocabulary or grammar structures when telling stories, but to use so the knowledge and the experiences they shared so some, mutual project. (Original language from audio file, March 9, 2011)

Viktoria Sergeyevna's commitment to analyzing and reflecting on her teaching is commendable as it reflects her professionalism as a teacher. Moreover, Viktoria Sergeyevna acknowledged in a class prior to this interview that she rarely sees Abdul; the limited interaction could account in part for her not focusing on him while viewing the videotape. On the other hand, her silence about Abdul—and my reluctance to probe for a comparative analysis of his behavior—may reflect an awareness (in me, in Viktoria Sergeyevna, or in both of us) that anything said about Abdul could only be negative.

Explicit Attitudes

Sadly, and consistent with the ECRI report mentioned earlier in the chapter, the only two teachers I spoke to (besides Dmitri Bogdanovich) who discussed Algerian or Muslim students directly each used the word “terrorist”. Equally consistent with the cultural ambiguity around language which refers to black people, the usage of the term “terrorist” was intertwined with attempts to emphasize people were not taking a racist stance towards Algerian students. While helping me prepare my interview questions,

Viktor Andreyevich (VA) reported discourses about the students as terrorists, and accounted for dislike of the students as a function of individual behavior:

VA: Um, as to students from Algeria, I'm not sure you'll be able to interview them. Nobody's seen them.

Bridget: I just saw them in January.

VA: Really? I have never seen them.

Bridget: In fact, I talked to Dmitri Bogdanovich, I think that's his name, yes?

VA: Yes.

Bridget: And he said the two students were having some problems with money and with their housing and that's why they weren't coming to class.

VA: Well, maybe and anyway, uh, there was quite a lot of conjectures what are they doing here. Some said they were engaged in terrorist activities, some said it was much simpler, they just came to sell something or to buy something...I can tell you already, Viktoria Sergeyevna told me, students are more frank with her, they like the Nigerian students, but they dislike the Algerian students. Well, you understand they dislike the Algerian students not because of their religious beliefs or their color or whatever...but because of their behavior. Just that. (Original language from audio file, January 25, 2011)

In our interview, Viktoria Sergeyevna talked about both the advantages of having students from different backgrounds in the classroom, and the constraints on talking about subjects related to religion or terrorism out of a paradoxical politeness towards people from Muslim countries:

Bridget: Uh, speaking now about YOUR international students, how do you feel about teaching students from different ethnic backgrounds?

Viktoria Sergeyevna: And it, it makes our classes more interesting. As they can share their culture, their traditions, and teaching, mmm, mm, monolingual uh, students, or monocultural students, limits the teaching ideas. Everybody knows about everybody, and they communicate and interact a lot after classes, but uh, students from abroad, make classes more interesting. And it is a challenge for me to make classes, more diverse, and the ideas I use, and uh, wider. So I take into account, their customs and traditions, and I choose topics more carefully. Keeping in mind the aspect, I can mention and discuss, and suggest them for discussion. And some taboos, I shouldn't touch.

Bridget: Uh, for example?

Viktoria Sergeyevna: Religious topics. And uh, for example, when I had

monocultural students, and most of them are Christians, so we could discuss Muslims. And uh, the students could criticize them and their religious beliefs, something like that. But now I tried to avoid such a topic in order not to insult students who can belong, so to this religion.

Bridget: (quietly) I understand.

Viktoriya Sergeyevna: And we discussed the problem of terrorism. And we used to discuss with uh, my monocultural, so my Russian or Ukrainian students, but uh, as uh, there are a lot of people who belong to Muslim religion or Muslim culture, who are involved in terrorist actions, so I try to avoid this topic. (Original language from audio file, March 9, 2011)

Chapter Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter has been to explore how students of diverse backgrounds perform and interact in English-medium classes, the discourses connected with those performances and interactions, and the relationship among classroom performance and linguistic, educational, and social factors in and out of class. It has been shown that for Nigerian students in English-medium classes, positive classroom behaviors are strongly connected with not only their native proficiency in English but also their educational background in Nigeria. The same background that promotes successful classroom performance in one subject, however, can become a barrier in a class that requires prior training they do not have, especially if the teacher is not offering adequate linguistic and content support. Accent can also at times be a barrier to communication among students and teachers of different backgrounds, but meaning can be negotiated. The data on Algerian students are far less conclusive but suggest that the prejudice against Muslim people as “terrorists” combined with the students’ low attendance converge into an image of failure. Ukrainian students and teachers in the Wales program classes enjoy the interaction with students from different backgrounds, but the degree of enjoyment seems to also be a function of the opportunities for language

practice. This is not to suggest that Ukrainians are opportunistic or using students from foreign countries; rather, it suggests that whether Ukrainian and Nigerian students in Russian-medium programs have the same positive orientation to each other is an empirical question yet to be answered. Moreover, Ukrainian student attitudes towards Nigerian and Algerian classroom behaviors are shaped by a combination of language behaviors and cultural norms. Finally, the implementation of different types of tasks, levels of English for classroom explanation and discussion, and level of explanation of content in teaching raise questions of how best to balance among Ukrainian students' freedom to use their L1 as needed to ensure task completion and task comprehension, ensuring foreign students have an equal opportunity to participate fully in classroom activities, and fostering integration and cooperation among students from different backgrounds. It seems likely that the more media of instruction, languages, and modes of communication (not to mention task type) are used, the better learning outcomes will be for all.

CHAPTER 8

THE ECOLOGY OF LANGUAGE AT THE UNIVERSITY LEVEL

Chapter 6 explored the ecology of language as it appears in classrooms at Alfred Nobel University. In that chapter, language use was framed as a set of bilateral moves—Russian brought into English-medium classes, English brought into Russian-medium classes, Ukrainian used in targeted ways whether it was a medium of instruction or not, and additional foreign languages being used in a variety of classes. Chapter 6 also showed the shifting hierarchical positions of Russian, Ukrainian, and English depending on the genre and context of language use. Chapter 7 addressed the negotiation of language use among students, teachers, and staff from diverse language and ethnic backgrounds. The purpose of the current chapter is to shift the focus of analysis from classrooms to the university as a whole. By looking at university documents, speech events, and speech acts within those events, the fluidity of language use and the moment-to-moment negotiation of language use become even more salient. It also becomes clearer that the choice of language or languages used at the university level are associated with a number of factors including the university's medium of instruction programs, the channel of language use (oral or written), the interlocutor, and the general linguistic culture of the university. Such patterns of language use at Alfred Nobel University also index the potential points of impact of English on the university language ecology, the shifting hierarchies among Ukrainian, Russian, English, and additional foreign languages, and the wider ecology of language in Ukraine.

Printed Documents at the University

In the following subsections, examples of university forms, informational documents, and signs around the university are analyzed. In a slight majority of cases, Ukrainian is the sole “official” language; English often—but not always—shares this official space for a number of reasons. Russian at times is allowed in official spaces, but more often is not included. In “unofficial” print business, however, Russian is the dominant language, followed by Ukrainian and then at times English.

University Forms and Informational Documents

One of the concerns from a language rights perspective about the use English of as a medium of instruction is the potential for language shift from Ukrainian or Russian to English. One protective factor against this threat at the university level is the use of Russian and Ukrainian but not English in administrative tasks. A vignette which illustrates that English is not privileged in administrative tasks at the university is a negotiation between a new Wales program student, Sergei, and Yaroslav Denisovich at the organizational meeting for new students:

Now students were being asked to fill out the contact information form. Twice, a Wales program student [later known to be Sergei] raised his hand and then put it right back down. Finally, he asked in Russian, “*na kakom iazyke?*” (in what language do we write?) Yaroslav Denisovich answered in Russian, “*russki ili ukrainski, ne angliiski*” (Russian or Ukrainian, not English).

Yaroslav Denisovich then gave a kind of cautionary tale about the importance of English. He talked about going to Poland to (study? work?) in Warsaw. He said they [the people in Poland] will never know Ukrainian or Russian, only English (*nikogda ne govoriat po-ukrainski ili po-russki, tol’ko na angliiskom*). (Field notes, August 31, 2010)

Prior to his question about which language to use on the registration form, Sergei had asked if even *fiskultura* (physical education in Russian) would be taught in English, but was more hesitant when he asked about the language of the contact information form. Perhaps he knew it was unlikely he would fill out the form in English, or perhaps he was afraid of looking foolish. Yaroslav Denisovich's response to Sergei's question about the language of the form confirms that while it is exciting to have academic subjects taught in English and English language lessons taught at a "European" level (see his comments in Chapter 5), English is not considered a working language of the university and its administration. At the same time, Yaroslav Denisovich warns students that if they travel to Poland, the reverse will be true—English will be a language of communication, but Russian and Ukrainian will not be. One can infer from this viewpoint that for Ukrainian students, English is an important lingua franca among people who do not speak the same native language or languages, and therefore has greater perceived utility outside of Ukraine than in Ukraine. It also indexes the shift from Soviet times, when Russian would have been the international language for travelers from Ukraine to Poland, to the post-Soviet era in which English is the preferred international language.

While Sergei was given the choice of writing his information in Russian or Ukrainian but not English, there were other university documents which tended to be written in Ukrainian (and perhaps English), but not Russian. Some of these university documents were connected with regulations of the university; others like final papers (see Chapter 6) were connected with recording or documenting the process of teaching and

learning. Table 8.1 shows a list of items I collected over the year with Ukrainian writing by type of document and intended audience or user.

Table 8.1

Documents Seen in Ukrainian at Alfred Nobel University

Document (with name in Ukrainian)	English Comingled?	Intended Audience or User
1. Department informational brochures	Yes	Prospective students
2. General school guidelines (<i>pam'iatka pershokursnyku</i>)	No	1 st year students
3. Register of group attendance (<i>zhurnal</i>)	No	Student monitor for the group (<i>starosta</i>)
4. Timetable of courses (<i>rozklad zaniat'</i>)	Yes	Teachers, students, and staff
5. Photocopy request form (<i>zamovlennia na rosmnozhuval'nu robotu</i>)	No	Teachers, students, and staff
6. Individual teaching plan (<i>navchalnyi plan</i>)	No	Teachers (to describe their courses taught, textbooks used, and research/writing activities)
7. Open lesson evaluation form	Yes	Teachers (after completing a peer observation)
8. Gradesheet (<i>vidomist'</i>)	Yes	Teachers (to record grades)
9. Regulations for the alumni association (<i>polozhennia pro asotsiatsiiu vypusknykiv</i>)	Yes	Alumni
10. Regulations for the recurring and final exams of students according to the ECTS system (<i>polozhennia pro potochnyi ta pidsumkovyi kontrol' znan' studentiv vidpovidno do zahal'noievropeis'kykh standartiv, vyznachenikh systemoiu zalikovykh kreditiv (ECTS)</i>)	Yes	Teachers

Of the eight documents, over half of them at one point or another had English written on them also, though in some cases it was only one word. For example, the alumni association regulations contained the word ISO:9000, an international educational institution accrediting body. The chance someone would notice this is English is slim. The department informational brochures, as shown in Chapter 5, were in Ukrainian except for the rather prominent word “New” in English on the International Economics brochure to announce the Wales program. The timetable shown in Chapter 4 appeared originally in Ukrainian, with the exception of the Wales program group schedule in English. However, the schedule did not appear in English consistently. For the first module (Fall 1) it was entirely in Ukrainian, but the next module it was in English. Then in Spring I it was all in Ukrainian, but in Spring II it was in English again. The first switch in November may have been triggered by the fact that having subjects taught in English officially started in November, that foreign students arrived to start studying in November, or both. Regardless, the appearance of English in both the timetable and the departmental brochure is connected with the use of English as medium of instruction.

The use of English in the open lesson evaluation form was an accommodation to me as an English-speaking foreigner. After I observed an “open lesson” by Viktor Andreyevich (part of the regular process of peer observation at the university), Viktoria Sergeyevna approached me during Mikhail Grigoryevich’s lesson (for which she was a language assistant) and asked me to fill out a form to assess Viktor Andreyevich’s teaching in that open lesson. She told me, “[the form] is in Ukrainian but you can write it in English” (original language from audio file, February 28, 2011). I resisted this offer

and tried to write as much as I could in Ukrainian when I saw that the form called for Ukrainian, but wrote comments in English that I could not express in Ukrainian.

The English that was written on a grade sheet (*vidomist*) was a foreign accommodation of a different kind. When Viktor Andreyevich showed me the grade sheet, there were two types of grades written in two columns—the “national” grade (*otsinka za natsional’ noiu* in Ukrainian), and the ECTS grade (*otsinka na iekts* in Ukrainian). While the words “ECTS” appear on the form in Ukrainian, the ECTS grades themselves were written in one of the following Roman alphabet letters (from highest grade to lowest grade): A, B, C, D, E, FX, or F. Thus, when the grades were filled in using the Roman alphabet, it was an accommodation to international education policy. The term ECTS and the grading system also appeared in the regulations about grades, and are the only English language words to appear in that text. In general then, it can be said that the primary language of university forms is Ukrainian (in recognition that the national language is Ukrainian), but that language policy is adaptable to other policies such as the school’s English-medium program, the Bologna Process, and individuals at the university who may have Russian or English but not Ukrainian in their linguistic repertoire.

University Signs in Ukrainian, English, and Russian

Although Ukrainian and Russian are in the same language family, they can be distinguished according to pronunciation, lexis, morphology, and spelling (see Chapter 3). In the first half of the year, I observed four examples of university signs—two in Russian and two in Ukrainian—which were salient enough for me to document and

which when analyzed contrastively suggest a pattern or rationale for the choice of Ukrainian or Russian in these signs. At the beginning of the school year, I saw a sign in Ukrainian at the top of the steps outside the entrance to Korpus B which informed students, faculty, and staff that, according to Ukrainian Law 1824-VI passed in 2010 and Order 855 from the Ministry of Education and Science, smoking is prohibited (see Figure 8.1). Two months later, I saw a sign with a similar frame and lettering and also in the courtyard of the university at the bottom of the steps of the entrance to Korpus A. This sign was in Russian, however, and informed visitors that the entrance to Korpus A had to be made through Korpus B. The sign further apologized for the temporary inconvenience (see Figure 8.2). The use of Ukrainian in Figure 8.1 can be linked directly to the national policy documents it is attempting to enforce. In Figure 8.2, the use of Russian is consistent with language denoting a spontaneous and localized communicative event.



Figure 8.1. Sign in Ukrainian: Studentam Vykladacham Spivrobitnykam! U vidpovidnosti do Zakony Ukraïny vid 21.01.2010 R. N. 1824-VI “Pro zakhody shchodo poperedzhennia i zmeshennia vzhyvannia tiutiunovykh vyrobiv i ikh shkidlyvoho vplyvu na zdorov’ia naseleennia” ta nakazu Ministerstva osvity i nauky Ukraïny vid 08.09.2004 R. N 855 “Pro zaboronu kurinnia tiutiunovykh vyrobiv v navchal’nykh zakladakh i

ustanovakh Ministerstva osvity i nauky Ukraïny” u primishchenniakh i na teritorii DUEP Palyty Zaboroneno! Rektorat. [Students, Teachers, Staff! In accordance with the Law of Ukraine from January 21, 2010 No. 1824-VI “For the prevention and reduction of consumption of tobacco products and their harmful impact on the health of the population” and the order of the Minister of Education and Science of Ukraine from September 8, 2004 No. 855 “For the Prohibition of tobacco products in schools and institutions of the Ministry of Science and Education of Ukraine” in the premises and on the grounds of Alfred Nobel University smoking is prohibited!—Rector’s office.] Photo by author, September 2010.



Figure 8.2. Sign in Russian: Vkhod v Korpus A (I) cherez Korpus B (II). Izvinite za vremennye neudobstva. [Entrance to Korpus A (1st floor) through Korpus B (2nd floor). Please excuse the temporary inconvenience.] Photo by author, November 2010.

A similar pair of signs was seen inside the university. In one classroom I saw a piece of A4-sized paper with black lettering from a laser jet printer taped to the door. When I looked closer I realized it was commanding people in Russian to turn off the lights and close the windows before leaving the room (field notes, September 3, 2010). This is a localized policy or practice. In another classroom in late November, I saw a printed sign in Ukrainian telling *shonovni abiturienti* [dear prospective university students] which documents to have ready when submitting applications to the university. While students submit the applications to individual universities, the practice is done on a national scale. Moreover, the university may recognize that it is inviting applications

from students who may identify as Ukrainian language speakers first or come from Ukrainian-medium schools.

How is English situated in this landscape? In Chapter 4, a photo of the university courtyard taken in 2010 showed a sign for the admissions office in Ukrainian (*prymal'na komisiia*) and a sign for the building in Ukrainian and English (*Korpus B*). While the “B” could be read in Russian or Ukrainian as *V*, the fact that the third building is called C and that building numbers are noted in parentheses below these letters suggests the buildings are numbered by the first three letters of the English alphabet; in Russian and Ukrainian the nomenclature would be *A, B, B* (*A, B, V*).

On my April 2012 follow-up visit, it became clear the use of English in this space was spreading. While the entrance to Korpus A still had the name of the university in Ukrainian letters, the entrance to Korpus B had been changed to say in English “Welcome to University” (sic). On the windows there were new signs in Ukrainian and English with the name of the university. There were also signs, one in English and one in Ukrainian, plastered on two windows; these signs show a group of students proclaiming in both languages, “We have already chosen education for life! Join us!” The word “Admission Office” (sic) appears below the group. Figure 8.3 shows the new entrance to Korpus B in Ukrainian and English.



Figure 8.3. Entrance to Korpus B in Ukrainian and English. Photo by author, April 2012.

Thus, with the introduction of English as a medium of instruction and the associated prestige of English as a foreign language, English slowly begins to share spaces with Ukrainian that Russian does not. As Scollon and Scollon (2003) point out, this could be continuing a historical practice in Soviet times of providing information in both the national and the international language. This possibility is further reinforced by the fact that in a photo from my 2002 visit, a sign (no longer present) on Korpus A gave the name of the university in both Ukrainian and English. In Soviet times, the language in these spaces would have been Ukrainian and Russian respectively. The use of Ukrainian and English rather than Ukrainian and Russian in print again indexes the view that English is replacing Russian as the international language—not only outside Ukraine (as in the case of Ukrainian travelers to Poland) but in Ukraine as well.

The language used in these spaces may have shifted again since the passing of the Law of Languages in 2012 and the subsequent decision by the Dnipropetrovsk regional council to declare Russian an official regional language (see Chapter 3). For example, when I visited the university Web site in November 2012, there was a pull-down menu on the home page which offered users the choice of Ukrainian, Russian, or English (in that

order) rather than only Ukrainian and English prior to the passing of the law. I have no observational data or updates via social media on the language in documents and signs at the university. Nevertheless, it is likely that more signage is in not only English but also Russian now than it was a year ago.

The Salience and Significance of Languages in the University's Linguistic Landscape

It was mentioned that the four signs in Ukrainian and Russian discussed in this chapter were noticeable to me and perceivable as being written in either Ukrainian or Russian. If students and faculty at Alfred Nobel University consciously took note of the language used in these and other signs, they did not report it to me in interviews. The lone exception was Nikolai; when I asked him what the language of higher education was, he replied, “*russkii, ukrainskii* [Russian, Ukrainian], I think it's Ukrainian language, it's official. If we see a documents about our education it's written in Ukrainian language” (original language from audio file, February 28, 2011).

When I asked other students when it was necessary to use English (or Russian or Ukrainian) at the university, two students responded that they did not understand the question, and several others responded in terms of language use in classes or in the “teaching process”. Sergei and Nina (in separate interviews) said English was necessary in certain “situations”. Nina specified that would include the situation of meeting people from other countries after classes. Other students said that only Russian was necessary in the university. Evgeny said almost no one speaks Ukrainian at the university, and English is spoken after class as a “joke”. All of these answers are oriented to spoken uses of the language in contexts such as classrooms and conversations, not written signs on

walls. Moreover, those individuals who did talk about language use feel that Russian (or English if they thought I was asking about English classes) dominate and Ukrainian is nonexistent.

The students' and teachers' reaction to language use in the university can be further understood through the lenses of subconscious language ideologies and bilingualism (see Chapter 2). If students and teachers are able to decode Russian and Ukrainian signs equally (i.e. if they are balanced Russian-Ukrainian bilinguals in self-identity or practice), and if it is accepted that Russian is the dominant language in the landscape and Ukrainian is limited or non-existent, university stakeholders may read signs with passing regard to what language those signs were in and why. In my own experience later in the year, for example, I saw two signs announcing the "Mr. and Miss University" contest. One sign was in the foyer of Korpus B, and the other was at the entrance of the "Students' Palace" (*Palats' Studentiv*). One sign was in Russian and one was in Ukrainian, but without writing down which sign was in which location, I could not recall which sign had which language. Similarly, I saw billboards around Dnipropetrovsk with one prominent language and a second language in smaller print, almost as a subtitle. However, without photo documentation, field notes, or a more immediate recall task, it is not possible for me to say which language (Russian or Ukrainian) was in which position.

The perception of signs can also be linked to both individual experiences in a particular part of Ukraine and related expectations of language use in certain sites of social interaction. In other words, people like Nikolai who have grown up in predominantly Russian-speaking areas of Ukraine are accustomed to seeing Russian, so

they notice when items are written in Ukrainian instead. Conversely, American colleagues from the Fulbright program who came to visit me in Dnipropetrovsk during the year from Kyiv and Lviv at times noticed that there were more signs in Russian than they expected.

Finally, it can be said that neither the language nor the content of the printed signs and documents reflect the lived language reality at Alfred Nobel University. On my initial visit at the university with Oleg Borisovich, he was showing me around the university when we saw in the hallway of the Translation department an English sign which read “only English spoken here”. When I remarked on it, Oleg Borisovich told an anecdote about a man in France shopping for a straw hat who saw a sign that read “English spoken here.” The man walked in to the shop, and everybody was speaking French. “It is the same here,” Oleg Borisovich said (field notes, August 18, 2010). His comment underscores the difference between written language policy and spoken language use in practice.

Negotiated Language Use in Text and Talk

Although the previous section focused primarily on the use of language in printed forms and signs, two of the documents triggered a spoken negotiation of language use—namely, a question or suggestion about the use of language for the student registration form and the open class evaluation form. The negotiation of language use around text and talk was even more apparent in three types of speech events or speech acts to be elaborated on below: 1) administrative discussions such as staff announcements in classes and department meetings; 2) state exams; and 3) presentational events such as

conferences and one-day seminars. In many cases negotiation was implicit, i.e. a choice about which language(s) to use in text or talk in a particular speech event or speech act. In other cases, however, this negotiation, as indicated in the previous section, was explicit.

Announcements and Meetings

It was shown in the Introduction that when I was invited to speak English to a university employee who is not an English teacher (and does not work regularly with international students or programs), I switched to Russian when I saw she did not understand my English. In fact, in my interactions with university staff, I never heard or spoke Ukrainian, and the only staff with whom I had any interaction in English were either working in international relations, or were preparing to teach classes in English.

It was also shown in Chapter 6 that it is common for teachers at Alfred Nobel University to enter a classroom to make announcements to students. University staff similarly entered classrooms to make announcements, but were never observed switching from Russian to English to accommodate non-Russian speakers. Two observation excerpts illustrate this point. The first was in Dmitri Bogdanovich's economics class when a school photographer came to class:

The photographer asks in Russian if everyone understands Russian. Dmitri Bogdanovich says, "Not everyone" (*ne vsem*). The photographer continues in Russian, saying not to look at him unless he says *vinimanie* (Russian for "attention"). I say this in English to Abdul [a student from Algeria], but he says "I understand." (Field notes, November 30, 2010)

The second instance was in Svetlana Petrovna's (SP's) economics class in which a woman in a white lab coat entered to announce a class had been cancelled:

Woman: *Dobryi Den'*. *MEK Desiat' A?* [Good morning. MEK-10a?]
2-3 Students: *Da*. [Yes.]
Woman: *Segodna u vas fiskulturi ne budet. Vy idete computer diagnog.*
[Today you will not have PE. You will go for a computer diagnostic.]
SP: Do you understand? No physical culture but computer diagnostics.
(Original language from audio file, December 3, 2010)

In the photographer's case, he showed awareness of the presence of non-Russian speakers by asking if everyone understood Russian, but ultimately chose to continue in Russian despite the response that not everyone understood. In the second case, the woman (most likely a doctor at the university's "polyclinic") spoke immediately and directly in Russian. In both cases, the result was the same: someone who knew English and Russian translated the staff member's message into English for those who might not have understood the Russian. This suggests that in some cases, communication may be mediated by a third party in a foreign language to achieve the communicative goals of university staff, without direct nomination of those mediators by those staff.

Another event which underscored the multiplicity of language use was the Applied Linguistics department meeting I attended in late December. The meeting was conducted in Russian by the chair, Oleg Borisovich, but occasionally I heard him switch to Ukrainian. After the meeting when I asked him about his use of Ukrainian, he explained as follows:

Well, actually there are minutes of the departmental meeting, like all of the official documents they're made in Ukrainian. That's why after every question [agenda item], discussing every question, we have some resolution, some decision. And it should be entered into the minutes, it's done in Ukrainian. That's why for the secretary to make it easier, I suggest the text of the decision in Ukrainian. Otherwise, she'll have to translate. So just to make it easier. (Original language from audio file, December 29, 2010)

While the term “official” is used quite broadly here, the fact that the minutes are written in Ukrainian is an accommodation to a university-level policy or practice of documentation in Ukrainian. Oleg Borisovich’s language choice is also an individual accommodation to the secretary; it reduces her burden of having to translate. When I asked Oleg Borisovich if the secretary was fluent in Ukrainian, he again replied in broad terms: “Not many people are fluent in Ukrainian here. But the papers should be in Ukrainian” (original language from audio file, December 29, 2010).

In the same department meeting, EFL teachers for each of the main departments of the university (e.g. Law, Psychology) reported to Oleg Borisovich the number of students receiving each type of grade for the semester. I noticed one EFL teacher spoke in Russian except when saying the ECTS letter grades. Thus, the addition of the grading system with the Bologna Process introduced English not only to an official written document (*vidomist*’), but also to speaking in an otherwise Russian-speaking context. Thus, it can be said in one meeting there were three languages which were oriented to or accommodating interlocutors at three scales. Russian was the language of choice for communicating at the department level, Ukrainian was used to accommodate to the preferred language at the university level, and English was invoked to refer to a grading system implemented at the international level.

State Exams

Before writing and defending a diploma paper in the final year of study (see Chapter 6), students must pass oral and written state exams in professional subjects and foreign languages in their fourth year of study. Viktor Andreyevich explained to me that

exams are taken in “mostly officially Ukrainian” but “reality of course Russian” (original language from audio file, February 21, 2011). However, some departments (e.g. law) require students to take state exams in English and students from other departments may still request to take these exams in English. The language of the exam can also depend on the topic; Oleg Borisovich was able to arrange for me to observe the administration of a Business English oral exam which is conducted in English not because the students are in a program such as the Wales program or philology, but simply because the topic is Business English.

Prior to the exam, I met with one of the university administrators of the Business English exam, Katerina Viktorovna, who explained the format of the exams. The first day is a written exam in which the students perform a translation task and a letter writing task. The oral exam (scheduled 1-3 days later) consists of three parts: 1) a presentation on a topic chosen by the presenter, 2) an oral summary of an article written in English provided by the exam committee, and 3) a discussion in which the examiners ask the student questions about the presentation or the article summary.

When I arrived at the Business English exam, it became clear that the use of language in print and in speech mirrored patterns observed both in the university and in classrooms. A printed A4 sign was taped to the door, this time in both Ukrainian and English (see Figure 8.4). Like the use of English in the timetable, the use of English in this space is directly linked to an ongoing practice in English. Unlike the “Welcome to University” signage, however, the English is not a direct translation of the Ukrainian; the notion that a “state exam” (*derzhavnyi ispyt*) is taking place is not rendered in English, and “Enterprise Economics” (the name of the exam) is not rendered in Ukrainian. That

choice could be a matter of printing space or writing convenience. Pragmatically, the codes are different as well. *Tikho!* [Silence!] is a Ukrainian command punctuated with an exclamation point, while the English command “Don’t Disturb” is ameliorated with a comma followed by “Please”. The yellow note posted on the sign reads “4th year EP (TER) 3207”, a form of shorthand to tell 4th year students from two departments that they should meet in room 3207 rather than their regular room which is being used for this exam. The note is not definitively in Russian or Ukrainian, though technically the names of the departments are read in Ukrainian.



Figure 8.4. Sign in Ukrainian and English. The Ukrainian reads: *Tykho! Ide Derzhavnyi ispyt* [Silence! State exam in progress.] Photo by author, January 2011.

Inside the classroom was a panel of three teachers: Katerina Viktorovna, Dmitri Bogdanovich, and Ludmila Petrovna, a teacher I recognized from my visits to the Translation department. Dmitri Bogdanovich showed me the grading sheet. Similar to the *vidomist*’, but on a half-sheet of paper, there was a table with the names of the students, their order number, and slots for the panelists to record their grades. Everything was in Ukrainian except for the oral and written tasks which were listed as column

headings in English. I observed six students give presentations and/or reading summaries in English.

As seen in classrooms (see Chapter 6), students during the exam occasionally switched to Russian when trying to express a word in English, and teachers invited the use of Russian to clarify the meanings of English words. One student was summarizing an article in English until she said *kak uveren* (Russian for “how can I say ‘trusted’?”). The same student earlier in the article summary said, *seichas, okruzhenie*. *Seichas*, when pronounced as *sichas* or *s’chas* as in this context, can be translated as “hold on”, “let me think,” or “wait [while I think of the word in English]”. *Okruzhenie* means “environment”, the word the student was searching for and which Dmitri Bogdanovich immediately provided in English.

Teachers offered many forms of corrective feedback during students’ presentations and article summaries, including feedback which focused on the relationship between the English term and the Russian equivalent. After another student’s presentation, Ludmila Petrovna asked, “What do you mean ‘trade union.’ What is it in Russian?” When the student answered *profsoiuz*, Ludmila Petrovna gave her preferred alternate “unions of trade.”³⁶ Katerina Viktorovna used a similar approach to clarify the use of the term “industrial park”, but she asked for an explanation, not a translation. Dmitri Bogdanovich made a notation during a student’s presentation that the

³⁶Following teachers’ leads in providing corrective feedback, I interjected that “trade unions” was a better translation than “unions of trade”. I was informed in response that “trade unions” refers to unions for workers, while “unions of trade” is a term for relationships among businesses. Other evidence suggests “trade unions” is the correct translation of *profsoiuz* (Laada Bilaniuk, personal communication, March 27, 2013).

student had rendered the name of a major (and Western) Ukrainian city in English as L'vov, not L'viv. He admonished her, “You have to translate from Ukrainian [L'viv], not Russian [L'vov]”. In the state exam context at Alfred Nobel University, then, English takes precedence over Russian and Ukrainian when it is the medium of the exam. Russian is the default language when English is not the medium of exam, or when students need translation support. Ukrainian emerges as privileged over Russian in written documents about the exam and as the base language for translating place names, but in both cases it shares space with English. Given the ideologies around language expressed in Chapter 6, however, one can conclude that the two languages do not have equal status in the written domain because Ukrainian is a native language and English is a foreign language. Rather, this is another instance of English replacing Russian as the “international” language. On the other hand, completing a state exam in English, as described in Chapter 5, is more prestigious than both Russian and Ukrainian. Thus, both the domain of language use and the nature of the event (and perhaps, the expectations of language use in that event) are factors in understanding the hierarchies of language in the ecology.

Conferences and One-Day Seminars

The use of spoken and/or written Ukrainian at university conferences and seminars—except in cases when a speaker or hearer preferred to use Russian or English—was a recurring pattern observed during fieldwork. For example, a flyer announcing a January 2011 one-day seminar for teachers of foreign languages contained all information about the university and the seminar in Ukrainian except for my

presentation. Even in this case, the presentation of the information contained a mixture of Ukrainian and English as follows: “*Presentatsia doktoranta Universitetu Pensilvanii Bridzhet Gudman* «Effective feedback for developing oral communication skills»”.

Although the title of my presentation is written in English, the quotes around the title are consistent with Ukrainian or Russian punctuation, suggesting that the title is a citation of foreign words used by someone else.

The relationship between the language on paper and the language spoken at the seminar is even more dynamic. Oleg Borisovich’s talk was advertised on that same flyer in Ukrainian, but he delivered his talk in Russian with English phrases relevant to his theme sprinkled throughout. My talk was in English, but I introduced my talk and invited questions in Russian, Ukrainian, and English. (For some reason, no one dared ask questions in any language until after the talk was over.)

Other conferences and seminars I attended at Alfred Nobel University featured speakers who showed PowerPoint slides in one language and delivered their presentation in another language. Each instance reflected a slightly different purpose of the code-channel mix. Below are field notes from an economic science conference I attended in December 2010³⁷. The notes reflect the plenary portion of the conference which, like other conferences I attended during the year, consisted of multiple presentations to the entire conference audience for about an hour and a half:

At the registration table, I am able to get a copy of the program of the conference. The title in Ukrainian is “Ninth International Scientific-Practical Conference of [Secondary School] Youth and [University]

³⁷ Special thanks to Elena Ivanishena for her transcription of portions of this conference video.

Students ‘European Integration Choices of Ukraine and Issues of Macroeconomics’”.

The convenor of the conference (the director of the teaching-methodology center) speaks in Russian. She greets the students as colleagues, and mentions the different universities in Ukraine and Belarus from which students are participating in the conference. I wonder how many of these universities have representation at the conference today, as many teachers submit papers for conferences but do not attend. Also, I note that there are no universities from west of Kyiv.

The first two presenters, students from Alfred Nobel University, speak in Russian. The third presenter, also a student from Alfred Nobel University, speaks in Russian except when referencing economic data in English from *Newsweek* magazine pasted into a PowerPoint slide.

The convenor introduces the next presenter, a guest student from Kyiv Mohyla Academy. His title slide is in English. He announces that he is from Kyiv Mohyla, so he will speak in Ukrainian. The students seem to murmur now. The convenor says the conference is in Russian, Ukrainian, English.

The presenter from Kyiv Mohyla then explains in Ukrainian that his PowerPoint slides are in English because it is difficult to translate and in principle it should be in the original. But I soon realize that even the words “PR,” “emotions” and “age” are on the slides in English, but he mentions them in Ukrainian.

At the end of the presentation, the convenor uses Ukrainian when she says thank you, calls it an interesting presentation, and invites questions (*diakuiu Vam za tsikavyi, dopovid’, pitannia bud’ laska*). An Alfred Nobel University student [not from any focal group, but someone I recognized as a student at the university] negotiates the use of Russian with the presenter, then asks his question in Russian while quoting the presenter in Ukrainian. The presenter answers in Russian while pointing out the English slide.

The convenor now asks the presenter a question in fluent Ukrainian. They continue in Ukrainian. The convenor then closes the session in Ukrainian with the words *diakuiu Vam* [Thank you.] (Field notes, December 16, 2010)

In terms of the use of PowerPoint, both students who chose to use English in their PowerPoint slides did so because it was the original language of the source information,

though they did not speak in this language during their presentation. This suggests that Ukrainian or Russian, not English, are the preferred languages of oral communication for these students. The use of English in the PowerPoint slides also raises the possibility that, as found in Chapter 5, English-language resources offer more opportunities for advancing students' knowledge of economics or including English in one's presentation is a mark of prestige and achievement. The need to present the "original language" in English also is consistent with the observation in Galina Mikhailovna's class (as reported in Chapter 6) that copying information and commenting on it is more important than presenting information in one's own words. The issue of citing information in the original language also emerged when the student, while asking his question in Russian, quoted the presenter in Ukrainian, e.g. "*ia uslyshal takuiu frazu v Vashem doklade, tak, ((reading notes)) 'vse shche ne zavzhdy rozumiut' vsiu vyhodu iz zaoshchadzen'*" [I heard this phrase in your report, yes 'everyone still does not understand all the benefits from savings'] (Original language from video file; Russian in italics, Ukrainian in italics and underlined; December 16, 2010).

A number of other facets of language use emerge in this event. First, the convenor chooses to make her opening remarks in Russian. Like teachers interviewed in Chapter 6, she may feel Russian (rather than Ukrainian or English) is what the majority of the students in the audience who are from Alfred Nobel University and other universities in Ukraine and Belarus will best comprehend. Second, speakers who start in one language will switch to another if they feel their interlocutor needs to converse in a different language. The convenor switched to Ukrainian to address everyone as soon as she heard a presenter using Ukrainian. Her use of the masculine form of the word

“interesting” (*tsikavyi*) and the slight pause before “presentation” (*dopovid*) indicate she was first thinking of the Russian word for presentation, *doklad*, which is masculine (Elena Ivanishena, personal communication, December 1, 2012). The presenter acknowledged an audience member’s question in Russian by switching to Russian. That said, in his answer he struggles twice with Russian; he hesitates before producing the Russian word *sberezhenia* (savings), and uses the Ukrainian word for “assumptions” (*prypushchennia*). These delays and slips may indicate which language is truly dominant for the speaker at that moment. On the other hand, when viewed through the lens of the psycholinguistics of bilingualism, a delay in retrieving vocabulary is a natural outcome of having language processing mechanisms spread across two languages (see Bialystok, 2009).

These language switches are marked by language that serves indirectly as a politeness move and acknowledgement for the switch. The student who spoke in Ukrainian announced that he will speak in Ukrainian because he is from Kyiv Mohyla Academy. This is a state university in Kyiv that allegedly has encouraged students to pledge to use Ukrainian. Moreover, his need to justify his use of Ukrainian here may be a move to index he is not a nationalist who is against the use of Russian, a language he knows is dominant in Dnipropetrovs’k. The convenor’s response that the languages of the conference are Russian, Ukrainian, and English indicates encouragement (or at least, acknowledgement) of the right of the presenter to make this language choice. When the Alfred Nobel University student gets up to ask the Kyiv Mohyla student his question, he asks the presenter *mozhna ia budu*—literally, Russian for “may I (future tense)”, but the presenter anticipates that the student is asking for permission to continue in Russian. He

cuts the student off and tells the student (in Russian), “*da, ia mogu razgovarivat’*”³⁸ *po-russki* [Yes, I can speak in Russian]”.

When I showed a video clip of the interaction between the student and presenter to two third year international economics students, Lyuba and Alla, their initial reaction was not oriented to these linguistic interactional norms at all. Alla said the student was a “stupid” boy who was *nevospitannyi* (not well raised), and whose question indicated that “his brain [is] not ready for those um, interesting and intellectual, conversation.” She reiterated that “it’s not normal behavior, yes? On the conference I remember that he even didn’t put up the hand and he just, sit and ‘ooooooooohh’. It’s not normal, because, that’s why you um, you shouldn’t take the attention on this guy” (original language from audio file, April 4, 2011). While her tone of speaking was not harsh, the disdain behind Alla’s words was visceral. This disdain also accounts for the audience’s laughter when the student stood up to ask his question. Moreover, Alla’s behavioral observations are oriented to the content of his questions and nonverbal cues, not the language he chose to talk in. When I followed up and asked about the presenter’s mixing of languages, they responded as follows:

Bridget: Okay. Uh, how about the mix of languages here? With-
Lyuba: Uh, we see that student who take uh, this presentation here, uh, live in Kyiv. And in Kyiv, we see that languages Ukrainian and Russian are very mixed. And it’s normal to listen in Kyiv Ukrainian language. Uh, but uh, his presentation was in English, and he showed us that in Kyiv, protect uh,
Alla: Ukrainian

³⁸ This is not the standard Russian *govorit’*, but rather a calque of the Ukrainian verb *rozmovliaty* (Elena Ivanishena, personal communication, December 1, 2012).

Lyuba: Ukrainian and they um, (pause) can choose any languages that they know.

Alla: But of course in Kyiv you can um, more often uh, *vstretit'* [meet]

Lyuba: Meet

Alla: Ukrainian language. Not like in Dnipropetrovs'k. In Dnipropetrovs'k almost all people talk on the Russian. (Original English from audio file; translation from Russian in italics; April 4, 2011)

Like my account of the universities represented at the conference and Aleksandr Nikolaevich's discussion of journal publications in Kharkiv and L'viv (see Chapter 6), Lyuba and Alla were oriented to the relationship between geography and language use. That is to say, Lyuba and Alla observed that use of both Ukrainian and Russian is more common in Kyiv than in Dnipropetrovs'k where Russian is predominant. They also saw that this student's choice of Ukrainian served to "protect" the Ukrainian language. When compared with her reaction to the Alfred Nobel University student's line of questioning, their account of language use in different contexts is casual and matter-of-fact. On the other hand, one could speculate that the student's lack of knowledge of Ukrainian is further indexed to his "stupid" image, or that his difficulty processing information in Ukrainian led him to ask a "stupid" question.

When I showed Larisa Ivanovna (LI) the same clip, the pattern of our conversation was very similar, although she was more diplomatic in her account of the Alfred Nobel University student and more critical of the use of languages in this event:

Bridget: First of all, is that a student from-

AT: No, this boy was from Kyiv

Bridget: Well, the presenter was from Kyiv but the boy (who asked the question)

LI: (As for the boy who was asking the question) he is, I don't know the year of study, this is our student, maybe not from our department.

Bridget: Okay.

LI: Because students are forced to attend conferences.

Bridget: Okay (hh). All right, um, what about the use of language there? Do you think that's typical?

LI: What do you mean? English or so,

Bridget: Well, there's a little bit of everything there. He starts in Ukrainian-

LI: He has slides in English, but he decided to give presentation in Ukrainian, that's why students were a little bit uh, embarrassed [confused]³⁹ maybe, and uh, the boy asked him in Russian, asking in Russian it's typical because it's easier to use Russian, the boy was, the presenter was from Kyiv, but then they use Ukrainian, so maybe Ukrainian is, more closer, closer for them. And maybe he wanted to give presentation in English, that's why it was in English, prepared in English, but then he decided to explain the information in Ukrainian. But I don't like this mix of languages, I think if slides are in English so we have to explain in English, as we did this yesterday. So yesterday the conference was better than I think it was in December. (Original language from audio file, March 23, 2011)

Like Alla and Lyuba, Larisa Ivanovna accounted for the presenter's use of Ukrainian as connected with his being from Kyiv. She also suggests that the student's question arose from his confusion in seeing slides in English but hearing a presentation in Ukrainian. However, she spoke critically of the mix of languages. In fact, she notes that a similar conference held the day before (which I did not attend) did not have the code-channel mixing and was better than the conference in December in her opinion. It also had presentations in English that were absent in December. Thus, English is reinforced as a language of prestige in the conference space. Mixing languages, like Ksenia commented in Chapter 6, continues to be marked.

Shifts in the language of oral communication were made not only to accommodate an audience of students, but of teachers as well. I attended two seminars

³⁹It became apparent to me in the course of fieldwork that even teachers of English with a degree in foreign languages do not perceive a difference between the English words "embarrassed" and "confused".

connected with EU grants. At the “7th EU Framework Program for Research and Technical Development-Possibilities for Participation” seminar in January 2011, a presenter, also identified as from Kyiv, again mixed codes and channels of communication, using PowerPoint slides in Ukrainian but speaking in Russian. Yet when a professor in the audience (one of the teachers I was teaching in the intermediate group) asked a question in Ukrainian, the presenter responded in Ukrainian. At a May 2011 seminar on project management, the presenter spoke in English with what I perceived to be a German accent; I later found out he was from Austria. He had an interpreter who translated his speech into Russian, and his slides were in Ukrainian. For the presenter in this seminar (and perhaps for Western Europeans in general), English is the perceived or expected lingua franca. The slides were likely prepared by a bilingual Ukrainian speaker in Germany, or at the EU national office in Kyiv. In either case, the use of Ukrainian in the PowerPoint slide likely reflects an awareness that the official language of the country is Ukrainian. The interpreter, whether from Alfred Nobel University or from Kyiv, spoke Russian out of an awareness that this is the expected or preferred language of communication for teachers at Alfred Nobel University.

Additional evidence suggests these presenters or interpreters were instructed to speak in Russian regardless of their preparations in Kyiv. In March 2011, a Ukrainian representative of the U.S. Fulbright Program (whom I had met at two previous Fulbright events in Kyiv) came to Alfred Nobel University to recruit applicants for U.S. exchange programs. Her PowerPoint slides were in Ukrainian, but she spoke in Russian. When I asked her about that practice afterwards, she said she usually speaks in Ukrainian, but the director of the international relations office at the university told her it would be better for

the students if she used Russian. Like the teachers' choices of medium of instruction for their students described in Chapter 6, the director of international relations expresses concern about the audience's ability to comprehend information in Ukrainian. The Fulbright representative is from central-western Ukraine; she may be more used to speaking Ukrainian at home, as part of official duties of representing an international organization to a national audience, or both. Yet she does not seem offended by the need to switch as Aleksandr Nikolayevich was by his journal editor's request in Kharkiv (see Chapter 6).

The use of language in all of these events suggests that, not surprisingly, Russian is the preferred spoken language at Alfred Nobel University. Individuals who speak Russian, however, usually can and will switch to Ukrainian if the situation calls for it, and Ukrainian individuals who are not from Alfred Nobel University and would normally speak Ukrainian will similarly switch to Russian. This switch does not occur with English unless the speaker is proficient in English (or using English-language source materials), and does not occur from Ukrainian to Russian in the written domain. Ukrainian is also used in accordance with university-level regulations and with individuals who come from Kyiv, but not in the state exams; these exams are ostensibly a domain of the Ukrainian government but are administered directly by university officials in ways that are more consistent with university language policy than national language policy of the time.

The Relative Power of English and Additional Foreign Languages

Chapter 6 described the foreign languages that Alfred Nobel University students may study in addition to English, and the foreign languages that student and teachers use in classrooms. At the university level, however, the appearance of foreign languages other than English appeared to be the result of or confined to productions of the English Philology and Translation department. The only place I saw a sign in a foreign language (other than English) at the university was outside this department, as seen in Figure 8.5.



Figure 8.5. French language poster *Bonne Année* [Happy New Year]. Photo by author, December 2010.

As was noted in Chapter 7, this department also organizes an annual student conference. At the 2011 conference, the theme “The Youth of Ukraine in cross-cultural communication context” was printed on the cover of the program in six languages in the following order: Ukrainian, English, Spanish, French, German, and Polish. The multilingual titling suggests that the conference is organized for and oriented to multiple languages, though Ukrainian and English are at the top of the list. The inside cover

shows the text is in Ukrainian except for the titles of presentations to be made in a foreign language. The language use during the conference, however, demonstrated that the aim of running a multilingual conference was being achieved. In addition to a student from Congo who spoke in Russian as a foreign language, there were plenary presentations by teachers and students in Spanish, English, German, and French. Each speaker of a foreign language was assigned a student who did simultaneous interpretation of the presentation, usually into Russian or Ukrainian. In one case, a teacher spoke in Spanish while a student (from the focal 2nd year philology group) translated into Russian; they switched halfway through and the student spoke Spanish while the teacher interpreted.

Despite the diversity of languages represented at the philology conference, there were also indicators of dominance of English in the foreign language hierarchy. A scan of the papers listed in each “section” [*sektisia* in Ukrainian] of the conference underscores the imbalance of representation of English and additional foreign languages. Eight of the nine sections of the conference have papers in English only. The largest of these sections is “Current Issues in Linguistics and Translation” [*Suchasni Problemy Movoznavstva ta Perekladu* in Ukrainian] with 140 papers in English, and the smallest is Psychology with one paper (also in English). While it is possible presenters cited words in other languages while writing about or presenting on these issues—or did not present their published paper at the conference at all—the overall implication is that English is the main language for discussing linguistics or translation from any language to any language.

Another section with large representation in English is “Current Issues in Economics and Business” [*Suchasni Problemy Movoznavstva ta Perekladu* in Ukrainian], with 119 papers across the three subsections titled in English. Papers in German, French,

and Spanish are presented in separate subsections of the section “Sociocultural Aspects of Teaching Modern Foreign Languages”. Collectively, the section is slightly larger than the Economics and Business section with 122 papers.

While the relegation of German, French, and Spanish to separate sub-sections may be pragmatic in that not all attendees of the conference will understand these languages, this choice indexes the dominance of English as the “first foreign language.” Moreover, many of the section subjects—e.g. Business and Economics, Environmental Protection, Information Technology, and Methods of Foreign Language Teaching—as well as the choice to include the subjects in the curriculum—reflect the perceived economic value of English at an international scale (see Crystal, 2003).

The privileging of English was reinforced during the plenary portion of the conference. Two students gave a presentation about Quebec; one spoke in French while the second student translated into English. While it is possible this choice reflected the fact that French and English are the two official languages of Canada, at the end of the presentation, one man got up and asked indignantly in French, “why French and English?” A professor who spoke French replied to him in French, *tout le monde parle anglais* [everyone speaks English] (field notes, March 24, 2011). The notion that “everyone speaks English” underscores the ideology that English is the most widespread and therefore important foreign language, both in the conference and in the university as a whole. The man’s complaint is a twofold metapragmatic commentary: in the conference event the expected “native language” for translation is either Russian or Ukrainian, not English, and not everyone in the audience can be expected to know English. Finally, the paradox exists that the man’s complaint about the lack of Ukrainian

or Russian and the teacher's response in support of English both take place in an additional language, French. Thus, the choice of language to speak itself often but not always indexes one's language ideology; at other times the language used and the ideology expressed about that language or other languages are contradictory.

Linkages to Circulating Ideologies about English and Additional Foreign Languages

The philology conference organization demonstrates that multiple languages are valued, but English plays a wider role in communication and dissemination of economic or social knowledge. In contrast, multiple statements (and to some extent, actions) by Wales program students demonstrate that both English **and** a second foreign language (in addition to Russian and Ukrainian) are languages of power. In our interview, Nina said that her mother gave her an article about the market in Latin America, and gave her the idea of learning Spanish—in other words, for the purpose of doing business in Latin America. This accounts for Nina's decision to inquire at the Applied Linguistics department about classes in Spanish, which she was planning to start taking in September 2011 (field notes December 29, 2010). In Chapter 6, it was reported that Ksenia aims to know three languages. For the purposes of finding a job, she talked about learning Chinese as a 4th language:

Bridget: Okay. Um, how important are these languages for finding work in the future?

Ksenia: I think, uh, that these languages are very important just for nowadays. Because uh, when people apply for work, they have to know not less than three languages. For example, Ukrainian, Russian, and German. Or, Ukrainian, Russian, and (pause) English. Ukrainian, Russian, or Spanish. Because you have to know, uh, one mother tongue language, um but the other mother tongue language, Russian, (hhhh), in brackets of course. And the other foreign language. (hh) For example, I want to learn Chinese, to know four languages. To use them in future. I think it will

help me to apply for work. (Original language from audio file, February 24, 2011)

Ksenia does not know Chinese yet; when I asked her if she did she responded with *konnichiwa*, which is Japanese. She is considering moving to China to work, and sees learning Chinese as consistent with the ecology of a future site of employment. Moreover, knowing three (or in her case, four) languages can increase one's marketability in an environment that demands a minimum of three languages, one of which does not necessarily have to be English.

In our interview, Evgeny told me he speaks Ukrainian with his grandmother and Russian with his parents, who speak Ukrainian poorly. He studied in a Ukrainian kindergarten [pre-school], a Russian-medium elementary and secondary school, and studied English and German at a private school of foreign languages. He felt it “would be not bad to finish studying of German language”, but “It's my dream to study Chinese language or some of Asian languages” (original language from audio file, March 3, 2011). In an unstructured conversation after the interview, Evgeny revealed an awareness of the power imbalance among “Asian languages” which parallels English and which he links to circulating discourses about that power worldwide. He asked me, “is it truth that you know six languages?” As I tried to explain the languages I know and the varying degrees to which I feel I know them, I happened to mention that I know “a very few words of Korean”, which triggered the response as follows:

Nikolai: *Koreiskyi*. [Korean.]

Bridget: *Da, koreiskyi*. [Yes, Korean.]

Evgeny: I-

Nikolai: He likes Korean.

Bridget: Oh yeah?

Evgeny: A few days later I was watching the alphabet of the Korean language.

Bridget: Oh yeah!

Evgeny: This thing was like, lines

Bridget: Yeah, yeah. Like, like that's *oh*. ((I draw it on paper)) Yeah it's, it's a fascinating language. It's um, I think the writing is easier to learn than Chinese because every you know set of lines, it's a phonetic, it's not character based.

Evgeny: But if I will choose, from the Chinese and Korean I will choose the Korean, but relationship with China is more important nowadays. So that's I want to start study the Chinese.

Bridget: Yeah, a lot of people in the States feel the same way. I only know Korean because I taught English in Korea for six months. So I had to learn a little bit. But yeah, Chinese is definitely- which do you think is more important, or will be more important in the future, English or Chinese?

Evgeny: I think Chinese. There is lot of scientists that says the same. I was reading a, in newspapers, in Internet, where the scientists also from the USA told the same things. So I think Chinese. (Original language from audio file; translation from Russian in brackets; March 3, 2011)

In saying “if I will choose from the Chinese and Korean I will chose the Korean”,

Evgeny expresses a personal preference for Korean. Yet he wants to study Chinese

instead because “relationship with China is important nowadays.” He does not specify

what type of relationship, but the use of the word “nowadays” suggests the recent

economic growth of China. He also has gleaned reports in “newspapers” and “Internet”

by scientists in the USA which suggest Chinese will be more important in the future than

English. On a personal level, Evgeny also mentioned that his family moved around to a

few different cities for work while he was a child, and at one point he lived with his

grandmother while they were working in Russia. That experience may have shaped his

view that he needs to forsake personal language interests in favor of the language with

the greatest economic gain.

Chapter Conclusion

It has been shown in this chapter that while Russian is perceived as the dominant language in the university, followed (perhaps) by English, Ukrainian is prevalent in the written domain and in certain speech acts. However, these domains and speech acts are official and not part of the daily reality of language practices at the university. The fact that Ukrainian often shares space with English suggests that English is replacing Russian in print contexts as the international language, but Russian's position as a native language (or at least, language spoken at home) for most people at the university complicates that categorization. Furthermore, English is one of many foreign languages valued by students and teachers if they have a penchant for languages (i.e. philology) or international work. Even in these moments, a hierarchy emerges in which English is a dominant international language and additional languages are chosen based on personal interests and ecological or economic needs (or both). Chinese is increasingly a language of power as well, and is a possible future rival to the predominance of English. Perhaps most surprising is that parallel to English's dominance as an international language among European languages and in the world, Chinese emerges as a language that eclipses Evgeny's rather unique interest in other Asian languages due to China's economic power and status in the world.

CHAPTER 9

DISCOURSES AND IDEOLOGIES AROUND LANGUAGE, EDUCATION, AND POLICY

The purpose of the current chapter is to build on previous chapters, which laid out implicit cultural norms of language practices, and explore more explicit connections between comments in and out of Wales program classes on the one hand and language or educational policies that impact the Wales program and the university on the other. There are spaces in the classroom where regulatory practices related to the Wales program are discussed, and where the implicit language policy for English-medium classes becomes explicitly enacted through requests from teachers and students to “Speak English.” Contrary to expectations, however, most students and teachers did not discuss national language policy in or out of class, and direct questions about national language policy yielded a range of responses about not only language and education at personal and national levels but also national and international politics and economics. Many of the interview responses to questions around language policy are oriented to four themes: 1) choices by individual students and teachers, classes, universities, and across universities in how language-in-education policy is designed and implemented; 2) the perception that choices by Ukrainian politicians in how language policy is designed is based on their desired relations with other countries and/or their individual language skills; 3) the perception among Ukrainians that their government is unstable or untrustworthy; and 4) Ukraine’s current status as a developing country relative to the EU. Studying in English and desires for European integration emerge as linked with personal

and national aspirations to a “European” way of life in political, economic, social, educational, and linguistic terms.

Language-in-Education Policy Implementation Discourse

The purpose of this section is to elucidate the examples of discourse that emerged in Alfred Nobel University classrooms around language-in-education policy. Recent ethnographic research on the impact of language policy and planning on language teaching classroom discourse includes: interpretations of language-in-education policy at different phases of Title III and No Child Left Behind (NCLB) policy development and implementation (Hornberger & Johnson, 2007; Johnson, 2009, 2010); socialization to syllabi and other policies or policy texts in teacher education programs (Hult, 2010); and corrective feedback of vocabulary and pronunciation to orient students to a policy of using a non-Russified variety of the national language, Ukrainian (Friedman, 2009). At Alfred Nobel University, teachers and students did not refer to named Ukrainian policies or regulations as Johnson found in Philadelphia. What did emerge were a) references to the Wales program as a program carried out in English and regulated by an external power, and b) corrective feedback from teachers that focused both on linguistic features and on the choice of language itself.

Acts of Control: Wales Program Regulatory Practices

Direct references to the regulatory mechanisms of the Wales program were few and far between; I heard only two such references during classes, both from Svetlana Petrovna. She “officially congratulated” students because the university received the official documents for their program, telling students they “will have a real possibility to

be students of Wales University” (field notes, November 19, 2010). When students did not react to this news with excitement, she repeated the information in Russian: *Kto ne ponial? Vchera napisano...nasha programma ofitsial’no* [Who has not understood? Yesterday it was written...our program is official] (paraphrased quotes from original English and Russian, November 19, 2010). The official documents Svetlana Petrovna referred to were part of the process of “validation” of the Wales program mentioned in Chapters 4 and 5. The second time I heard Svetlana Petrovna speak to the students about the Wales program was in connection with a campus visit made by the University of Wales team in March 2011:

Svetlana Petrovna tells students that on the 23rd of March, there will be visitors from Wales University. “They want to check your English, your knowledge, look into your eyes. On the 24th of March you will meet them. I’ll tell you the hours of your meeting later. Did everyone understand?” One or two students say yes. (Paraphrased quote from original English, field notes, February 10, 2011)

Svetlana Petrovna told me in her interview that in addition to teaching, one of her duties has been developing partnerships and exchange programs with universities. The partnership developed with the University of Wales reflected a year’s worth of effort on her part. While Svetlana Petrovna was part of a team involved in the validation process (including the rector and other Wales program teachers who reported having administrative responsibilities), she seems to feel obligated to report on these stages of the program development to the students. The focus of that obligation is on reporting practices by the University of Wales which involve “checking” or controlling students’ English and knowledge.

This “checking” presence of the University of Wales emerged in conversations with other Wales program teachers. On separate occasions, Viktoria Sergeyevna, Svetlana Petrovna, and Aleksandr Nikolayevich described to me how starting from the students’ second year, teachers will send the University of Wales team samples of students’ tests and essays for “review” (field notes, April 1, 2011), “to verify that they belong in the program” (field notes, December 3, 2010), or as part of “communication on a permanent basis” in which “they will control every two or three months” (field notes, April 8, 2011). “Control” in this context does not necessarily mean restriction or oppression of teaching practices; rather, the connotation of the word is assessment and evaluation, much as the Russian term *kontrolnaia rabota* (literally “control work”) refers to a final course paper or exam.

The March 2011 visit by the University of Wales made its way discursively and practically into my intermediate class for future teachers of English. One of the teachers, Larisa Pavlovna (LP), made the following plea for help to prepare to meet with the Wales program team:

LP: Ah, dear, dear Bridget. Help, help me please. Tomorrow, we, I have maybe and Nadezhda Aleksandrovna and Alla Evgenovna [two of LP’s colleagues in my class] uh, meeting with Wales uh,

Bridget: Oh!

LP: With Wales uh *kak eta* [how would you say] with Wales um,

Bridget: *na russkom kak* [in Russian how to do you say]

LP: Professors

Bridget: Professors, okay

LP: About our courses in uh, finance. And uh, maybe now we, uh, we uh talk about it and uh, uh, *gotovit'*, [to prepare]

Bridget: prepare

LP: Trainer and prepare this step. Type. What about it?

Bridget: It’s a very good idea for both of us. (hh)

LP: Because we know about it in the, this morning. And we, we must, we must uh be uh *gotovo* [prepared]

Me: Ready

NA: Ready.

LP: We must be ready. To this meeting. (Original language from audio file, March 23, 2011)

We then spent a large portion of the lesson on Larisa Pavlovna's attempts to explain her field and the courses she teaches.

A number of issues emerge from these limited tokens of classroom discourse and conversations with teachers. My conversation with Larisa Pavlovna indicates this "checking" or "control" focuses not only on the students' knowledge of English, but also the teachers'. All of these control mechanisms produce anxiety for the teachers. Larisa Pavlovna is concerned about her own knowledge of English, while Aleksandr Nikolayevich and Svetlana Petrovna (in comments not quoted here; see chapter 5 for a further discussion) express concerns about whether their students have the necessary English language skills to meet the Wales program evaluation team's standards. Finally, references to "control" by the Wales program index the power structure of the program. Although this is a "joint degree" program, the responsibility for developing and implementing the program is not shared jointly; it is implemented by Alfred Nobel University under the supervision of the University of Wales. Consistent with observations by Jenkins (2011), this power dynamic is accepted rather than problematized, because the relationship is seen as necessary from the Alfred Nobel University side for the development of the university and its programs. Finally, there are issues raised about the timing of implementation of regulatory measures. The students in the Wales program had a year to prepare their skills, and teachers currently in the Wales program had at least a month if not more to prepare for the Wales program visit and start

to prepare for the second year. Future teachers, however, had one day's notice to prepare for their meeting. This minimal degree of advance notification for meetings and events is quite common at Alfred Nobel University and at other universities in Ukraine.

“Speak English”

Generally there is an openness and fluidity of use of English and Russian or Ukrainian in EFL and EMI classes, and teachers and students are oriented to using Russian for the purposes of completing a learning task successfully (see Chapter 6). There were occasions, however, when students' use of a language other than English was considered inappropriate for the task or interaction at hand. In these cases, the teacher instructed the student or students directly to speak in English with phrases such as “in English please”, “speak English”, or even “I don't understand Russian.” These occasions were observed across EFL and EMI classes, and were directed to students in group or pair work activities and whole class discussions. The commands also seem to be oriented in two ways: 1) to discourage students from starting a discussion in Russian (as opposed to trying to speak in English first and then switching to Russian if necessary) and 2) to complete tasks whose main purpose was speaking practice in the target language. For example, in an EFL class, Viktor Andreyevich gave students a “Fantasy Ball” assignment in which each student wrote 1-2 sentences as a story starter and passed it to a partner, who wrote an additional 1-2 sentences. This continued until the entire class had contributed to all students' stories. While students were working on this task, Viktor Andreyevich approached me and said:

Maybe you have noticed, whenever they are doing their writing tasks, I don't pay much attention to the Russian. Let them do it in Russian,

because the task is writing. I'm not dealing with speaking. That's why. Actually, if again you have noticed my approach is totally pragmatic. What is more reasonable, or rational, for just that particular situation. (Original language from audio file, October 21, 2010)

Consistent with his self-observation, I observed Viktor Andreyevich in two classes asking students not to speak Russian when the task was discussing questions, as a field notes excerpt from one of these classes illustrates:

Viktor Andreyevich tells the class (while reading the questions from the book), “what I want you to discuss is... when you can call someone a monster? What features are necessary to be called a monster? You understand features? (He says it in Russian, then again in English). Can you give examples of people who can be called monsters? Can a person be a monster in some respects (explains in some respects in Russian) and worthwhile admirable and others? Can you give examples of such people? So I will give you (pause) some time to discuss. After you finish, you should summarize and one person will be the speaker, will give ideas.” The students gather into groups to discuss the questions and are soon speaking in a mix of English and Russian. Viktor Andreyevich must hear the students speaking as well, because he says, “please don’t use Russian when you are discussing”. (Field notes, September 22, 2010)

Since Viktor Andreyevich was only observed teaching a few lectures for the Wales program classes, there are no equivalent examples in those lectures. As for other Wales program EMI classes, the following field notes excerpt shows Dmitri Bogdanovich’s request in an economics seminar for students to speak first in academic English, then in English in general:

Dmitri Bogdanovich (DB) raps on the desk and tells students, “stop talking.” The teacher now asks Masha and Sergei, “What are you discussing?” Sergei answers: “We discuss why men live longer”. DB corrects: “Use scientific terms. Why is life expectancy higher?” Sergei responds: “Women-their expense is lower.” He switches to Russian, and DB provides the English equivalent: “They help each other.” Sergei continues in Russian: *Ona* [She]...DB reprimands: “Speak English”. (Field notes, December 1, 2010)

In the 3rd economics class, Larisa Ivanovna targeted her comments to students working in pairs, saying “I hope you are discussing everything in English, even thinking in English” (field notes, September 9, 2010). While the request to speak in scientific terms was quite rare, the demand to “speak English” in whole class discussions and conversations seemed to occur when a student started to speak in Russian to answer a question, and in pair work when students should be speaking in English. All of these expressions by the teachers seem oriented to students’ insufficient display of English for communicating in an EMI classroom, which also constitutes a breach of the policy of using English as the medium of communication.

Interestingly, in the 2nd year philology group, I did not observe Viktor Andreyevich telling students to speak English. Most students in this group used English for the majority of their practice conversations, and used Russian only to translate words or, occasionally, for organizational matters. This could be connected with their proficiency in English as 2nd year philology students. It could also be that since this was their second year studying with Viktor Andreyevich, he had already socialized them to the parameters of speaking English in the first year of study. In either case, the philology students showed their linguistic and pragmatic orientation to complying with a policy of using English as much as possible, and did not need to be told to speak English.

Students also occasionally asked each other to speak English in pair and group work activities. This may show either uptake of this instruction from their teachers, dedication to honoring the main language of the class, or both. In one class, such a request by the student was made to accommodate students who speak English as an L1 (see Chapter 7). However, in the case of both homogeneous and heterogeneous groups, a

student's switch to English as a response to a peer's request was sustained only for several turns before turning again to Russian.

Collectively, the tokens of discussion around the Wales program and requests to "Speak English" index the nature of language and educational policy implementation at Alfred Nobel University. The discourses about the Wales program in and out of class show recognition of the University of Wales' authority to regulate teachers' and students' abilities to use English. Commands to "speak English" across EFL, Wales program classes, and 3rd year economics contexts, combined with the "pragmatic" approach to English and Russian noted in Chapters 6-8, indicate the highly localized nature of language-in-education policy. In other words, the requirement to speak English is not merely a function of an English-medium policy at the international, national, or university level, but rather a choice made by each teacher in conjunction with students, enacted as the teacher or students see fit.

Language-in-Education Policy and Discourses of Ukrainian Politics

To better situate the Wales program and other courses taught in English in the Ukrainian language and higher education policy context, I posed questions to students and teachers in interviews which typically took a three-question sequence. The first question, "What is the state language of Ukraine?" was answered without hesitation as "Ukrainian" except by two Nigerian students who thought it might be Russian. The second question was "Is that also the language of higher education?" If the answer to this second question was "yes" I followed up with, "So how is it possible for you to take classes in English?" Occasionally the third question was replaced with or followed up

with a fourth question, “Do you feel studying in English is conducted according to the regulations, or outside of them? Is that important to you?” Table 9.1 shows responses to this question set, sorted according to four themes that emerged: 1) the Wales program is a special program for studying in foreign languages; 2) teaching in English (or Russian) is a university-level choice, 3) it is personally easy (now) to study in English; and 4) the regulations about the medium of instruction are unknown and not important.

Table 9.1

Perceived Relationships Between the Medium of Instruction at Alfred Nobel University and National Language-in-Education Policy

Name	Question Response
<i>It is a Special Program for Foreign Languages (Wales Program Students and Teachers)</i>	
Ksenia	Yeah, it's possible, it's possible. I know that it's possible because um, first of all, we have a special program. Which let us to study at the other language...Um, (pause), for example, if you know English you can study on English. There are a lot of programs to study on that language that it's suitable for you. For example, some people don't know Ukrainian and they know Russian. They can come here from Russian, Russia, and want to study here. So there are programs which let to, people students, to learn on Russian and it's suitable for them. If you're Chinese you can learn on Chinese language. It's okay, it's uh, just program. (hh). It's special program it's not a something like uh mm, not loving our language.
Pyotr	<i>Nu, my kak by uchimsia seichas po programme Uel'skogo universiteta. Poetomy schitaiu normal'nym.</i> [Well, like, we study in the Wales program. For that reason I think it's normal.]
Evgeny	Because I'm studying on the Wales program.
Viktoria Sergeyevna	So there is a permission, and there are special programs and projects for students who are from abroad, for foreign students, and uh, to increase uh, financial opportunities of universities, they are allowed to offer mm, programs in other languages, including English or any other foreign language.

Svetlana Petrovna Because Ministry of Education accept our application.

Viktor Andreyevich As to English, well of course when we teach English to students it's in English, as to the Wales program, it's actually not against the legislation at all, I remember that's one of the questions. Because in the law of education of Ukraine, universities are allowed to use uh, foreign languages for teaching process, there is nothing illegitimate or irregular in that.

It's the University's Choice/They Just Do It

Nina Oh, hh, well, we just take it and that is all. Bridget: Okay. I mean, do you think these classes are offered according to the regulations, or not? Nina: I think yes.

Oksana/Aleksandra Bridget: Uh, is [Ukrainian] also the official language of higher education? Oksana: Uh Aleksandra: In some universities maybe, yes. Bridget: Okay. (pause) And what about here? Oksana: It's Russian. Bridget: It's Russian. Okay. Oksana: Because it's private university.

Miroslav Bridget: But I mean, how does the univ-how do you have the right, how do you have, do you believe that these classes are offered according to the regulations or are they offered outside of the regulations? Miroslav: I think they are in regulations, just because, even, the Ukrainian language is official for studying in our universities. But you know, in our, I think in all of our universities, just when teacher comes to the class, just he always just asks, what language we would use in our classes, Russian or Ukrainian?

Aleksandr Um, (pause), because it's just like some, I don't know, every university can make this.

Studying in English is Not Difficult for Me (Anymore)

Katya, Natalia, Marina Katya: It's quite interesting to study in English. And it's not difficult as I thought about it. Natalia: No, it's not difficult. Katya: In the beginning Natalia: On our first class it was, it was really scary. Marina: Yeah. Natalia: From the very first minute she started talking English. Only English. Natalia: And so quick. So fast. Marina: But eventually, it's okay now.⁴⁰

⁴⁰ See Chapter 5 for a discussion of teachers' speaking pace and the implications for teaching and learning in English.

- Nikolai I think it's normal for me to study in English. At first time it was difficult, not difficult, it's not, *neprivychno, neprivychno*, [I was unaccustomed, I was unaccustomed,] but, in a few weeks, I, *privyk, privyk, privyk, vot* [got accustomed, got accustomed, got accustomed, so], and, now it's normal for me. I understand almostly what's teachers said and it's normal.
- Miroslav Um, I think it's not a problem because if I can understand something in English, it's not a problem for me just to translate it in Ukrainian.

I Don't Know What the Regulations Are/The Regulations Are Not Important

- Vasily Bridget: Do you think classes are being taught at this university in English and Russian in accordance with national regulations, or outside of it? Vasily: I'm actually not sure what the regulations are. Bridget: Is that important for you? Vasily: Well, I like that we study in Russian because it's easier for us.
- Sergei Bridget: So, if the official language is Ukrainian and it should be Ukrainian how, how do you have the possibility to take classes in English? Sergei: I don't understand the question. Me: *Nu*, [Well,] do you believe that classes are taught here in English according to the regulations? *V sootvetstviu* [In accordance] Sergei: *Sootvetstvuiut* [They comply?] Bridget: *Uh, sushchestvuiushchim zakonodatel'stvom? Ili net?* [In accordance with regulations? Or not?]. Sergei: *Mmm, navernoe, net.* [Mmm, maybe not.]. Maybe not. Bridget: Maybe not. Is that important for you? ((Sergei shakes his head)) Bridget: No, okay. Sergei: It seems not so important for me. Because I speak in any language.
- Andrei Andrei: How it's possible on, in the point of view of law or on the point of view of me? Bridget: Both. ((Laughter)) Andrei: Of law it's I don't know, we have the Ukrainian program [curriculum, set of courses] and that was in Ukrainian that's so, it's Ukrainian history, the history of Ukrainian culture, Ukrainian and some, some other, I don't like them very much...So, so, we have it from the point of law, I think, it's okay, so, from my points of view, I don't like Ukrainian very much and so for me it's okay, too.

Note: Statements answer the question, “how is it possible for you to take classes in English?” unless otherwise indicated.

While several people commented that teaching and learning in English is possible because the Wales program is a special program under the law, Ksenia's and Viktoria

Sergeyevna's comments imply that this law is about people who are native speakers of a foreign language, not native Ukrainians. That combined with Viktoria Sergeyevna's comment about increasing financial opportunities for universities help explain why the program recruits students from Nigeria. Ksenia's comment, "it's not something like, not loving our language", indicates that she does not see the Wales program or studying in English as a threat to Ukrainian or a lack of patriotism, though she may feel the need to justify her choice not to study in Ukrainian. Ksenia grew up in a town west of Dnipropetrovsk where people generally speak more Ukrainian than Russian. Her family speaks more Russian, she told me, because her parents and grandparents studied Russian at school during the Soviet Union. She also told me during the interview that some businesses such as McDonalds have a "rule" of speaking Ukrainian. Thus, Ksenia showed deep awareness of the historical and current policies at various levels which shape language use, and how the Wales program at Alfred Nobel University is situated in a political and linguistic culture which favors Ukrainian as the native language.

Another set of students focused on language-in-education policy at the university level, not the program level. Nina and Aleksandr said offering courses in English is what universities do, though they were not able to account for how universities come to make that choice. Oksana and Aleksandra also framed the policies about the language of higher education as a university-level choice, but Oksana focused on the fact that Alfred Nobel University uses Russian because it is a private university.

The remaining students focused on personal choices and personal opportunities. Katya, Natalia, Marina, Nikolai, and Miroslav did not recognize the role of policy at all; they oriented their answers to the personal nature of studying in English, i.e. how they

feel about studying in English. Vasily and Sergei also focused on the personal benefits of studying in English or Russian (not Ukrainian) as they wish. Andrei acknowledged that the law required him to study certain subjects in Ukrainian, but if the university chooses not to offer additional subjects in Ukrainian (i.e. to offer them in English instead) he will be satisfied because he prefers not to use Ukrainian. Miroslav indicated that Ukrainian is the official language of higher education, but individual teachers make the final choice anyway based on their students' wishes. All of these observations suggest that language policies are implemented to the degree that individuals, classes, and universities decide they are compatible with their own interests.

In addition to the array of answers above, some students oriented their answers to the interplay of language and political issues at national and international levels, as seen in Table 9.2.

Table 9.2

General Observations on Language and Government

Name	Question Response
Alla/Lyuba	Bridget: So, how is it possible that you're able to take classes in English and Russian? Alla: Uh, maybe you know that it's history fighting, Ukrainian and Russian language. I, As I've, mm, from my childhood, and now I know that always government speak about you know, we should use only Ukrainian language, but some uh, representatives of Russian culture they want, um, the point is, the Russia want, don't want the uh, our movement to, to European Union. Because there are um, confused, if, we uh, will not use uh Russian language it will be one step to the European Union and uh not for all people it good. Because of that, representative in government of Russian culture, like [Ukrainian President Viktor] Yanukovich, [Ukrainian Prime Minister Nikolai] Azarov, if you know, they don't want to only Ukrainian language, because their native language is Russian, and if you

	hear, they um, speak on Ukrainian terrible. Not um, not like uh, people of, not like President and Vice-President of country.
Irina/Elena	<p>Bridget: What language is the STATE language? Irina: Ukrainian. Elena: Of course. Bridget: And is that also the official language of higher education? Irina: Uh, yes. Elena: Yes.</p> <p>Bridget: But? Irina: But nowadays our government has some problems with uh, Ukrainian, maybe um, for example, we have a special law, of, (xx) um, I don't know, that manage, gov, that manage government to speak only in Ukrainian, but then this law was um, removed, I don't know, Because some of our, some our main people ministers, can't sometimes- Elena: They don't know Ukrainian (hh). Irina: It's unfortunately. But this um, only last year, problem. I guess. And that is why we have a lot of meetings of uh, national groupings of Ukrainians, that said uh, think that Ukrainian should be everywhere, in education, in government, on papers and so on. On television also.</p>
Sveta/Diana	<p>Bridget: Now, what is, the official language of the country? Or what are the official languages of Ukraine? Sveta: Ukrainian! Diana: Only Ukrainian. Unfortunately it only Ukrainian and since uh 2004, there has been a stereotype that Russia and Ukraine are enemies. But it's not like, this. Because there are a lot of people who has relatives in Russia and Ukraine, and uh, unfortunately our governments, was trying us to make enemies. Sveta: You know that Caesar said that you should split and reign, like, he said, to make uh, nation or people more um, more, I don't know, um, more easy to um, what it-Bridget: to control? Sveta: Control. Bridget: Divide and conquer. Sveta: Yes, yes, yes, divide and conquer. So they want us to split, to say bad things on each other, I mean the nations like Ukrainian and Russian, but we were the same nation for so many years, and uh, we are, the only for, we are mm, <i>nezavisimii</i>, independent country, for only 20 years...Diana: I have relatives in Dnipropetrovs'k, they have also my relatives but I don't know them very well, from Russian, and when they came from Russian to us, we talked from them and maybe it was maybe in 11th form [grade], I maybe was a bit afraid that they very bad and so on, but they maybe with laughing said that we are the same nation. Sveta: Yes. We like Ukraine, and we also like Russian though I haven't been there, though I know that my grandparents uh, are from there.</p>

Alla, Irina, and Elena all commented on the fact that the leaders of the current Ukrainian government do not know Ukrainian as well as they know Russian, or even well enough to be considered respectable leaders of Ukraine. Irina said the politicians' lack of

knowledge of Ukrainian led to the revocation of legislation requiring government officials to speak Ukrainian. Alla also argued that the maintenance of Russian (alongside or instead of Ukrainian) was part of efforts by pro-Russian Ukrainian politicians to keep Ukraine from moving towards the EU. Alla's observations, then, may reflect a belief that Yanukovich has a covert pro-Russian policy which stands in contrast with his overt pro-European policy. They may also reflect her ideologies about Yanukovich's political stance based on his Ukrainian and Russian language skills. The belief in a covert pro-Russian policy is not supported by the Yanukovich administration's overt desires both to have a European Association Agreement and membership in the Russia-led customs union. However, her ideologies about the relationship between Yanukovich's language skills and his politics are supported by Yanukovich's passage of the relative pro-Russian language law in 2012. Sveta and Diana see the Ukrainian government's language policy not only as indicative of its relationship with Russia, but also as its desire for power over its citizens. Their basis for this observation is their experience with family members from Russia who see Ukraine and Russia as the same—an observation which they feel stands in contrast to the government's position.

The previous statements around questions aimed at understanding English's role in Ukrainian language-in-education policy can be summarized in two main points. One, the comments that studying in English (not Ukrainian or Russian) is part of a special program, is the university's choice, or is personally acceptable reinforce the findings in the classroom that language-in-education policy is only partially controlled by national or international governing bodies. Individual choice plays a critical role. As a Russian saying goes, *zakon kak dyshlo, kuda povernësh'—tuda i vyshlo* (the law is like a bridled

horse—it will go in the direction you turn it) (Oleg Tarnopolsky, personal communication, October 11, 2010). Second, that same power over the law is perceived to be exercised by politicians in the national government to shape national language policy for personal benefit and ease of communication, or to shape alliances with other countries.

No Faith in Government

In her ethnographic study of secondary school students' and teachers' conceptualizations of democracy, freedom, and justice, Fournier (2012), informed by Ries' ethnographic fieldwork in Russia (2002), describes the cynicism typically expressed by students in classes observed in Kyiv. Among her observations on this issue, Fournier notes that students challenged teachers' notions of equality under the law by commenting that individuals with money or government connections can avoid punishment. She also observed students making wry comments about Ukraine's military and economic status that left their teachers nostalgic for the patriotism felt in Soviet times as well as saddened by their students' lost childhood.

A similar pattern emerged in my interviews and classroom observations. In Chapter 5, it was noted that Andrei was interested in the Wales program because the Ukrainian economy and government are not good, and the Wales program might offer the opportunity of working abroad. When I asked students and teachers the question, "What languages do you think will be common in Ukraine in 25 years?" two students replied that it "depends on the government", which could be interpreted as suggesting the government has the power to direct the use of language. Two other students, however,

replied with skepticism about whether there would be a Ukraine in 25 years, including

Andrei:

Bridget: Yeah. Which languages do you think will be common in Ukraine? *Obshchepriniaty* [common] in Ukraine in 25 years?

Andrei: I think it will be Russian and Ukrainian, so, but I doubt, I don't know will Ukraine exist in 25 years? (hh) It's very big doubts (hh) about it.

Bridget: Why do you say so?

Andrei: So, because I, from the not big experience of my life, I, fff, see what the happening there, it's very, very, I don't know how to say it even!

Bridget: *Nu, po-russki mozhno*. [Well, you can say it in Russian.]

Andrei: *Eto uzhasno! Eto* [It's horrible! It's], it's

Bridget: *Nu, chto uzhasno, politiki?* [What is terrible, the politicians?]

Andrei: *Politiki i, politiki ekonomiku zagoniaut v raznye nekhorošie mesta. (hh) Nu, tak vot.* [Politicians and uh, politicians drive the economy to a number of bad places. Something like that.]

Bridget: Just overall a big mess.

Andrei: Yes, just I think, maybe it's very big, um, *vozmozhnost'*, uh,

Bridget: Possibility.

Andrei: Possibility that we will be the part of some bigger country, more, more powerful and more with brains maybe. (hh) (Original English and Russian languages from audio file, February 28, 2011)

Andrei's statements suggest that the Ukrainian government's mismanagement could lead to its being absorbed into another country with more power and more "brains." This could refer to Russia, or it could be a commentary on the leadership skills of the current Ukrainian government taken in the historical perspective of a nation that has been controlled by one nation or another for centuries (see Chapter 3).

In contrast, Viktoria Sergeyevna spoke at length in our interview about her concerns around students' views of the Ukrainian government, also as an expansion on the question about the languages of the future in 25 years:

VS: I say it is uh, difficult question to answer right now. And we [Viktoria Sergeyevna and her daughter] discussed this question with my husband. And he doesn't see any, any prospects for Ukrainian. And Ukrainian will be native language for people who live in the western

Ukraine, as it is now, and uh, it will be so, the first language for those who live in the central part of Ukraine, but here, historically, so in the eastern and southern parts, the native language is Russian. I think Russian will be the regional language. And uh, I think it is long way to go for people, to, to learn Ukrainian traditions. Historically, Ukraine is, relatively young country, so it is appeared, with the disappearance of the Soviet Union, and there was no such state as Ukraine. And there were several parts, and western part, which was a part of Poland, and uh, central which was Ukraine itself, and eastern and southern parts, which were the, the marginal parts of Russian emp, uh, empire. And uh, people historically speak Russian here. And we should, I think we should change something in our mentality and uh, to start respecting Ukrainian customs and traditions. And to feel respect to Ukraine, as uh, so, how to say it so, government, so, or state,

Bridget: Like the sovereignty of the state? Ok, yeah.

VS: And uh, so, by the way, so I discussed this question with my students, whether they feel proud of living in Ukraine. And they said that they don't see any reason in that. And because the government doesn't care about its citizens, so the citizens in their turn, don't care about the country where they live. They don't see any future in living in Ukraine, and after graduation they hope to find uh, to find jobs abroad, either in Russia, or in Poland, and some students uh, are directed to live in Germany, some of them are looking for opportunities to live in the U.K. or in the United States. (Original language from audio file, March 9, 2011)

Viktoria Sergeyevna believes Russian will continue to be the dominant language in Dnipropetrovsk because of the historical development of Ukraine geographically and linguistically. Earlier in the interview she told me that she reminded her daughter that Ukrainian is not her native language, because her family speaks Russian at home.

Maintaining the right to speak Russian, however, does not mean one should eschew Ukrainian “traditions” or fail to respect the relatively new Ukrainian government. She demonstrated the importance of respect for the Ukrainian government in an EFL class I observed attended by Nigerian students:

VS: ((pointing to class)) And how do we elect presidents here? ((Students look at each other, girls giggle. No response)). So it is not because of some political connectedness. The president is elected by people and so the vastly populated region wins. As a rule. And the mostly populated

regions are Dnipropetrovs'k, Donetsk, so where our (xxx) president comes from. (Original language from video file, December 2, 2010)

Viktorija Sergeyevna's sense that students do not believe the Ukrainian president is elected democratically can partially account for other responses to my question which were oriented to language use but mixed on the future of Ukrainian and rarely were oriented to the Ukrainian government's role in that language use. While Aleksandr said he hopes Ukrainian will be common in the future, another student and a teacher felt Ukrainian had no future. Miroslav felt Ukrainian would exist but in a Russified form, and two other students simply said Russian would be the common language. It can be inferred from all of these statements that it is believed any attempts at Ukrainization by the Ukrainian government ultimately will prove ineffective.

The Nexus of Government and Economics

Andrei and Grigore's cynicism towards the Ukrainian government was made apparent in Svetlana Petrovna's seminar one December day. Svetlana Petrovna had divided students into two groups; each group read the same article about piracy and intellectual property rights, and was tasked with coming up with questions about the article for the other group to answer. Grigore's group posed a question about why piracy is more common in countries such as China, Vietnam, and Russia than countries like the USA. Joseph answered that it has to do with the cost of the original product; if people can get a pirated version for much less, they will buy it. Andrei added that it is connected with incomes. Grigore rejected both answers, saying they were connected with economics, not with the reasons for the piracy. Andrei gave a second answer: "It's our fate maybe. The reason is *mentalitet* (mentality)", a sentiment with which Sergei

explicitly agreed by saying, “*da, mentalitet*” (original language from video file, December 17, 2010). Eko added that countries such as China have more resources for making pirated copies of CDs. In trying to sum up what he felt was the correct answer to his group’s question, Grigore was strongly oriented to the relationship between citizens and government in different countries:

Grigore: Yes. Our original question was like this: What were the motives of people in the USA of buying the original CDs with programs and why it’s not like that in countries like China, Russia, and Vietnam?

Joseph: Okay, and why it’s not like that.

Grigore: Uh, because the, I think that it’s because of, like relationships between governments and citizens of those countries. So in USA it’s like uh, if you’re a citizen in the USA, you uh (quiet-asking in Russian for word) you cooperate with your government. And you trust your government and you want your government to save you from any problems. And if, I can say about only myself, and other people (xx) if you are a citizen of, like, ex-Soviet Union, Russia, Ukraine and other of those countries, uh, you should save yourself from the government. So they do not trust the government, so I think that they do not trust in the *sokhranost’ kak budet*

Svetlana Petrovna and one student: The safety

Grigore: The safety of intellectual property. Because they do not want to pay for uh, the CDs, if they can buy, not for \$500 but for one and a half dollars.

Joseph:...it still boils down to the fact that I’d rather buy something that I can buy in half price than buy something I can buy at full price.

Grigore: No, I just want to say that they don’t buy not because they don’t have the money for that, but because if in USA someone buys this Windows XP they can use it and they are sure that there are no pirates that can do that for one and half. (Original language from video file, December 17, 2010)

The manner in which Grigore paints Americans’ views of government trust and the availability of pirated goods with such a broad brush is questionable (a critique I made of Viktor Andreyevich’s depiction of culture as described in Chapter 5), as is his assertion that there is only one relevant factor or reason behind piracy. Svetlana Petrovna disputes the notion of a single answer to the issue by telling students: “I want to stress about the

first question that the relations between government and citizens and the problem of the money incomes in poor countries, countries with transition economy, that's the different sides of the problem" (original language from audio file, December 17, 2010).

Unlike Larisa Ivanova's challenge to Katya's framing of the future of the Ukrainian economy mentioned in Chapter 5, Svetlana Petrovna does not question or challenge the Ukrainian students' mistrust of government. It may be she is more concerned at that point with diffusing an air of intense debate between Grigore and Joseph (see Chapter 7 for more on this issue). Yet, in the process of diffusing the debate, Svetlana Petrovna reified the positioning of Russia as a poor country or a transition economy. While she did not refer to Ukraine in those terms at this juncture, in the previous class lecture she spoke at length on differences between "the purposes of the privatization in transition economy, for example Ukraine, and developed economy" (original language from audio file, December 14, 2010). Larisa Ivanovna taught students that currently Ukraine is a "developing country", which is not like a "developed country" with transnational corporations but neither is "underdeveloped like African countries" (field notes, September 23, 2010). Classroom discourse and interviews, then, frame Ukraine as a country with a limited or emerging economy whose government is not as effective as it should be in leading the Ukrainian economy in a prosperous direction.

The Future of Languages, Education, and Politics in Ukraine

Alla indicated that the use of Ukrainian rather than Russian in Ukraine is a potentially problematic sign of Ukraine's movement away from Russia towards the EU (Table 9.2). This stance combined with the development of English as a lingua franca in

western Europe (as described in Chapter 2) leads one to wonder, to what extent do students and teachers at Alfred Nobel University who are involved in its EMI programs value Ukraine's political, social, and economic integration with Europe? If integration with Europe is seen to be important, to what extent do teachers and students perceive a relationship between studying in English and those processes of integration? How are English and desires for European integration situated in larger issues of policy and governance in Ukraine?

Of the 11 students and 1 teacher who were asked the question, "How important is European integration for Ukraine?" half agreed that it is important. Table 9.3 shows the economic and political reasons students and a teacher gave for the importance of integration with Europe.

Table 9.3

Reasons for the Importance of Ukraine's Integration with Europe

Name	Question Response
Nina	You know, when we uh, with my parents um, had a trip to Slo-Slovakia, we saw, 8 years ago, Slovakia wasn't so (industry?) country, and now it is amazing how many plants are there situated. And the roads and the level of the life, it's very good now. And a couple of years ago it was good but not as it is now. For Ukraine it's very important to be um, interconnected with Europe to have some intention, <i>investitsiia</i> Bridget: investment Nina: Oh, yes.
Nikolai	I think it's very important in all structures, in economy, in social structure, in economic structure and, and so. Because if we will ...if we all integrate to Europe, uh, we can, all of you will can travel, in, on all Europe, they work in Europe and Europe can work in, at our country. If we can say about economic, and, and, it is, the price for, prices for all goods I'm think will decrease. And (pause) <i>tamozhennaia poshlina</i> [customs tax], the price for a you know if you- Evgeny: Customs tax. Nikolai: It's will decrease... for our country. It is cars, er, <i>nu</i> , for example... <i>tam</i>

kakoi-nibud', ne znaiu, Mercedes, puskai [something like, I don't, let's say Mercedes] will cost, more, much more than in Europe because we pay a big tax. Now it costs more.

Pyotr

Nu da, ia schitaiu etogo vazhnym, kak dlia povyshenie urovnia vsekh, i politicheskikh, i ekonomicheskikh I sotsial'nykh [Yes, I consider it important to increase the level of everything, politically, economically, and socially.]

Evgeny

Yes, I think so. Uh, be, I don't know, we think Europe is, in Europe we think there are stable countries with stable economy, economic, with ethical, with strong ethical norms. So I think it's important for us.

Viktor Andreyevich

Very important. Very important. Uh, because it's the way forward. It's the way out of stagnation. It's the way out of, well, I wouldn't say it's the way out of corruption. Because all countries are corrupted, I mean the political level of authority are corrupted to this or that extent. But it's the way out, you know, of OBVIOUS corruption. Of corruption on the surface. As to the corruption below the surface, having lived for so many years, I don't believe that it can be exterminated anywhere. That's why it's important. But the integration with Russia is no less important. In my opinion, in my idea. Bridget: Is it possible for Ukraine to integrate with both Russia and Europe? VA: Yes, because Ukraine in a way is a kind of bridge, you know. And uh, actually I believe that Ukraine does not use its uh, opportunities of being a bridge as it should, because, well, the world can live without Ukraine. The world cannot live without Russia because Russia makes a very important part of the world, and of the global civilization, global culture, and uh, being a bridge between both gives such unique opportunities that it's a shame not using that properly.

The remaining students also felt integration with Europe was important, but said Ukraine is not ready or must wait for integration (also for political or economic reasons), as Table 9.4 demonstrates.

Table 9.4

Reasons Ukraine is Not Considered Ready for Integration with Europe

Name	Question Response
Marina, Natalia, Katya	Katya: It's impossible but important. Marina: I think that we have to wait to integrate. Katya: Maybe 100 years. Marina: No not 100. ((multiple people laugh)) But we have to make our economic stronger, we have to do something with our corruption and our roads for example. And als- and only then we have to go to European Union.
Sveta, Diana	Sveta: I think that we're not ready for that. Because uh in Europe, as far as I know, there are a lot of countries that uh, joined Europe and they regret about it now. Because, for example, like Lithua [Lithuania] I suppose, and some other I don't remember. Diana: Poland. Sveta: Maybe Poland. Diana: As far as I know, in Poland when they entered the Europaische Union, they have, they had a increasing prices for electricity, petrols, and so on. Sveta: With no increasing salaries, so it only bad point. But actually, if we join Europe, what are our benefit from that? It could be. I don't know, maybe, um, what else, what could be our benefit from joining? Diana: I think for people who doesn't have even possibility to earn for a car or for the flat, there would be any profit. Sveta: Of course if prices would rise, that would be bad. But um, if the Europe will accept us, they will do that not because they think that we are, because of our country, our culture, or because they sympathize us, or I don't know, but because they want give some, would have some benefit from our country. So they want I don't know, maybe, take our resources, or storage, what's the verb of store? Stores. Bridget: To st- Sveta: I mean, store some weapon on the our territory. Nuclear, I don't know what else. And they maybe will also use our land to grow they own agricultural uh, some crops, I don't know. So there won't be some benefit for us, because they will use our country for their purposes. Not for the making people good. Here.
Sergei	I don't know, I think, that we firstly must, have to go to the level of Europe and then to go to the Europe. Because our level is low, because, for example, our <i>nu, pensionery</i> [Retirees], they don't have enough money for life. Government have more money, much more money than they need, I think.

A number of issues about Ukraine's current and future economic and political situation emerge from the above comments. One, both Nina (9.3) and Marina (9.4)

identify Ukrainian roads as something that need to be improved. Nina says becoming integrated with Europe will mean investment in Ukraine for roads (as happened in Slovakia), while Marina argues that first roads must be improved and then Ukraine will be ready to join the EU. In either case roads are a tangible form of basic developmental needs in Ukraine, what Fournier (2012) calls the desire for “living like a person” (p. 152). My own experience indicates the comments on roads are not symbolic or metaphorical. I too have ridden buses on dust-covered Ukrainian roads where the driver worked carefully to navigate around potholes, or let the passengers bounce in their seats. There is a visceral difference riding in cars and buses on the smooth highways of Germany and Poland.

Yet there are also mixed views about whether integrating with Europe will reap benefits for Ukrainians. Nikolai (9.3) sees in European integration the possibility of travel and work abroad, and buying European goods at lower prices. Viktor Andreyevich (9.3) sees political benefits—i.e. a reduction in overt corruption. Similarly, Evgeny (9.3) believes European integration will lead to a more stable, ethical, Ukrainian society. Diana (9.4) points out that European integration could benefit people in Ukraine who “can’t even buy a car or the flat [apartment]”. Sveta and Diana (9.4), however, argue that prices will rise as they did in other eastern European countries. Moreover, they perceive a threat of being neocolonial subjects of a political entity (the EU) which annexes Ukraine to take advantage of its natural resources or to use as a dumping ground for undesirable products such as nuclear weapons. This is yet another dimension of the threat that Andrei fears.

A European Level of Life and Education

The broader metaphor of living at a “European standard” (*evropeiskii standart*) or “European level” was one I saw and heard about often in Ukraine. Apartment buildings were being advertised as having construction and amenities at a European standard. A conference I attended in L’viv was closed with words from the convenor that the conference had been run to European standards. In the previous section, it was shown that Sergei (9.4) said Ukraine must “go to the level of Europe” before it can integrate with the EU. Pyotr (9.3) also talked about integration with Europe as a means of “increasing the level” of numerous aspects of life in Ukraine. When I asked Pyotr what a “European level” means, he responded, “*vyshe chem ukrainskii, vse eto podrasumevaiut*” [higher than Ukrainian, that’s all they mean] (translation from original Russian from audio file, March 10, 2011).

The desire for life at a European level was also expressed as a desire for a European education that is better than Ukrainian norms. When I asked Nina why she wanted to study in the Wales program, she replied “Well, I want to get a European diploma, of course” (original language from audio file, March 10, 2011). Her stance here is implicit, but one can see that a “European diploma” is as desirable for her as European roads. Oksana and Aleksandra were more direct on this issue:

Bridget: Um, do you see any connection between studying in English and the Bologna Process or studying in universities in the European Union?

Oksana: Mm, yes, I think that the Bologna education is uh, on the European level of education. Uh, yes.

Bridget: And what does that mean, European level of education? I hear it a lot but what does it mean?

Aleksandra: Maybe better education.

Oksana: It's better and after that you have more possibilities, after this uni-education. (Original language from audio file, March 10, 2011)

Similarly, Nikolai said the Bologna Process gives universities the possibility of having “European quality”. When I asked what “European quality” means, he explained his views of Ukrainian and European education in terms of the historical body of teachers who had grown up in the Soviet Union:

Bridget: Uh, What does that mean to you, *chto znachit*, European quality?
Nikolai: Ah, Europe, Europe, *nu, imenno evropeiskoe obrazovanie, metod obrazovaniia kak v Evrope*, ((laughs)) *nu, ne vo vsekh sluchaiakh. Nu, da, v obshchem*. [Well, having European education, method of education as in Europe, (hh), well, not in all cases. Not in in all cases, but in general.]

Bridget: *Kakoe obrazhenie u Vas o evropeiskom obrazovanii? Kak otlichaetsia ot ukrainskii?* [What image⁴¹ do you have of a European education? How is it different from Ukrainian?]

Nikolai: *Nu, tut eshchë sovetskaia zakalka vsë ravno. Ne, nu, vsë ravno. Net, est', konechno, prepodavateli, kotorye, nu, kak v Evrope rabotaiut, no vsë ravno, nu, v chëm rodilis', to i vsë ravno poluchaetsia, ponimaete... nu, ia tak schitaiu. Evrope budet so novym pokoleniem tol'ko. U nas v Ukraine. Tol'ko novoe pokolenie*. [Well, here is still Soviet conditioning anyway. Not, well, anyway. No, of course, there are teachers who work as they do in Europe. But no matter, what you are born into, that's what you get, you understand?...Well, it's just my opinion. In Ukraine we will have Europe only by the new generation.] (Original English and Russian from audio file, February 24, 2011)

Nikolai had referred to the continued presence of Soviet mentality earlier in our interview when he talked about going to the bazaar where sellers (usually older than Nikolai) try to cheat him. For Nikolai, “Soviet” is a metaphor for ancient, backward, the opposite of “European”. At the time of our interview, Nikolai’s mother was working in Europe, and Nikolai has had opportunities to travel and meet people outside of Ukraine. This

⁴¹ This was the intended meaning of the question in Russian. A more accurate word than *obrazhenie* would be *obraz* or *izobrazhenie*. However, since this word was said in overlap with Nikolai and there was a followup question, no meaning was lost.

separation and conversations may further illuminate Nikolai's views of the Soviet Union, Ukraine, and Europe.

One student (who spoke on condition of strict anonymity) gave specific examples of the differences between education in Ukraine and Europe:

I know how the lectures are taught, students for example, in England, they should go to the lecture, uh, firstly read the lecture and then they go to the lecture. And the lecture, it's like a conversation between a lecturer and students. Students can bring coffee, tea, and it's like a conversation. They ask questions, that they would like to ask and to get an answers to that questions. So, mm, it's like a friendly conversation. So they don't write down whole lecture like we do. So, they can make some notes that is important for them to remember. So the attitude to studying is different. (Original language from audio file, April 6, 2011)

Even the teachers see a difference in teaching and learning styles in Europe and Ukraine. After I observed his Russian-language lecture and seminar on foreign language teaching, Viktor Andreyevich told me, "It's a traditional system here but I don't like it." He desired a "consultative searching system closer to Europe or the USA" in which students search for information themselves and present it. The problem, he said, is that students are not ready for it. They are not taught to work independently at school (field notes, September 10, 2010).

Ideologies about English and a European Education

Additional evidence for the value placed on English in relation to not only individual incentives (see Chapter 8) but also broader desires for Ukraine's integration with Europe emerged in responses to the interview questions, "how important is English for European integration?" or "do you see any connection between English and European integration?" Evgeny answered that knowing English helps with "cooperation with

Europe”, especially with the United Kingdom where it is spoken. Nina answered: “Well, English it's an international language. And uh, almost every European countries speaks English, so Ukraine also has to develop the level of the knowing English.” Pyotr said it is important because English is an international language, and therefore one needs to study it. While both Nina and Pyotr refer to English’s role as an international language, Nina frames her response specifically in terms of the notion that European countries speak English, and that Ukraine has to “develop” its level of English. Here, the knowledge of English in Ukraine, metaphorically speaking, is as underdeveloped as Ukraine’s roads.

In response to the same question, Lyuba told a story which illustrated the perceived importance of English. Allegedly, a German came to Ukraine for a business project and found that Ukrainians who were to participate in the project (who were in their 40s) did not know English. Her teacher concluded from this story, “it’s a problem for our country, that people don’t know any languages” (original language from audio file, April 4, 2011). Although the story is told on the scale of personal interaction, it suggests that Ukrainians’ knowledge of English is low relative to people from Germany and other countries in Western Europe. Lyuba’s decision to invoke this story in response to this question further suggests that being able to speak English is important in order to have business relationships and joint business projects with people from European countries.

The question of English and European integration also emerged in a conversation with Yuri Mikhailovich, one of the teachers in the advanced group of my English language classes:

Yuri Mikhailovich is looking at a piece of paper. I ask him what it is. He says it's about how our university goes towards the European society. Later, I asked him if he believes there is a connection between European integration and English study. He answers: it's possible. After five or seven years all specialists in economics, business professionals, will be study only English because it's needed for a united European society. Ukraine will be included in Europe because European people haven't (enough?) human resources and if we haven't done enough stimulus to know a foreign language, this goal will not achieve. (Field notes, December 16, 2010)

Like others I spoke to, Yuri Mikhailovich sees English as necessary for being part of a united Europe and in order to successfully participate in the labor market as an economist or business professional. Yet he also sees that Europe "needs" Ukraine's labor. Rather than concluding (as Sveta and Diana do) that this resource may be potentially exploited by the EU for its own gain, Yuri Mikhailovich says that if Ukrainians fail to learn a foreign language they will not reap the benefit of integration with the EU.

Language Policy for a Culture between Russia and Europe

The majority of students and teachers interviewed believed that culturally and politically, Ukraine was between Russia and Europe. The relationship between this position and the English language emerged in two very different ways in two interviews. My conversation with Sergei underscored the perceived disconnect between language and European integration:

Bridget: It may seem like a strange question right now but do you see any connection between knowing English and a European... having a European level of life?

Sergei: Maybe it's not so important to have another language because it should be in mind, we have to change our mind to be in Europe level but if we change our mind we will not be Ukrainian, we will be some part of, that's why it's very serious question, I cannot answer it, I have not enough experience. (Original language from audio file, March 1, 2011)

Sergei indicated throughout the year in ideology and practice that he values Ukrainian, Russian, and multiple foreign languages, and sees the potential for English to lead him to a prosperous future. To have a prosperous future in the style of Europe involves not a change in language use but a change in the “mind” (a likely translation of *mentalitet*), which would require foregoing cultural norms to become something else.

In contrast, Viktor Andreyevich indicated that Ukraine should integrate with both Europe AND Russia and exploit its role as a bridge between the two. He felt that Ukraine could and should maintain its unique status while adopting the best multilingual practices found in Europe (as opposed to Russia or the Soviet Union):

Bridget: How important do you think language is for integration with Europe and Russia?

VA: Very important. Uh, really very important. Well, actually, you know, mm, (pause) English now is a kind of international language, I wouldn't call it an international language. I would call it a planetary language. Because there are lots of other international languages. For instance Russian is an international language in this part of the globe, French is an international language in some parts of Africa, for instance, German is an international language in some parts of Europe like Austria, Switzerland, Germany, quite a lot of countries, but um, **I really like the policy of the European Union, where they try to make people know as many languages as possible. I believe that, uh, certainly at this point of time, uh practically everybody should know English.** But I'm sure that it's a passing phenomenon. You know we have had lots of such languages in the history of human kind, for some, for a long time it was Latin, then it became Spanish, then it became French, it was not so widely spread as English because the international contexts were the prerogative only of the upper street of society, now it is so widely spread because international contexts embrace practically everybody. But you know international languages like uh the superpowers, historically they change, so today, it's English, what it's going to be tomorrow, we don't know, maybe it's going to be Chinese, or maybe it's going to be Russian, it's also quite possible. So, today we should um, emphasize English, but we shouldn't forget other languages because of it. (Original language from audio file, February 21, 2011; emphasis added)

At the same time, Viktor Andreyevich situates English learning in a global context where multiple languages serve as international language (including his native language, Russian). He further sees that historically, the popular languages of communication change over time; for that reason, learning English is important but so is multilingualism.

Additional responses from students and teachers on the question of which language(s) will be common in Ukraine in 25 years indicate the perceived linkages between multiple foreign languages and the potential for economic, political, social and cultural integration with Europe and America—or domination by these powers. Nine of the 20 people who were asked about the future of languages in Ukraine mentioned foreign languages: Spanish, German (to a lesser extent), Chinese, and/or English. Of these, only when speaking of English was it said that the language will be common in Ukraine because of the transmission of knowledge from Europe and/or America into Ukraine, as this interview excerpt with Svetlana Petrovna indicates:

Bridget: Okay. Uh, which languages do you think will be common in Ukraine in 25 years?

Svetlana Petrovna: Interesting question. (pause) What do you mean, as official languages, or languages of conversation between people? (hh)

Bridget: We can do both, yeah.

Svetlana Petrovna: Well, I don't think, that English will be the official language, but it will be the main language of conversation between people here. I think. But maybe not official.

Bridget: Because?

Svetlana Petrovna: Because Ukraine have a strategic plan to implement all American and European technologies and education, and culture, and so on so. And the process of implementation of culture and technologies, will be supported with the implementation of the language of those countries. So that's, connected things. (Original language from audio file, March 16, 2011)

Svetlana Petrovna's comments suggest that English is not a threat to Ukrainian or Russian because it will not become an official language. Yet English is seen as necessary

as a medium of communication while the Ukrainian government implements its “strategic plan” of importing technology, education, and culture wholesale from a foreign source. Third year economics students Vasily and Yaroslav also referred to a process of “integration” of Ukrainian society with American or European culture and also see learning English as a part of achieving that cultural integration. In both scenarios, English is the medium for a one-way transmission of knowledge from Europe and America to Ukraine. This status of English is not challenged by the interviewees.

Chapter Conclusion

When I initially conducted the interviews and coded the data, I was struck by comments on the dismal future of Ukraine that seemed to emerge “out of nowhere” from a question about language, and I still feel disheartened when I read Andrei’s statement that Ukraine may be taken over by another country. Yet through a process of analyzing and reanalyzing the conversations I had with students and teachers on language and policy, it has become clear that this kind of response emerged because students are very oriented to language use and the relationship between language and national or international politics. The practice of teaching in English at Alfred Nobel University is afforded by space in legislation for instruction in foreign languages and is sanctioned by an official form of approval from the ministry of education. However, the regulatory mechanisms which emerge in day-to-day practice stem from an international power (i.e. the University of Wales), not the Ukrainian government.

Studying in English (or Russian or Ukrainian) is frequently regulated or oriented to a policy choice that is made at multiple scales—by individual students, classrooms, or

universities. These choices mirror choices about language policy in Ukraine at the national level which are made based on politicians' individual needs and interests. All of these choices are made by people with the power to choose, and their choices are oriented to a language of power, be it Russian or English. That said, the choice to study English in particular is motivated by the perceived economic and structural benefit of integrating with a European society which relies on English for international communication. While English is not the only language perceived to have benefit in and out of Ukraine, it is the only language which is seen as specifically linked to European integration.

CHAPTER 10

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE CASE OF ALFRED NOBEL UNIVERSITY

Since the days of Kyivan Rus', the Ukrainian nation has expanded, collapsed, been occupied, risen as part of a world superpower, collapsed again and been slowly rebuilt (see Introduction and Chapter 3). Concomitant with these changes (and the accompanying struggles of economic survival and establishing political stability), the country has seen ups and downs in language policy. From this historical perspective, there has been an overall upward shift in the status of both Ukrainian and foreign languages, including English (see Chapter 3). If one speaks or supports Ukrainian, however, the progress made in promoting the use of Ukrainian seems insufficient and has decreased since the passage of the 2012 language law. As in Western European countries (see Chapter 2), English is situated in Ukraine as the primary lingua franca amidst efforts to promote plurilingualism. Unlike in Western Europe, however, the political and educational systems in Ukraine are underdeveloped.

Within this context, the purpose of this dissertation was to obtain an in-depth understanding of the implementation of English as a medium of instruction at one university in eastern Ukraine, Alfred Nobel University. The nine-and-a-half month-long ethnographic research project was designed firstly to identify discursive themes in the practice and significance of English as a medium of instruction for the university and the three focal groups of students and teachers. A second goal was to examine the impact of the change in medium of instruction on teaching practice. The research was conducted drawing on the theoretical frameworks of the ecology of language, language ideologies,

language planning and policy theory, and bilingualism/multilingualism. The languages in classrooms, in university literature, and in university events were identified and the power and status relationships among the languages in the different contexts were examined. Finally, through both classroom observations and interviews, linkages between English as a medium of education and policy at multiple levels of government were uncovered. Throughout the dissertation, a critical lens was applied to uncover contexts in which languages may pose a threat to one another.

In the remainder of this concluding chapter, broader themes which emerged across the four findings chapters are synthesized according to the themes of the main research questions. Subsequently, implications for pedagogy are addressed, with an emphasis on suggestions to university administrators and teachers regarding the planning and implementation of an EMI program. Finally, contributions to theory and directions for future research are discussed.

Synthesis of Findings by Research Question

In the following sections the main findings across chapters are synthesized according to the four main research questions: 1) what are the discourses about English language instruction at the university? 2) what is the day-to-day reality of English language instruction? 3) what is the relationship between the ecology of language in EMI classrooms and the ecology of language at the university as a whole? and 4) what are the connections between English as a medium of instruction and language or education policies at multiple scales?

Discourses about English Language Instruction at Alfred Nobel University

At Alfred Nobel University, studying in English is framed as an aid in economic competition—both for the university in attracting students and for students in competing for jobs in a global marketplace. The potential opportunities afforded by studying in English give some students hope for their future. For other students, however, it is their parents who hope that if their children study in English it will provide greater economic security for the future; these students are less likely to be motivated to study in English. Because of the rare existence of English-medium programs in Ukrainian universities and the reportedly poor English language education in elementary and secondary schools, knowing English at a sufficient level to study in English, complete an oral exam, or defend a diploma is considered a high achievement and a mark of prestige.

Offering courses in English is one of many avenues the university is using to establish itself as a European university, and is legitimated by an external European authority, the University of Wales. University stakeholders emphasize the importance of both English and additional foreign languages at Alfred Nobel University. Desires to know multiple foreign languages are linked to economic opportunities and opportunities to travel to countries where those languages are spoken. In short, the university and its students are working towards a multilingual future.

The Day-to-Day Reality of English Language Instruction

At Alfred Nobel University, a number of aspects of teaching shift with the change of the medium of instruction from Russian (or Ukrainian) to English. Teachers have to slow down their pace of speaking and be more circumspect in their approach to

classroom management—both for students who are studying English as a non-native language and for foreign students who are not accustomed to or do not need such firm guidance from the teacher. Teachers feel a need to offer an increased range of activities to keep students’ interests or to fill the time if they do not have sufficient content knowledge to draw on. Teachers provide increased print materials for students in EMI classes compared to EFL or Russian-medium classes. As someone used to studying in a country with an excessive use of paper, I found the increased access to print materials exciting. For stakeholders at Alfred Nobel University, however, the change in paper usage is not significant. A larger concern than having paper copies is obtaining sufficient materials in the target language for extensive reading. Ukrainian students compensate by reading library materials in Russian/Ukrainian and translating them into English; students whose native language is English do not have this option. Both Ukrainians and Nigerians at the university acknowledge Nigerian students do not have sufficient access to written materials, though the Internet and computer resources are considered acceptable.

Many of these and other adjustments in teaching are connected to anxieties about teaching and learning in English. Students are afraid of making mistakes in English, and some teachers fear they themselves do not have a sufficient level of English to teach in this language. Aleksandr Nikolayevich was particularly graphic, describing his difficulties with English in biblical proportions with words such as “crucifixion” and “Golgotha”. He considered his slow speaking pace a marker of his poor English skills (see Chapter 5). Because of teachers’ and students’ fears, classroom management styles are less direct in English than in Russian. Print materials provided in EMI classes at times emulated guides for listening to lectures found in EFL courses.

Despite these challenges, overall the opportunity to teach and learn in English is framed as positive or even an improvement over teaching and learning in Russian or Ukrainian. Students report they have better teachers compared to their peers who study in Russian. Teachers—including Aleksandr Nikolayevich—described teaching in English as a positive challenge (see Chapter 5). Teachers (and by extension their students) have access to information in English that they would not otherwise obtain in Russian-medium classes alone. This general interest in information in “the original language” is a secondary motivation for study in English for multiple stakeholders at Alfred Nobel University.

The Ecology of Language in EMI and EFL Classrooms

There was extensive evidence at Alfred Nobel University that classes designated EMI or EFL were sites of multilingual language development. While teachers engaged in more extended discourse in Russian in EFL classes than in EMI classes, both classes saw teachers draw heavily on Russian for multiple purposes—even teachers who felt that students should only hear and “think” in English. These purposes were connected with both acquiring academic language and content (e.g. provision of vocabulary words) and efficient transmission of general course information. Students’ switches to Russian were not usually planned but in whole class contexts they were meaningful, as they often signaled a need for English-language support or for discussion of non-content matters. Often these switches were marked metalinguistically for that purpose.

Consistent with beliefs in the importance of learning both English and additional foreign languages, students and teachers had access to content in multiple foreign languages. Students were offered classes, taking classes, or planning to study foreign

languages including Spanish, German, French, Polish, Japanese, and Chinese.

Occasionally, students who were already studying a second foreign language were observed using these languages before or during English lessons. Most EMI and EFL teachers had studied foreign languages in addition to English (e.g. French, Chinese), but not all teachers enacted these multilingual repertoires in the classroom.

Relatively speaking, the use of Ukrainian was low in both EFL and EMI classes. When Ukrainian was invoked, it was usually by teachers and was directly linked to the status of Ukrainian as the official language of the university and the nation, and the predominant language of written materials in Ukrainian. Ideologically, most students see Ukrainian as a second native language. Students' infrequent use of Ukrainian compared to Russian and their proficiency displays in Ukrainian language classes, however, indicate Ukrainian operates at times as a foreign language. While students were hesitant to say that they were more comfortable speaking English than Ukrainian, two teachers (Viktor Andreyevich and Viktoria Sergeyevna) felt their proficiency in foreign languages (French and Chinese respectively) was superior to their proficiency in Ukrainian. Larisa Ivanovna acknowledged her proficiency in Ukrainian, but stated a preference for using English. Aleksandr Nikolayevich used several languages (including Ukrainian) in the classroom, but expressed a desire to write in Russian rather than Ukrainian. All these statements reflect teachers' and students' ideological positioning of Ukrainian in their personal ecology.

The Impact of Foreign Students on EMI and EFL Teaching

Compared to other contexts in Ukraine and in Western Europe where internationalization of universities has attracted foreign students, Alfred Nobel University

presents a unique case in that the university's recruitment of Nigerian students for EMI classes brings into the ecology students who are simultaneously linguistic minorities and native speakers of the target language of the class. Moreover, students from Nigeria or any English-speaking country are not typical in Alfred Nobel University students' and teachers' environment. As a result of this linguistic position and their acculturation in their home secondary schools to a form of educational participation desirable to Ukrainian teachers, Nigerian students generally held a privileged status in the group.

This privileged position was constrained by a number of factors. Some teachers found it difficult to understand Nigerian students' accents. Nigerian students struggled in classes that required more prior knowledge or more precise explanations in English than the teacher was offering. Teachers, students, and staff often—but not always—used Russian without even acknowledging that foreign students might have difficulty understanding or be confused let alone translating for students. Ukrainian students' codeswitching between English and Russian occurred in mixed language groups; it was framed as unintentional, but still excluded Nigerian students at times.

It is important not to ignore the impact an immersion program has on foreign students. While the availability of resources and input in English is as limited as the Nigerian ambassador's comments suggest (see Chapter 3), some students at Alfred Nobel University focused on the advantage of being in a Russian-speaking environment as an opportunity for learning an additional language. Like Ukrainian students, Precious comes from a land where two native languages (English and Igbo) are the norm, and multilingualism is valued. Samuel also demonstrated his capacity to cope with instruction in physical education in Russian. Students from Nigeria and Algeria who

were expelled, however, clearly were not able to adapt to the educational system (see Chapter 7).

The Ecology of Language at the University

In the university as a whole, language use varies widely and depends on the type of event as well as the language skills or language choices of the interlocutors. These choices are in turn shaped by the power dynamics of languages and their speakers at multiple scales. University-wide, lectures and seminars are conducted primarily in Russian by teachers' and students' choice, in English if students choose, or Ukrainian if teachers choose. Written assignments, however, are primarily in Ukrainian, except when the medium of instruction is English. As evidenced by university forms and interactions with university staff, the working written language of the university is Ukrainian and the working spoken language of the university is Russian. English is increasingly sharing spaces with Ukrainian in the written domain but not the spoken domain. Russian has the potential to be resurrected as a working written language in official contexts with the passage of the 2012 language law.

At conferences, language use in oral and written modes was incredibly dynamic, but mostly featured Russian, Ukrainian, and English. Presenters at times had a PowerPoint in one language and spoke in a second language. This choice both affords opportunities for dual language input, and affirms the hierarchy of language in the moment of interaction. The language that is spoken in contrast to the PowerPoint, in the Alfred Nobel University context at least, is the dominant language in the moment.

In both classes and events such as conferences there were opportunities to study and to celebrate multiple foreign languages. However, English emerged in these contexts at the top of the foreign language hierarchy, a finding consistent with the framing in European contexts (see Chapter 2). Only English is a language that operates as both a foreign language and a medium of instruction for subjects. On the other hand, students showed an active interest in knowing **both** English **and** at least one more foreign language. Evgeny had already studied English and German as a child. Ksenia talked about the importance of knowing at least four languages. Nina wanted to learn Spanish and inquired about enrolling in a Spanish language course at a private school. Third year philology students made presentations in German, Spanish and French (see Chapter 8), and third year international economics students showed in conversations that the languages they were studying as a second foreign language were becoming part of their repertoire (see Chapter 6). One cannot assume from these data that all students at Alfred Nobel University will become multilingual, especially in the case of students who still struggle with English as a foreign language. Nevertheless, I believe the students' interest in multiple foreign languages due to their future instrumental value, combined with efforts or plans to study a second foreign language and evidence of the second foreign language appearing in papers and presentations, offers hope that students will acquire a fourth language.

English is (Not) a Threat to Ukrainian or Russian

A primary motivation for conducting this dissertation research was investigating the degree to which English is a threat to Russian or Ukrainian. English is emerging as medium of instruction at Alfred Nobel University, while Ukrainian continues to be

studied more often as a subject/foreign language than used as a language of instruction. Students not in English-medium classes at Alfred Nobel University reportedly chose to stay in Russian-medium classes because they were afraid their development in Russian would be inhibited. These positions suggest that English is encroaching on the current positions of Russian and Ukrainian. However, other ideological and practical factors counterbalance the threat of English, as the following conversation I had with Viktor Andreyevich indicates:

Viktor Andreyevich: I don't believe in the idea that English is going to oust other languages from other parts of the world where English is not, uh, for instance you have been here for half a year, do you see signs of English ousting Russian or Ukrainian?

Bridget: Not really, no.

Victor Andreyevich: Not really, and it's true. And I'm absolutely sure, if there is a strong culture, a strong language, no other language will oust it. It's impossible in France, it's impossible in Germany, maybe if we speak about some very small nation, nations, maybe. But uh, even in that I don't believe. For instance I have told you already we often come to the Czech Republic. It's quite a small nation, quite a small country. And English is very spread there, but there are no signs that in their communication among themselves they will switch from Czech into English. (Original English from audio file, February 21, 2011)

When Viktor Andreyevich asked me to agree with him that English is not “ousting” Russian or Ukrainian, I could offer no compelling evidence or reason to disagree. In the nearly two years since I completed that interview, it still seems safe to say that neither Russian nor Ukrainian will disappear as a result of the presence of English at Alfred Nobel University. Russian is the de facto native language which is used during and after English-medium classes and at events across the university by multiple university staff and visitors.

As for Ukrainian, English could also be said to be replacing acquisition of academic knowledge in Ukrainian to a level equal that of Russian since these students are neither in Ukrainian-medium classes nor receiving Ukrainian-language input in English-medium classes. However, students in English-medium classes would be no more likely to study in Ukrainian if English were not available; they would study in Russian instead. Rather, English is seen as an opportunity to enrich and improve students' knowledge of the world. This opportunity is seen to outweigh the potential loss of Ukrainian.

Overall, while Ukrainian is unlikely to be completely lost or ousted in this scenario because it is the *de jure* language of Ukraine, it is also not likely to be developed in students' repertoire to the level of English or Russian. For Alfred Nobel University students then, Ukrainian moves from second to third place in their linguistic repertoire. Students in EMI classes will be writing papers in English instead of Ukrainian. As writing is a major mode for developing and maintaining Ukrainian (see Chapter 6), this is a consequence of English as a medium of instruction which could have a long-term impact on the ecology of language.

Connecting EMI to Language Policy, Education Policy, and European Integration

EMI at Alfred Nobel University is reportedly conducted with formal permission from the Ukrainian Ministry of Education, and for that reason it is not considered in violation of Ukrainian language policy. In conversations, EMI is similarly framed as a "special program". In classroom discourse, however, this program seems to derive more legitimacy and more control from the University of Wales than from the Ukrainian Ministry of Education. In turn, the Bologna Process did not exert the same validating or

control influence on instruction in EMI classes as the Ukrainian Ministry of Education or the University of Wales. Rather, the Bologna Process reforms mainly change the grading structure from numbers alone to both numbers and letter grades and encourage more written assessment than oral assessment. The change in the grading system introduced English letters into otherwise Ukrainian/Russian contexts, supporting the notion that educational policy which is not targeted to language specifically can still influence language use.

In language policy and language-in-education policy discourses, students and teachers oriented strongly to the personal freedom to make choices about language use. That feeling may also come from the luxury of being speakers of the majority language in the university. On the other hand, there are indicators that Alfred Nobel University teachers and staff will forego that choice and use Ukrainian in order to accommodate university-level policies to write or provide news in Ukrainian, or to accommodate individual interlocutors such as Ukrainian speakers giving presentations. Other times, it is the guest who accommodates to the preference of Russian in the university by speaking in Russian, though they may simultaneously use PowerPoint slides in Ukrainian or English.

When asked, many Alfred Nobel University stakeholders concurred that English is connected with European integration—both as an international language for communication and cooperation with European countries, and as part of plans to acquire and implement knowledge from Europe and America in Ukraine. This second point in particular is connected with discourses circulating within Ukraine that frame Ukraine as a developing or transition country relative to countries of the European Union. An

unexpected finding was that questions about language policy led people at Alfred Nobel University to comment on related concerns about the politics of language in the Ukrainian government, as well as concerns about the future of Ukraine and concerns about whether the government could be relied on to provide economic and political stability.

Implications for Pedagogy

Since this dissertation was conducted on Alfred Nobel University as an institution and EMI programs tend to be developed at the institutional level, implications for pedagogy should be directed to the authorities responsible for initiating, designing, and implementing EMI programs. First and foremost, universities similar to Alfred Nobel University that wish to implement English (or another foreign language) as a medium of instruction should not assume English-medium instruction is the best approach just because that is what is being done in Europe. University administrators should be advised by EMI researchers and peer universities that are implementing EMI programs (as opposed to European universities that are offering partnerships) to consider whether the gain in language opportunity is worth the potential loss of effective elaboration on the nuances of content knowledge, the faster transmission of details in the native language, or the limits to development and elaboration of native languages.

If it is concluded that both content and language development goals can be reasonably achieved through EMI, universities are advised to consider carefully the current language levels of their students. Administrators should review carefully the placement test designs, test administration, and cutoff scores. On the other hand,

universities may not wish to turn away students like Katya who are at the low end of the proficiency scale but could potentially show improvement over time with peer support (see Chapter 5).

In contexts like Alfred Nobel University where a linguistic “threshold” for student admission cannot be set too high because of the need to fill slots (or where those threshold measures are not reliable enough to show readiness to learn and communicate in English), teachers could be advised not only to teach content in English, but to give students explicit feedback or instruction about English vocabulary and grammar. If time does not allow for that or content teachers are not trained in EFL pedagogy, the EFL classes could take on that role. If that is also infeasible due to time constraints, summer programs to prepare students both in linguistics and in study/presentation skills could be considered. In this way, English-medium instruction not only increases language skills, it enriches their overall educational experience. The drawback is that this means more time and energy for the university and its teachers, and it further limits the opportunity to study in English to elites who have time and money for such endeavors. In Ukraine in particular, extra classes would increase the already heavy courseload of teachers and students.

Universities are urged to consider the language levels and language needs of not only their students but also their teachers. Even content teachers who have a demonstrated command of English could benefit from trainings or literature on teaching in a foreign language. For example, it may help a teacher like Aleksandr Nikolayevich overcome his anxiety about his English to know that slowing down one’s pace for students is helpful and preferred for their learning, and that he can serve as a model of

how to cope with temporarily forgetting a word in the target language. Moreover, a teacher training module that focuses on improving teachers' English or developing their fluency, if designed simultaneously to boost teachers' confidence in their abilities to provide content in English, could accelerate teachers' development and self-confidence in their English language skills.

Students and teachers at Alfred Nobel University show very specific awareness of their linguistic weaknesses in English. If such awareness does not turn to counterproductive anxiety and is instead combined with students' motivation to study in English for a better future, EFL and EMI teachers could be advised to use this awareness as a foundation for English language development. Alfred Nobel University EFL teachers could also be asked to consider teaching language awareness (see James & Garrett, 1992) to sensitize students to the presence of Ukrainian, Russian, and foreign languages in their environment and give them space to talk about what they observe. Such an approach would not only reinforce learning of English, but support the maintenance of Russian and Ukrainian and enrich awareness of additional languages in the ecology. The drawback of this solution is students might not talk if they are not cognitively prepared for that kind of active documentation of the world around them, or if they feel the topic is too politically sensitive to discuss.

In classes designated English-medium, switches to a native language (e.g. Russian) during whole class discussions are purposeful and useful. Students' switches oriented to a momentary lack of vocabulary or grammar in the target language should not be framed as a deficit. Rather, they are formative indicators of a student's language level and the need to provide input to facilitate acquisition of the target language. In small

group discussions with students of mixed backgrounds, extensive conversations in the native language spoken by the majority of speakers who are studying in their home country can result in excluding students from different ethnic and language backgrounds from the conversation. At Alfred Nobel University, these practices are not intentionally exclusionary but “just how it comes out” (see Chapter 7). Nevertheless, teachers could be advised to continue to socialize students to make more effort to speak a common language with students from different backgrounds, especially if foreign students have a lower proficiency in the home language of the university than native students have in the lingua franca. Foreign students in Ukrainian classes need to be reassured that language practices are not intentionally exclusive. A more concrete assurance for foreign students would be encouraging teachers or small group members to providing translations or summaries of utterances in context.

The term EMI presumes that one can simply focus on instruction in English, as opposed to the need at the elementary and secondary levels to provide both content and language support. The case of Alfred Nobel University demonstrates that students need not only explicit language support in the native language, but content support as well. This need is marked linguistically by comments that “even in Russian” Ukrainian students are not prepared to acquire or manipulate content, and observations that Nigerian students who speak the target language have difficulty accessing math content because of a different history of math in school despite a year of preparatory instruction for two of the students. By choosing to offer EMI programs, universities may be privileging language over content needed for professional and academic development, a choice that is not problematized. On the other hand, as Larisa Ivanovna and her third year students

found, sometimes focusing on development in the non-native language affords opportunities to learn more content than via the native language. However, this may be an indicator of the weak educational system in Ukraine rather than the power of English or other foreign languages as a medium of instruction.

Theoretical Implications

The ecology of language framework was shown to be an effective framework for this study. The metaphor allows for the interrogation of relationships among specific languages, while being flexible enough to expand to include languages that otherwise might have been overlooked. To understand where each language in the ecology stands and where it is going in comparison with other languages in the world (see Chapter 2), a language's positionality must be assumed to be fluid and dynamic, varying from moment to moment. This is true at the classroom, institutional, national, and international levels.

Language ideologies are best elicited in direct conversation but are best understood in combination with language use. The combination of ideology and language use informs an understanding of the ecology of language. While occasionally stakeholders at Alfred Nobel University described the aesthetic qualities of Ukrainian, a large number of ideologies expressed focused on the instrumental value of non-native languages. This suggests a language does not have to be connected to a personal identity to have ideologies connected with it. The personal nature of language ideologies can and should be linked not only to one's sociocultural development (Kroskrity, 2004) but also to their physical location over time, especially in contexts with shifting boundaries such as Ukraine. Moreover, the current and future mobility of students and teachers across

time and space further shapes the ideologies connected with the relative instrumental value of multilingualism.

In addition to the print and spoken instantiations of language, researchers interested in understanding the ecology of language should nowadays consider the dual role of technology: it can support the use of language itself, and it can facilitate the spread of protective and harmful language ideologies. At Alfred Nobel University (and at other universities in Ukraine), the university Web site is a site of metapragmatic commentary on the aspirations of the university to a European level of education vis-à-vis English. Google Translate emerged on two university Web sites and in the course of ethnographic research at Alfred Nobel University as a tool that facilitates one's use of a desired language, be it English, Ukrainian, or an additional foreign language. Factors of actors' individual or institutional language background (i.e. their historical body) combined with their purposes for using Google Translate offer rich insights into the ecology of language. On the other hand, discourses circulating on the Internet about the power of English and the potential power of Chinese can lead individuals to make tradeoffs that inhibit their desired development of other languages (see Chapter 8). Finally, the researcher's use of technology and the interaction with participants around technology can illuminate ideologies around language use and language education (see Chapter 5).

This dissertation shows that linguistic phenomena common to the Ukrainian context were not as prevalent as perhaps previously indicated. Cooperative nonaccommodation, in which two people each use a different language in a conversation (also called nonreciprocal bilingualism since speakers understand each other), was not

observed at Alfred Nobel University though it has been previously documented in the literature. In fact, multiple instances of accommodation to Ukrainian, Russian, or English (especially by teachers and students in English-medium programs talking with me) were observed. Non-accommodation in the form of responding verbally in a different language than initiated seemed to occur when responding in the same language was not possible due to proficiency level. These could be indicators that non-cooperative accommodation is decreasing with time or decreasing as proficiency in Ukrainian has increased. Similarly, students and relatively young teachers seemed more willing to identify both Ukrainian and Russian as native languages than reported in previous research, suggesting socialization in schools to Ukrainian as a native language is working or maintenance of Russian as a native language in the home is effective, or both. These findings do not suggest that cooperative nonaccommodation and definitions of the native language have completely disappeared, however. Rather, they suggest cooperative nonaccommodation represents one unique aspect within a range of possible choices in language use in interaction, and the “native language is the language of the native land” ideology is one unique ideology within a continuum of ideologies about the definition of native language. Thus, it can be concluded that Ukrainian linguistic culture can be distinguished by the phenomena of cooperative nonaccommodation and definitions of native language, but Ukrainians are not limited to or bound by these phenomena.

For understanding internationalization in higher education, the framework offered by Bolsmann and Miller (2008), in which recruitment of international students is done for academic reasons, economic reasons, or for the purposes of providing support from “developed” countries” to “developing” countries, is confirmed to be useful. Alfred

Nobel University offers EMI programs both as a means of economic competition for income from students from Ukraine and abroad, and as the result of initiatives by the University of Wales to support EMI at Alfred Nobel University. The discourses of Alfred Nobel University were not present in discourses to recruit students to EMI programs, reifying the position that education in Ukraine is still “developing.” However, Alfred Nobel University is framed in general as a university which offers a high standard of education in the country.

Bilingual and multilingual instruction, even in classes designated English-medium, was prevalent. This finding supports the notion that a program which is designated for one language can still support the use of multiple languages. It is recommended that future researchers of medium-of-instruction policies examine whether the stated medium or media of instruction are the sole languages used in the classroom, or whether multilingual support is happening. On the other hand, the fact that Russian was used in the classroom to facilitate learning English combined with the notion that Russian was allowed because this was a preparatory year for the program suggests Russian serves to transition students to an English-only classroom. However, since English is not the dominant language in the country, the term transitional model should not be applied to the case of Alfred Nobel University.

Statements from students, when considered in combination with their practical skills, attest that choice of a medium of instruction—whether it is made by an individual, a group, or an institution—has an impact on one’s proficiency in a language. Yet this connection seems to be stronger when a language is considered native to a region or country than when it is a foreign language. That is to say, the choice of Russian or

Ukrainian as a medium of instruction in secondary schools (and in higher education) will impact students' later ability to perform in Ukrainian. Studying in English at the university level, however, is not a guarantee of their ability to be proficient in English, nor a guarantee that students will "lose" Russian or Ukrainian. Medium of instruction goals and outcomes, then, are best understood when situated in the ecology of language and broader language policy or language status over time and space.

The challenges that Alfred Nobel University stakeholders' choices around the medium of instruction pose to language planning and policy developers, researchers and theorists lie in the cultural underpinnings of policy appropriation and resistance. In statements and in practice, several students and teachers at Alfred Nobel University are nonchalant in their approach to language policy. They are either blissfully unaware of how language policy operates, or show concrete willingness to forego an understanding in favor of serving their own individual needs or preferences. Moreover, these choices and approaches are made because of a very concrete awareness that the government in its current form cannot be depended on to make sound judgments in language policy or other areas. The boundaries in this context are easily blurred between an implementational space for policy development (as desired by linguists including myself) and a hole left by the absence of rule of law as decried by European Union officials and Western scholars of Ukrainian studies or political science. Reconciling that tension through research and guided policy development by external forces without treating Ukraine as a neocolonial subject is an additional challenge, especially given the willingness of Alfred Nobel University stakeholders to accept European authority in their lives. Understanding stakeholders' mentality around policy is a crucial first step.

Directions for Future Research

While there is evidence from this study of students' interest in multilingualism at Alfred Nobel University, more research could be conducted on students' levels of proficiency in multiple languages over time among philologists and professional students. At the national level, new sociological surveys are needed on native language status. While the 2013 census is coming, that official survey is likely to yield idealized answers. More research is needed in other Ukrainian cities where languages other than Russian are predominant, and in State universities. Future research on the experiences of students from Muslim countries in Ukrainian universities—whether those students persist in school or do not—would be beneficial.

Finally, more studies on language use and language policy attitudes in Ukraine need to be conducted which directly take into account the 2012 language law, though anecdotal evidence suggests the new language law is not a major topic or concern. As Aleksandr Nikolayevich commented to me on Facebook, the language law is like President George W. Bush campaigning in Spanish and English in Texas (personal communication, September 14, 2012); in other words, it is purely a display for political gain rather than a substantive change. Moreover, by the time such research is conducted and analyzed, the law may change again. The frequent (and often last minute) changes taking place in Ukraine are part of what shapes its identity as a developing country, and individuals considering research in Ukraine or similar countries need to take that into account. An alternate approach may be to combine linguistic landscape research with language awareness studies to capture students' awareness of the linguistic landscape in a particular point in time.

Closing Thoughts on Alfred Nobel University and Ukraine

The assumption that the whole educational system in Ukraine is in crisis is a gross overstatement. On the other hand, the fact that Alfred Nobel University is judged a better school because it has heat and teachers who do not turn their backs on students the whole lesson is indicative of the low quality of education in the country. It may be said then that English is not a means to higher education, but rather those Ukrainian universities which are looking to improve the standards of education are also drawing on English. Further, the choice to implement EMI is being made because it is believed this is the model form of education in Europe. The critiques and concerns around EMI in terms of practical implementation and the shifting relationship among languages are not reaching the ears of Ukrainian university rectors, or they do not outweigh the potential benefits perceived in terms of financial status and income. On the other hand, Alfred Nobel University is moving in a positive direction in approaches to multilingualism. While the university is not promoting Ukrainian as heavily as English, Ukrainian is present in the landscape and perhaps understood as a native language that students will develop with Ukrainian languages classes alone. In contrast, English is seen as a language which is not native to Ukraine and which therefore needs to be expanded in the linguistic landscape through the use of EMI.

Geographically, educationally, politically, and culturally, Ukraine continues to be between Russia and Europe. Within that framework, Alfred Nobel University is striving to break away from “traditional” methods and use more “Western” approaches, which becomes synonymous in this context for “higher level” or “modern.” The use of EMI is shaping and changing the culture of teaching at the university, but it cannot be said to

determine a model of instruction. My observations and experiences in Dnipropetrovsk indicate that in the end, the tensions in language, education, and policy can be influenced by outsiders (i.e. Europeans or Americans) but cannot be resolved entirely by them. Any “European” ideas for general education and language-in-education policy which make their way to Ukraine will be implemented and appropriated in ways that are consistent with local cultural, educational, and political norms. It will be done at a pace that is comfortable for Ukrainians because, even in the face of challenges, people are not worried about their future. In fact, this positive and open attitude is one of students’ and teachers’ greatest strengths, especially in the face of economic and political instability. Yet from the Western point of view which puts change and material development ahead of Ukrainian values of “soul” and “friendship”, the result of this attitude is acceptance of deplorable conditions or change at a very slow rate. As the title of the Ukrainian national anthem goes, Ukraine is not dead yet; it will continue to survive in the face of adversity. By extension, neither Ukraine’s languages nor its educational and multilingual potential are dead yet either.

APPENDIX A: TRANSLITERATION TABLES

Tables A.1 and A.2 contain the transliteration indexes from the 1997 Library of Congress (LC) Romanization tables (www.loc.gov). All letters are written here in lowercase. Following Bilaniuk's (2005) example, proper names will be written using standard Ukrainian orthography rather than LC Romanization. For example, under the LC system, the capital of Ukraine in Ukrainian (Київ) would be Kyïv, but in this dissertation it is written as Kyiv unless the source uses the Russian variant (e.g. Kiev).

Table A.1. Transliteration from Ukrainian to English

Ukrainian	English	Ukrainian	English
а	a	н	n
б	b	о	o
в	v	п	p
г	<u>h</u>	р	r
ґ	g	с	s
д	d	т	t
е	e	у	u
є	ie	ф	f
ж	zh	х	kh
з	z	ц	ts
и	<u>y</u>	ч	ch
і	i	ш	sh
ї	ï	щ	shch
й	i	ь	'
к	k	ю	iu
л	l	я	ia
м	m		

Note: Letters in bold do not exist in Russian. Underlined English letters reflect a Cyrillic symbol with different transliterations from Russian or Ukrainian into English, likely a result of different sounds produced in Russian and Ukrainian for those letters.

Table A.2 Transliteration from Russian to English

Russian	English	Russian	English
а	a	п	p
б	b	р	r
в	v	с	s
г	<u>g</u>	т	t
д	d	у	u
е	e	ф	f
ё	ë	х	kh
ж	zh	ц	ts
з	z	ч	ch
и	<u>i</u>	ш	sh
й	i	щ	shch
к	k	ь	‘
л	l	ы	y
м	m	э	e
н	n	ю	iu
о	o	я	ia

Note: Letters in bold do not exist in Ukrainian. Underlined English letters reflect a Cyrillic symbol with different transliterations from Russian or Ukrainian into English, likely a result of different sounds produced in Russian and Ukrainian for those letters.

APPENDIX C: INTERVIEW QUESTION LIST IN ENGLISH

(Note: T=questions for teachers only; S=questions for students only)

1. Where were you born? Where did you grow up?
 - a. (If not Dnipropetrovs'k) Where is it located? (In what part of Ukraine or Russia?)
2. What language(s) do you use with your family at home?
 - a. What language(s) do they use with you?
3. Did you go to a state school or a private school?
 - a. What language(s) were used in your school for teaching? For exams?
 - b. (Teachers only) how about your university and *aspirantura* [graduate] programs?
4. Have you ever hired a tutor? From where? How long? For what subjects?
5. How have you studied English over the years? [Read the following prompts only if necessary/unanswered]
 - a. How many years did you study English in school/university?
6. Besides English, are there additional foreign languages that you know, that you have studied or plan to study?
 - a. How many years did you study that language in school?
7. (Ukrainian students only) How have you studied [L2] over the years? [L2 here is the language not spoken at home. For example, if a student says they speak Russian at home and don't mention Ukrainian as a language of instruction in school, I will ask how they have studied Ukrainian.]
 - a. How many years did you study [L2] in school?
8. Did you ever go to a commercial language school? (Tell me about it)
9. Have you ever studied, traveled or worked outside of Ukraine (*za granitsej*)? Can you tell me more about that? (Where? For how long? For what purpose?)
 - a. What language(s) did you use to communicate? How important was language in your travels/studies abroad?

(Teachers only)

- T1. How long have you been at this university? What were you doing before you came here? How did you get the job here?
- T2. What is your rank (*kandidat, docent, senior teacher...*)? What are your current duties at the university? How have your duties changed since you started here?
- T3. Are you working anywhere else or doing tutoring?

(Students Only)

- S1. How did you find out about Dnipropetrovs'k University of Economics and Law? What factors led you to apply to here?/Why did you choose to attend?
- a. How important for your decision was the opportunity to study subjects in English?
 - b. Did you see brochures, presentations, or materials that advertised courses taught in English?

Wales students only: How did you choose or get chosen for or enter the Wales program?

Class preparation

(Teachers only)

T4. Who asked you/required you to teach [name of subject, not English practice] in English? Why did they ask you to do that? (Did he/she give a reason for teaching in English, identify your expertise in the subject, your English language abilities, something else?)

T5. Were you given any special training in teaching in English? (not practice/philology, but teaching a subject in English)

If yes: Can you tell me more about the training? (Where? By whom? How much time? What if anything did you learn from that training?)

a. (If international training) Was anything taught in training that you feel didn't suit your classroom? What and why?

If no training: Has that been a problem for you? How so?

T6. What is (was) the main aim of this course? What is (was) your aim in teaching in English?

a. What do you think students' aims are for learning in English?

T7. How do you define your approach/method of teaching this course? Is it different when teaching in English than in Russian/Ukrainian? In what ways? [If we've talked about this before, I say, "you mentioned before that in English class you have to __, or __ is the same in English and Russian. Are there any other key similarities/differences in teaching in English and Russian?]

b. Do you see any connection between the practice courses and the subject courses? Does one support the other? Should one support the other? How so?

S2 (except students from Nigeria and Algeria). What is your aim [goal] in taking classes in English (studying English as a specialty [major]?)

S3 (for students from Nigeria and Algeria). What is your aim in studying in Ukraine? (Nigerian students) What is your aim in taking practice classes in English?

S4. Do you prefer to study a particular variety of English? Which one? Why?

10. Do you feel the resources (textbooks, library books, computer equipment) etc. are sufficient for teaching/learning in English here?

a. Are the resources easier, more difficult, or about the same to get and to use for English and Russian/Ukrainian classes?

11. How do you feel about the amount of written and oral tasks in class—is there too much of one or the other? Not enough of one or the other? Which type of learning activities do you prefer?

a. Teachers: To what extent are the activities in class required by the curriculum/the Wales program/the FCE exam? [FCE is the Cambridge

First Certificate of English exam for which the 2nd year philology and 1st year Wales students are preparing.]

12. In principle, what is the main way you get information about classes, schedules, exams, changes, etc? (The bulletin boards? In-class announcements? Friends? Text messages? Emails? Something else?)
- a. (Students from Nigeria and Algeria): How do you get information about exams, classes etc. when it is not written/said in English?

Language Practices in class

13. How do you characterize the use of English, Russian, and Ukrainian in your class(es)? Is that the right balance in your opinion? Why or why not?
- a. What is your opinion about the use of Russian/Ukrainian in the English-language classes?
- Is it helpful when teachers explain words in Russian/Ukrainian and English? Is it appropriate/does it bother you?
- How do you feel when you/your students use Russian/Ukrainian in class? Does it mean that you/your students have an unsatisfactory level of English?
- b. How much does the use of languages depend on the type of activity (presentation, Q and A, discussions, grammar/vocabulary teaching, group work, organizational matters, etc)? Please explain.
- c. How much does the use of languages depend on the type of course (practice v. content course?)
- d. (students only) Do some teachers require more English/allow more Russian/Ukrainian, or require more Russian/Ukrainian? Can you explain?
14. (Students) Do you feel you can fully express your ideas in English-language lectures and practice classes? Why or why not? Is this important to you?
- e. (Teachers) Do you feel you have the possibility to fully express your ideas in English-language lectures (and practice classes)? How about your students? Why or why not? Is this important to you?
15. As you understand it, when is it necessary to use English in the university? How about Ukrainian? Russian? How about outside of the university?
16. What is the language of state exams (for 3rd and 4th year students)? How do classes in English prepare you/your students for those exams?
- f. (Foreign students or teachers of foreign students only) Will you/your foreign students take the state exams? In what language?

Wales teachers: How do feel about teaching students of different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds?

Wales students only: How do feel about studying with students of different nationalities and ethnic backgrounds?

- a. Had you ever met/known people from these backgrounds before?
- b. (Students only) Have you made friendships with people from different ethnic backgrounds?

- c. What have been the most important/most interesting lessons for you from this experience? (if necessary)
- d. Have there been any challenges for you?

Language practices out of class [language attitudes]

17. Which language do you feel more comfortable speaking/find it easier to speak/feel it is more difficult to speak/—English or [L2]? [L2 here is the language not spoken at home. For example, if a student says they speak Russian at home, I will ask English or Ukrainian]

g. Which do you prefer to use?

18. In your opinion, how important is it to know English to get a job? And Ukrainian and Russian? *only if not mentioned previously*

S5. How important is it to find a husband/wife who speaks these languages?

S6. Which language(s) do you want your children to speak?

19. Do you think [L1] is a beautiful language? What about English/[L2]?

20. Which language(s) do you think will be common in Ukraine 25 years from now? Why?

21. In what ways has language use changed in your lifetime/your parents and grandparents' lifetime? What has remained unchanged?

BP/Europe/

22. Have you ever heard of the Bologna Process? What do you know about the Bologna Process? Where did you learn about it from?

h. As you understand it, what are the major changes in studying here in Ukraine as a result of the Bologna Process? At this university?

What are the advantages and disadvantages of this process for you? For your students?

i. Do you believe there is any connection between studying English or studying in English and the Bologna Process/the opportunity to study in European Union universities?

Language policy/attitudes

23. As you understand it, what is the state language [*gosudarstvenyi iazyk* in Russian, *derzhavnaia mova* in Ukrainian] in Ukraine? Is that also the official language of higher education?

j. Should it be the language of higher education?

(If respondent mentions Ukrainian is the language of higher education) If Ukrainian is the official language of higher education, why are you able to take/teach courses in English?

(If respondent doesn't know) Do you think courses are being taught in English according to the regulations or not? Is that important to you?

24. Do you ever worry that (*Vy ne volnuetes', chto*) courses being taught in English will limit your development (knowledge) /your students' development (knowledge) in Russian/Ukrainian? Why or why not?

Identity

25. To what extent do you think of Ukraine as: Soviet? Russian? European? International? In between Russia and Europe? Independent?
26. What makes you feel Ukrainian/Russian? How about European? International? In between Russian and European?
- k. In general, do you feel you are [home city], eastern Ukrainian, Ukrainian?
27. In your opinion, how important is it for Ukraine to integrate with Europe (politically, financially, socially?)
- l. How important is English for European integration?

Is there anything else I should know about you, your experiences at DUEL, or language use that you think are important?

Now I'd like to show you some pictures/video/audio files. Please watch/listen and tell me if you remember your thoughts in that moment, and if you have any comments on the activity now.

- a. Is this typical?
- b. What is happening here?

APPENDIX D: INTERVIEW QUESTION LIST IN RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN

(Russian language underlined; Ukrainian language in bold)

Где Вы родились? выросли? Где находится? (в какой части России\Украины?) **Де Ви народилися? вирости? Де знаходиться? (в якій частині Росії \ України?)**

На каком языке/каких языках Вы разговариваете дома с Вашей семьей? **Якою мовою / Якими мовами Ви спілкуєтесь дома з Вашою родиною?**

а. На каком языке/каких языках они с Вами разговаривают? **Якою мовою / Якими мовами вони з Вами спілкуються?**

Вы учились в государственной школе или частной школе? Ви **навчалися в державній школі або приватній школі?**

а. какой язык\какие языки использовали учителя для обучения? А на каком языке Вы сдавали экзамены? яка мова \ які мови використовували вчителі для навчання? А якою мовою Ви здавали іспити?

б. А в университете? аспирантуре? докторантуре? А в університеті? аспірантурі? докторантурі?

Вы когда-либо занимались с репетитором? Откуда он/она? Сколько лет Вы занимались с ним\с ней? по каким предметам? Ви коли-небудь **займалися з приватним учителем? Звідки він / вона? Скільки років Ви займалися з ним \ з нею? з яких предметів?**

Как Вы изучали английский язык? Як Ви вивчали англійську мову?

а. Сколько лет Вы изучали английский язык в школе\в университете? Скільки років Ви вивчали англійську мову в школі \ в університеті?

Кроме английского языка, Вы знаете другие иностранные языка?

Крім англійської мови, Ви знаєте інші іноземні мови? Ви собираетесь изучать еще иностранные языка? какие? когда? Ви **збираєтесь вивчати ще іноземні мови? які? коли?**

а. (если знаете другие языки) Сколько лет Вы изучали _____ язык в школе? (Якщо знаєте інші мови) Скільки років Ви вивчали _____ мову в школі?

Как Вы изучали украинский язык? Як Ви вивчали російську мову?
а. Сколько лет Вы изучали украинский язык в школе? Скільки років Ви вивчали російську мову в школі?

Вы когда-либо учились в коммерческой школе языков? (Расскажите мне, пожалуйста, об этом). ИЛИ (Расскажите мне, пожалуйста, о Вашем опыте). **Ви коли-небудь навчалися у комерційній школі мов? (Розкажіть мені, будь ласка, про це). АБО (Розкажіть мені, будь ласка, про Ваш досвід).**

Вы когда-либо учились, путешествовали или работали за границей? Где? Как долго (Вы были за границей)? С какой целью?

Ви коли-небудь вчилися, подорожували або працювали за кордоном? Де? Як довго (Ви були за кордоном)? З якою метою?

а. На каком языке/каких языках Вы разговаривали с людьми там? Насколько важным, по Вашему мнению, была роль языка в Ваших поездках / Вашей учебе / работе за границей?

а. Якою мовою / Якими мовами Ви розмовляли з людьми там? Наскільки важливим, на Вашу думку, була роль мови у Ваших поїздках / Вашому навчанні / роботі за кордоном?

В каком году Вы начали работать в ДУЕП? Кем и где Вы работали, до того как Вас приняли в ДУЕП? Как Вы получили работу в ДУЕП? В каком году Вы начали работать в ДУЕП? Ким і де Ви працювали, до того як Вас прийняли в ДУЕП? Як Ви отримали роботу в ДУЕП?

Какая у Вас ученая степень, звание или должность (кандидат, доцент, старший преподаватель)...? Какие Ваши обязанности в университете? Как изменились эти обязанности с начала работы в ДУЕП? Який у Вас вчений ступінь, звання або посада (кандидат, доцент, старший викладач)...? Які Ваші обов'язки в університеті? Як змінилися ці обов'язки з початку роботи в ДУЕП?

Где еще Вы работаете? Вы работаете репетитором? Де ще Ви працюєте? Ви працюєте приватним учителем?

Как Вы узнали о ДУЕП? Какие причины или факторы повлияли на Ваше решение подать заявление? Почему Вы решили поступить в ДУЕП? Як Ви дізналися про ДУЕП? Які причини або чинники вплинули на Ваше рішення подати заяву? Чому Ви вирішили вступити до ДУЕП?

а. Насколько важным для Вашего решения была возможность изучать предметы на английском языке?

а. Наскільки важливим для Вашого рішення була можливість вивчати предмети англійською мовою?

б. видели ли Вы материалы, брошюры, презентации ДУЕП, которые обещали курсы\занятия на английском языке?

б. чи бачили Ви матеріали, брошури, презентації ДУЕП, які обіцяли курси \ заняття англійською мовою?

Почему Вы решили поступить в программу Уэльса? Или Как Вы выбрали? Чому Ви вирішили вступити до програми Уельсу? Або Як Ви обрали?

Кто просил или назначил Вас преподавать _____ на английском? Какие причины Вам привели в связи с этой росьбой\назначением? (Ваше знание предмета, Ваше владение английским, что-нибудь иное?) Кто просив або призначив Вас викладати _____ англійською? Які причини Вам навели у зв'язку з цим проханням \ призначенням? (Ваше знання предмета, Ваше володіння англійською, що-небудь інше?)

У Вас были семинары, курсы, материалы, подготовка по методике обучения на английском языке? У Вас були семінари, курси, матеріали, підготовка з методики навчання англійською мовою?

а. Где? Кто организовывал\проводил? Как долго? Что Вы приобрели из этого? Де? Хто організовував \ проводив? Як довго? Що Ви отримали з цього?

б. Было ли в преподавании что-либо, что, по-Вашему, не подходит Вам\для Вашего подхода к обучению? Что?

почему? Чи було у викладанні що-небудь, що, по-Вашому, не підходить Вам \ для Вашого підходу до навчання? Що? чому?

- с. Было ли это проблемой для Вас? В чем? Чи було це проблемою для Вас? У чому?

Какая главная цель Вашего курса ____? С какой целью Вы преподаете этот курс на английском? Яка головна мета Вашого курсу ____? З якою метою Ви викладаєте цей курс англійською?

а. По Вашему мнению, с какой целью Ваши студенты учатся на английском? На Вашу думку, з якою метою Ваші студенти навчаються англійською?

В общем, какой подход Вы используете в курсе ____? Как отличается преподавание ____ на английском и на русском? Загалом, який підхід Ви використовуєте в курсі ____? Як відрізняється викладання ____ англійською і українською?

Есть ли связь между практическим курсом иностранного языка и курсом ____? курсы поддерживают друг друга? Если нет, то должна ли быть такая поддержка? Чи є зв'язок між практичним курсом іноземної мови і курсом ____? курси підтримують один одного? Якщо ні, то чи має бути така підтримка?

С какой целью Вы учитесь на английском \ изучаете английский язык в качестве основной специальности? З якою метою Ви вчитеся англійською \ вивчаєте англійську мову в якості основної спеціальності?

Вы предпочитаете изучать определённый вариант английского языка? какой? почему? Ви віддаєте перевагу вивченню певного варіанту англійської мови? якого? чому?

Вы считаете, что ресурсы ДУЕП (учебники, материалы библиотеки, компьютеры, и т.д.) достаточны для обучения на английском? Ви вважаєте, що ресурси ДУЕП (підручники, матеріали бібліотеки, комп'ютери, і т.д.) достатні для навчання англійською?

- а. Эти ресурсы легче, труднее, или одинаково трудные для получения и использования при обучении на английском, чем на

русском\украинском? Ці ресурси легше, важче, або однаково важкі для отримання та використання при навчанні англійською, ніж російською \ українською?

Считаете ли Вы объем устных и письменных заданий на занятиях слишком большим/маленьким/достаточным? Какие из них Вы предпочитаете? Чи вважаєте Ви обсяг усних і письмових завдань на заняттях дуже великим / маленьким / достатнім? Яким з них Ви віддасте перевагу?

Насколько учебные задания на Ваших занятиях предусмотрены программой\Договором с Университета Уэльса? Наскільки навчальні завдання на Ваших заняттях передбачені програмою \ Договором з Університетом Уельсу?

Как Вы узнаете о расписании занятий, экзаменах, изменениях расписания, и т.д.? Доска объявлений/объявления в классе/от друзей/по СМС/из электронной почты/ что-нибудь иное? Як Ви дізнаєтеся про розклад занять, іспитів, зміни розкладу, і т.д.? Оголошення / оголошення в класі / від друзів / по СМС / з електронної пошти / що-небудь інше?

Как Вы оцениваете использование английского, русского, украинского языков на Ваших занятиях? По Вашему мнению, баланс языков правильный? Почему да или почему нет? Як Ви оцінюєте використання англійської, російської, української мов на Ваших заняттях? На Вашу думку, баланс мов правильний? Чому так або чому ні?

а. Как Вы оцениваете использование русского\украинского языка на занятиях, проводимых на английском языке? Як Ви оцінюєте використання російської \ української мови на заняттях, що проводяться англійською мовою?

б. Помогает ли Вам, когда преподаватели объясняют слова\інформацію и по-русски\и по-украински и по-английски? Это правильно? Не беспокоит Вас? Чи допомагає Вам, коли викладачі пояснюють слова \ інформацію як російською\

українською, так і англійською мовами? Чи вважаєте Ви це правильним? Чи не турбує це Вас?

г. Как Вы себя чувствуете, когда Вы/Ваши студенты используете\используют русский/украинский язык в классе? Означает ли это, что у Вас\у Ваших студентов недостаточный уровень английского языка? Як Ви себе почувате, коли Ви / Ваші студенти використовуйте \ використовують російську / українську мову в класі? Чи означає це, що у Вас \ у Ваших студентів недостатній рівень англійської мови?

Д. По-Вашему, использование языков зависит от деятельности (например, презентация, вопросы, дискуссии, грамматика, лексика, задачи в микрогруппах, организационные вопросы и т.д.?) Пожалуйста, поясните. По-Вашему, використання мов залежить від діяльності (наприклад, презентація, запитання, дискусії, граматики, лексика, завдання у мікрогрупах, організаційні питання і т.д.?) Будь ласка, поясніть.

Как использование языков зависит от типа занятия (практика, лекция, семинар?) Як використання мов залежить від типу заняття (практика, лекція, семінар?)

Требуют ли определенные преподаватели большего употребления английского языка, разрешают ли они большее использование русского\украинского языка, или требуют большего употребления русского\украинского языка? Пожалуйста, поясните. Чи вимагають певні викладачі більшого вживання англійської мови, чи дозволяють вони більше використання російської \ української мови, або вимагають більшого вживання російської \ української мови? Будь ласка, поясніть.

Как вы думаете, можете ли вы полно выражать свои мысли на английском языке на лекциях и практических занятиях? Почему? Почему нет? Важно ли это для Вас? Як ви думаєте, чи можете ви

повно висловлювати свої думки англійською мовою на лекціях та практичних заняттях? Чому? Чому ні? Чи важливо це для Вас?

Как вы думаете, можете ли Вы полно выражать свои мысли на английском языке на лекциях (и практических занятиях)? А студенты? Почему? Почему нет? Важно ли это для Вас? Як ви думаєте, чи можете Ви повно висловлювати свої думки англійською мовою на лекціях (і практичних заняттях)? А студенти? Чому? Чому ні? Чи важливо це для Вас?

По Вашему пониманию, когда необходимо использовать английский язык в ДУЕП? А украинский? А русский? А за пределами университета? За Вашого розуміння, коли необхідно використовувати англійську мову в ДУЕП? А українську? А російську? А за межами університету?

На каком языке сдаются госэкзамены (на третьем и четвертом курсах?) Как занятия, проводимые на английском языке, помогают Вам\Вашим студентам подготовиться к госэкзаменам? Якою мовою здаються держіспити (на третьому і четвертому курсах?) Як заняття, що проводяться англійською мовою, допомагають Вам \ Вашим студентам підготуватися до держіспитів?

Сдают ли Ваши иностранные студенты государственные экзамены? На каком языке? Чи здають Ваші іноземні студенти державні іспити? Якою мовою?

Какие у Вас впечатления от обучения студентов-представителей разных народов? Які у Вас враження від навчання студентів-представників різних народів?

Какие у Вас впечатления от обучения со студентами-представителями разных народов? Які у Вас враження від навчання со студентами-представниками різних народів?

а. Встречались ли Вы с такими людьми раньше? Чи зустрічалися Ви з такими людьми раніше?

б. Были ли у Вас друзья среди представителей других народов?
Чи були у Вас друзі серед представників інших народів?

г. Какие наиболее интересные и важные уроки извлекли (Что важного и интересного узнали) Вы из этого опыта? **Які найбільш цікаві і важливі уроки отримали (Що важливого і цікавого дізналися) Ви з цього досвіду?**

д. Испытывали ли Вы какие-либо трудности от обучения с представителями других народов? **Чи відчували Ви які-небудь труднощі від навчання з представниками інших народів?**

На каком языке Вам удобнее\легче\труднее говорить—английском или украинском? **Якою мовою Вам зручніше \ легше \ важче говорити-англійською чи російською?**

а. какой язык Вы предпочитаете использовать? **яку мову Ви вважаєте за краще використовувати?**

По Вашему мнению, насколько важным является знание английского языка, чтобы найти работу? А украинского? А русского? **На Вашу думку, наскільки важливим є знання англійської мови, щоб знайти роботу? А української? А російської?**

По Вашему мнению, насколько важным является найти супруга\супругу, который\которая говорит на этих языках? **На Вашу думку, наскільки важливим є знайти чоловіка \ дружину, який \ яка говорить цими мовами?**

Если бы у Вас были дети, на каких языков Вы бы хотели, чтобы они говорили? **Якщо б у Вас були діти, якими мовами Ви б хотіли, щоб вони говорили?**

По Вашему мнению, русский язык красивый? А английский? А украинский? **На Вашу думку, українська мова красива? А англійська? А російська?**

Через 25 лет, какой язык/какие языки, по-Вашему мнению, будет общепринят\ общеприняты в Украине? Почему? **Через 25 років, яка**

мова / які мови, на вашу думку, буде загальноприйнятою \ загальноприйнятими в Україні? Чому?

Как менялось использование языков в течение Вашей жизни? В течение жизни Ваших родителей? Бабушек\дедушек? **Як змінювалося використання мов протягом Вашого життя? Протягом життя Ваших батьків? Бабусь \ дідусів?**

Слышали ли Вы о Болонском процессе? Что Вы знаете о Болонском процессе? Из каких источников Вы узнали о Болонском процессе? **Чи чули Ви про Болонський процес? Що Ви знаєте про Болонський процес? З яких джерел Ви дізналися про Болонський процес?**

а. По Вашему мнению, какие главные изменения в образовании появились в Украине в результате Болонского процесса? В ДУЕП? **На Вашу думку, які головні зміни в освіті з'явилися в Україні в результаті Болонського процесу? У ДУЕП?**

б. Каковы преимущества и недостатки этого процесса для Вас? (для Ваших студентов?) **Які переваги та недоліки цього процесу для Вас? (Для Ваших студентів?)**

г. Считаете ли Вы, что существует связь между изучением английского языка (или обучением на английском языке) и Болонским процессом\ возможностью учиться в вузах Европейского Союза? **Чи вважаєте Ви, що існує зв'язок між вивченням англійської мови (або навчанням англійською мовою) та Болонським процесом \ можливістю навчатися у вишах Європейського Союзу?**

По Вашему мнению, какой язык в Украине является государственным? Является ли он также официальным языком в системе высшего образования? **На Вашу думку, яка мова в Україні є державною? Чи є вона також офіційною мовою в системі вищої освіти?**

а. Должен ли он быть языком в системе высшего образования? **Чи повинна вона бути мовою в системі вищої освіти?**

Если украинский язык является официальным языком в системе высшего образования, почему Вы можете обучаться на английском

языке в ДУЕП? Якщо українська мова є офіційною мовою в системі вищої освіти, чому Ви можете навчатись англійською мовою в ДУЕП?

По-Вашему мнению, курсы на английском языке в ДУЕП преподаются в соответствии с существующим законодательством или нет? Насколько это важно для Вас? На вашу думку, курси англійською мовою в ДУЕП викладаються відповідно до чинного законодавства чи ні? Наскільки ця важливо для Вас?

Вас не волнует, что курсы, преподающиеся на английском языке, ограничат Ваше знание\знание ваших студентов русского\украинского языка? Почему? Почему нет? Вас не хвилює, що курси, які викладається англійською мовою, обмежать Ваше знання \ знання ваших студентів російської \ української мови? Чому? Чому ні?

Насколько Вы считаете Украину: Советской? Русской? Европейской? Международной? Между Россией и Европой? Независимой? Наскільки Ви вважаєте Україну: Радянською? Російською? Європейською? Міжнародною? Між Росією та Європою? Незалежною?

Что заставляет Вас считать себя—украинцем\украинкой? европейцем\европейкой?\ человеком мира?\ человеком между Россией и Европой? Що змушує Вас вважати себе - українцем \ українкою? європейцем \ європейкою? \ людиною світу? \ людиною між Росією та Європою?

а. Считаете ли Вы себя (жителем\жительницей Днепропетровска), восточным украинцем\восточной украинкой, украинцем\украинкой? Чи вважається Ви себе \ мешканкою Дніпропетровська\, східним українцем \ східною українкою, українцем \ українкою?

По-Вашему мнению, насколько важна интеграция Украины в Европу (политически, экономически, социально)? На вашу думку, наскільки важлива інтеграція України в Європу (політично, економічно, соціально)?

а. Насколько важен английский язык для европейской интеграции? **Наскільки важлива англійська мова для європейської інтеграції?**

Есть ли что-нибудь еще, что, по Вашему мнению, является важным, и что мне следует знать о Вас, Вашем обучении\преподавании в ДУЕП, или использовании языков? **Чи є що-небудь ще, що, на Вашу думку, є важливим, і що мені слід знати про Вас, Ваше навчання \ викладання у ДУЕП, або використання мов?**

Сейчас я хочу показать Вам картинки\видео\аудио о Ваших занятиях. Пожалуйста, посмотрите\прослушайте и расскажите, запомнили ли Вы Ваши мысли в тот момент, и есть ли у Вас какие-то замечания по поводу этого. **Зараз я хочу показати Вам картинки \ відео \ аудіо про Ваших заняття. Будь ласка, подивіться \ прослухайте і розкажіть, чи запам'ятали Ви Ваші думки в той момент і чи є у Вас якісь зауваження з приводу цього.**

Вам кажется, что то, что показано\прослушано, является типичным? **Вам здається, що те, що показано / прослухано, є типовим?**

Что происходит на видео\аудиозаписи? **Що відбувається на відео \ аудіозаписі?**

APPENDIX E: ALEKSANDR NIKOLAYEVICH'S BLOG ENTRY

(TRANSLITERATED AND TRANSLATED FROM ORIGINAL RUSSIAN AND UKRAINIAN. LATIN PHRASE AND SCRIPT ORIGINAL. BOLD IN RUSSIAN INDICATES ORIGINAL ITALICS. UNDERLINE INDICATES UKRAINIAN.)

Original Text	English Translation
<i>Spor Slavian Mezhdub Soboju</i>	SLAVIC CIVIL WAR
<p><i>Otpравil stat'iu v politologicheskii sbornik Khar'kovskogo universiteta. Stat'ia na russkom. Universitet Khar'kovskii. Ne Kievskii, ne L'vovskii, ne Zakarpatskii. Khar'kovskii. V otvet prishlo trebovanie perevesti stat'iu na ukrainskii. Na moe vezhливoe pis'mo ("Uvazhaemye kollegi", "s nauluchshimi pozhelaniiami" i vse takoe) pochemu tak, ved' v tom zhe Khar'kovskom national'nom ia publikovalsi ne raz- i vseгда na russkom, - prishlo korotkoe khamskoe soobshchenie: "Na ukr. iazyke nash Vestnik vykhodit z (sic!) 70-kh godov. Poka tak. Vremia eshche est'. Perevodite." Khamskoe soobshchenie na russkom, zapreshchaiushchee mne publikovat'sia na tom zhe russkom. Ne znaiu, to li v iazyke delo, to li v khamstve (vtore veroiatnee vsego), no ia zadumalsia: a ne pereslat' li etu stat'iu tuda, gde berut i na russkom? Poka eshche est' vremia.</i></p>	<p>I submitted an article in a political science journal at Kharkov University. The article was in Russian. Kharkov University. Not L'vov, not Zakarpat'e [west of the Carpathian mountains in Western Ukraine]. Kharkov. The reply came that the article needed to be translated into Ukrainian. To my polite letter [in Russian] ("Dear colleagues", "with best wishes", etc.) with the question why, when at that very university I have published more than once—and always in Russian—came the curt, rude response: <i>Our journal has been using Ukr. <u>since</u> (sic!) the 1970s. That's why. There is still time. Translate it.</i>" A rude response in Russian, prohibiting me from publishing in Russian. I don't know if it was in the language of business, or rude language (I believe it is the second one above all), but I thought to myself: why not send the article where it will be accepted in Russian? There is still time.</p>

APPENDIX F: INTERVIEW EXCERPT IN RUSSIAN

(Original Russian; language corrections from the transcriber in single parentheses)

Pyotr: *Da. Eto ia tozhe pomniu. Pravda, mysli cvoi ne pomniu v tot moment, no sam moment pomniu. ((Laughs)) Ne znaiu, shto skazat'.*

Bridget: *Mmm khmm. Po-moemu, Vy ispolzovaite (ispol'suete) i russkii iazyk i angliiskii iazyk. A, Vy ne spomnite (pomnite) s kem vy govorite russkim (po-russki) i s kem Vy govorite angliiskii? (po-angliiski)*

Pyotr: *((Pause)) Nu, da, ia ne znaiu. Staraius' razgovarat' na angliiskom bol'she so vsemi, nu tak poluchaetsia.*

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